Pedigree of the Tondaiman line of Pudukkottai.

Avadai Raghunatha Tondaiman better known as Raya Tondaiman, died 1661

- **I. Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman** born 1641; succeeded 1661; became Ruler of Pudukkottai in 1686; died 1730. Founder of the State.
  - Nallayi Ayi of the Panrikondar family. = Tirumalai Raya Tondaiman; = Muttuvirayi Ayi of the Malavaraya family; married with a sword. Tirumalai Raya Tondaiman died before his father in 1729.
    - (by Nallayi Ayi):
      - **II. Vijaya Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman** born 1713; succeeded 1730; died 1769.
        - **III. Raya Raghunatha Tondaiman** born 1738; succeeded 1769; died 1789 without male issue.
          - Ammal Ayi.
      - Tirumalai Tondaiman = Perumdevi Ayi. died 1794. Being very ill in 1789, he waived his claim to succeed in favour of his eldest son.
        - **IV. Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman** = Brihannayaki Ayi. born 1759; succeeded 1789; died 1807. Was granted the Kilanilai territory.
          - **V. Vijaya Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman** born 1797; succeeded 1807; minor till 1817; died 1825 without issue.
          - **VI. Raghunatha Tondaiman** = Kamalambal Ayi. born 1799; succeeded 1825; died 1839.
            - Periya Raja Ammani Saheb died 1836.
            - Chinna Raja Ammani Saheb died 1840.
            - **VII. Ramachandra Tondaiman** born 1829; succeeded 1839; minor till 1844; died 1886 without surviving male issue, adopting his grandson, the present Raja.
              - = Brihadamba Bai Saheb (first wife.)
                - Kamalambal Raja Ammani Saheb died 1903. Married Rangaswami Singappuliar, Zamindar of Kallakkottai.
                  - Vijaya Raghunatha Tirumalai Singappuliar died 1914.
                  - Brihadambal Rajayi born 1874. Married to Balasubrahmanya Tondaiman, died 1909.
                  - Muttu Vijaya Singapuliar died 1906.
                  - Mathurambal Rajayi Married the Zamindar of Gandharvakottai.
                    - A male child.
                - Mangalambal Raja Ammani Saheb died 1873. Married Ayyaswami Panrikondar.
              - = Janaki Subbamma Bai Saheb (second wife.)
                - Brihadamba Raja Ammani Saheb died 1903. = Kolandaswami Pallavarayar.
                  - Janaki Rajayi, born 1870, married to Balasubrahmanya Raghunatha Tondaiman, Chinnaranmanai Jagirdar.
                  - Vijaya Raghunatha Pallavarayar, born 1872.
                  - Minambal Rajayi, born 1873, married to Rajagopala Tondaiman.
                  - Bhairava Ramachandra Pallavarayar, born 1874.
                  - **VIII. Martanda Bhairava Tondaiman** The present Raja; born 26th November, 1875; succeeded 1886, minor till November 1894.
                  - Sankaranarayana Pallavarayar, born 1878.
                  - Dakshinamurti Pallavarayar, born 1879.
                  - Krishnasvami Pallavarayar, born 1882.
                - Sivarama Raghunatha Tondaiman. Died young in 1867.
            - Tirumalai Tondaiman died 1871. = Mathurambal Ayi.
              - 1. Brihadambal Rajayi died 1909. = Balasubrahamanya Raghunatha Tondaiman died 1903. = 2. Brihannayaki Ayi died 1914. = 3. Janaki Rajayi.
                - (by 2.) Brihadambal Ammani Raja married Vijaya Raghunatha Tirumalai Singappuliar.
                - (by 3.) Ramachandra Tondaiman, married Subbammal Ayi of Sillattur Zamin.
                - (by 3.) Tirumalai Tondaiman.
              - Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman died young.
          - Tirumalai Tondaiman. Died childless 1835.
    - (by Muttuvirayi Ayi):
      - Rajagopala Tondaiman = Kamalambal Ayi. died 1773.
        - Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman = Minakshi Ayi. died 1807.
          - Rajagopala Tondaiman died childless 1811.
          - Rajagopala Raya Tondaiman = Akhilamma Ayi. died 1856.
            - Radhakrishna Tondaiman = Kamalambal Ayi. died 1907.
              - Rajagopala Tondaiman = Minambal Rajayi.
                - Ramachandra Tondaiman.
                - Brihadambal Ammani Raja.
              - Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman died 1914.
            - Minakshi Ayi
- Namana Tondaiman. Founder of Kulattur branch of the family.
  - Ramaswami Tondaiman died 1736.
    - Namana Tondaiman. [The line came to an end about 1750.]

His Highness Sri Brihadamba Das
Raja Sir Martanda Bhairava Tondaiman Bahadur, G. C. I. E.,
Raja of Pudukkottai.

A

GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

PUDUKKOTTAI STATE.

A

GENERAL HISTORY

OF THE

PUDUKKOTTAI STATE

BY

S. RADHAKRISHNA AIYAR, B. A.,
Late Principal of H. H. The Maharajah's College, Pudukkottai.

Published under the authority of the Darbar.

PUDUKKOTTAI:
SRI BRIHADAMBA STATE PRESS.
1916.

PREFACE.

THE history of the Tondaimàns that will be found in the work that is now offered to the public may be taken to be a history of the State such as was required to be got ready by the ruler of the State about eighty years ago. In June 1833, Sir William Blackburne, who had been for sixteen years Resident of the State, wrote from England to Rája Raghunátha Tondaimán Bahadúr as follows :—

"I wish much to have from you a History of your family, from the period the most remote that authentic documents can reach, detailing at length domestic and foreign occurrences, your services to the Naig princes of Madura and Trichinopoly in their wars, your acquisitions of Territory by their donations or by conquest, and detailing also with all the precision which may be possible, the services performed to the British Government in the Wars in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly and elsewhere, adhering always with rigid strictness to Truth."

It is hoped that the History in this book will be found to have been prepared on the lines laid down in the foregoing extract.

I. The first chapter of the history deals with the pre-Tondaimàn period. Information will be found in this chapter on

(1) the antiquities of the State—such as megalithic and earthenware tombs, caverns used as hermitages, rock-cut temples, use of Roman coins in ancient times, inscriptions and copperplates,

(2) the settlements of the several castes and tribes such as the Kurumbars, the Vellálars, "the eighteen castes", the Maravars, the Kallars, the Chettis, the Jains and the Brahmins,

(3) the ancient divisions of the tract comprising the State and administration of these divisions in the days of Chóla supremacy,

(4) four lines of chieftains of whom no account will be found in any other book, the information given in this book having been collected mostly from inscriptions,

(i) The Irukkuvéls of Kodumbálûr, (in the 9th and 10th centuries of the Christian era). See Appendix A.

(ii) The Pallavaráyars of Vaittúr, Perungulúr and Kalasamangalam (1312 A. D. to 1686 A. D.). See pp. 97–103 as also Appendix B.

(iii) The Têvans of Sûraikkudi, (1378 A. D. to 1608 A. D.). See pp. 82–84.

(iv) The Tondaimáns of Arantângi, (1426 A. D. to 1529 A. D.). See pp. 84–86.

(5) the Pâlayakárs and their ways, the Kallar classes, their land, their ways and their chieftains, and the relations of the country powers to the Central authority at Madura and Trichinopoly.

The materials for writing this chapter were mainly obtained from

(*a*) old Tamil classics (published and unpublished);

(*b*) old palm-leaf manuscript books and cadjan records;

(*c*) many copperplates, about one thousand inscriptions and a number of cadjan books and records, which were specially collected for this book by Mr. V. S. Vaidyanatha Aiyar, State Archæologist, to whom my thanks are due.

II. In the second chapter of the history an account is given

(1) of the settlement of the Tondaimáns within the limits of the modern Pudukkóttai State;

(2) of their gradual rise to power by their successes in various parts of Southern India and extension of dominion until they became rulers of Pudukkôttai in 1686 A. D., proved themselves indispensable to the Nâyak Kings at Trichinopoly and became practically independent in 1728 A. D.;

(3) of the spiritual Guru or Preceptor of the second ruler of the State, to whose blessings are ascribed all the prosperity of the Tondaimâns;

(4) of the Nawab's invasion of Madura in 1732;

(5) of the Civil War in the Náyak kingdom;

(6) of the invasions of the State by Chanda Sahib and Ananda Row of Tanjore in 1734;

(7) of the sufferings caused in the Tondaimán's land by these;

(8) of the invasions of the parts about Pudukkóttai by the Nizam and the Marattas in 1741;

(9) of the help given to these by the Tondaimáns, *etc.*

Among the books and papers that were consulted in drawing up this chapter may be mentioned

(*a*) the *Tondaimán Vamsávali*, a fairly reliable account in Telugu of the Tondaimàns till 1750 A. D., and several manuscript books in Tamil,

(*b*) the old Manuals and the new Gazetteers of the surrounding districts,

(*c*) the late Mr. A Venkat Row's unpublished *Manual of the State*,

(d) and the most valuable Letters of the Madura Mission, of which the pertinent portions were very kindly and at great trouble translated for me into English from various European languages by Rev. J. Castets, S. J., Parish Priest of Pudukkóttai, to whom my heartiest thanks are due. These letters explain several points which seemed obscure to the authors of the District Manuals and Gazetteers.

III. The third chapter deals with the relations of the rulers of Pudukkóttai with the Nawab of the Carnatic and the English. It shows

(1) how the Nawab and the English were in extraordinary difficulties at Trichinopoly in 1752 and in the Second Mysore War, and how the Tondaimân gave them the most effective help,

(2) how in "the Poligar Wars", he gave the English the needful help and behaved so well as to merit the commendation that "indeed, in whatever point of view it was considered, the service which the Tondaimàn had performed was of the highest value",

(3) how the Nawab was almost incessantly engaged in wars and how he never failed to apply to the Tondaimáns for help,

(4) how the Tondaimáns sent armies after armies to help the Nawab and the English,

(5) how the Tondaimán was rewarded with exemption from the payment of tribute and was treated with special favour by the Nawab and the English,

(6) how the Nawab exercised his rights as "feudal lord",

(7) how the rulers of Ramnad, Udaiyârpâlayam, and some other States lost their sovereign rights,

(8) how the Nawab got jealous of the ever growing power of the English and wanted to check it,

(9) how ultimately on account of the extraordinary debt in which he had managed to plunge himself, the Nawab had to transfer the Carnatic to the English, and so on.

It is hoped that, in addition to a detailed account of the doings of the Tondaimáns from 1751 to 1807 A. D., a more interesting general outline of the history of the Carnatic in the latter half of the eighteenth century will be found in this book than in any other single volume.

The materials for writing this chapter were got mainly from

(a) the books and pamphlets that were published in the 18th century (and in the 19th), relating to the Wars in Southern India and the armies that were employed in them,

(b) Pudukkóttai Palace and Inam office records,

(c) and the records of the highest value that were applied for by me and were very kindly supplied to the Pudukkóttai Darbar by the Madras Government from the volumes of manuscripts of Military Country Correspondence and of Military Consultations in the Madras Central Records office. Wherever a summary is given of a letter bearing a certain date, the reader may be sure that a copy of the letter is with me.

IV. The last chapter of the history deals with the internal organisation of the State from 1807 to 1913 A. D. and is based on the Palace records, the Darbar office records, the annual Administration Reports of the State and Special Reports written occasionally by the Residents and Political Agents of Pudukkòttai. I may mention that the account (pp. 445–484) of the present ruler of the

State, HIS HIGHNESS SRI BRIHADAMBA DAS RAJA SIR MARTANDA BHAIRAVA TONDAIMAN BAHADUR, G. C. I. E., was written by Mr. B. V. Kameswara Aiyar, to whom the Darbar assigned the work.

V. I am extremely thankful to the Darbar for their kindness in entrusting the work to me, which I have tried to complete as well as I can. I have to thank Mr. G. T. H. Bracken, I.C.S., and M. R. Ry. Vijaya Raghunâtha Durai Raja Avargal, Dewan of the State, for their great kindness in reading the proofs and suggesting improvements. I have also to thank various other gentlemen for helping me with suggestions for improving the work.

A photo containing the likenesses of the Nawab Muhammad Ali and Major Lawrence was kindly furnished to the Dewan by the Prince of Arcot, to whom our thanks are due. A photo of Sir William Blackburne was kindly obtained for me by my friend, Mr. G. Ráma Ayyangár, Sub-Assistant Inspector of Schools, Madras Range, from the Palace at Tiruvidaimarudúr through Mr. P. C. Tiruvenkatácháriár, Sub-Judge of Tanjore. To both these gentlemen also my best thanks are due.

A special note must be made of the very great help that I have received in preparing the manuscripts of the book from Mr. A. Ramachandra Aiyar, Teacher of the Maharajah's College, Pudukkottai, and for a long time my clerk.

I have finally to thank Mr. S. Narayanaswami Aiyar, Superintendent of Printing and Stationery, for his uniform courtesy to me while the volume was in the Press and for the neatness of execution which it exhibits.

Sulamangalam,
January 8, 1916.

S. RADHAKRISHNAN.

INTRODUCTION.

THE fine bridge over the rivulet Manzanares at the entrance to Madrid, the capital of Spain, has been the subject of some sarcasm. Of the travellers that have spoken in raillery of the bridge, one is said to have remarked that he had seen many rivers without bridges, but that at Madrid he saw a bridge without a river. Another is stated to have expressed himself more tersely in the words "More water or less bridge." Similar remarks might be made of this volume of over 500 pages. Some might say "Show us the Pudukkòttai State, for which we have here a history of this size". And some others might curtly remark "More area or less bulk."

Using the expressive, if not elegant, language of the critical commentators on Tamil classics, I may say that those that offer such remarks are "அறிவார்" or ignorant men. The history will speak for itself and amply justify the length of the narrative. Two or three facts may however be mentioned here to show that the State is not in reality as small as it may seem.

I. It will be extremely difficult, if not impossible, to show another State or a portion of the British territory of the size of Pudukkóttai (about 1200 sq. miles) or of several times its size, that contains

(1) a historic river like the Vellâr, which formed the traditional boundary first between the Chólas and the Pándyas and afterwards between the Kónâdu and the Kánâdu Vellâlars, who for a long time lived in the modern Pudukkóttai territory in peace, plenty and prosperity and afterwards by their intestine quarrels weakened themselves and led to the settlement in their land of the Maravars and the Kallars;

(2) two caves or caverns which were used in very ancient times as hermitages by Buddhist and Jain ascetics;

(3) hundreds of dolmens or "sepulchral urns", pointing to the tract as a field of early civilisation;

(4) fifteen rock-cut temples which were excavated between 600 A. D. and 800 A. D. and many of which contain inscriptions of the time of the Pallava rulers;

(5) a large number of ruined Jain temples and monasteries;

(6) exquisite architectural work as at Madattukkóvil and Tirukkulambúr, which is in no way inferior, with reference to the conception and execution of designs, to any other in Southern India;

(7) and about 1,000 inscriptions, including a Bràhmí inscription of the second century B. C., several inscriptions of the time of the Pallava kings, and hundreds of inscriptions relating to the Chôlas, the Pándyas and the Vijayanagar kings.

I may mention that the Hon'ble M. R. Ry. Dewan Bahadur L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai Avargal, who has made a special study of the Pándya inscriptions, has stated that "to give an idea of the value of Pudukkóttai inscriptions, it will be sufficient to state that while in the Madras Presidency about 120 dated inscriptions have been discovered up to date for the Pándyas of the 13th century, in Pudukkôttai alone there are 80 additional inscriptions of the same class and period."

II. At the commencement of the eighteenth century, there were a large number of more or less independent States in the Tamil land, such as Tanjore, Ramnad, Udaiyárpálayam and Aravakkuricchi, each of which was more powerful at the time than the State of Pudukkôttai. In about one hundred years from that time, all these "country powers" had gone, leaving Pudukkôttai as the only Tamil State.

I believe that this remarkable fact deserves detailed consideration and explanation.

III. Pudukkôttai enjoys the rare honour of not having a pie of tribute to pay. And this honour the State has enjoyed for the last 160 years. Further in the voluminous correspondence in the latter half of the 18th century between the Nawab of the Carnatic and the Madras Presidency or Government, we find all the country powers taken to task by the Nawab except the rulers of Pudukkôttai, whom he always called his "true and steadfast allies" and who, we find, "were honoured by being given seats near the relatives of the Nawab." And we know that a Tondaimân ruler received from the English in 1803 a free gift of a tract of land that yielded at the time an annual revenue of Rs. 75,000. Why was such special favour shown to the Tondaimàns by the Nawab and the English? The reason is not far to seek. From the very moment of the connection of Vijaya Raghunâtha Ráya Tondaimàn with the Nawab and the English in 1751, we find the Tondaimàns unshaken in their loyalty to these. There were in all about twenty wars in Southern India between 1751 A. D. and 1801 A. D., and there was hardly a single war in which the Tondaimâns, in spite of their small sized State, did not send effective help to the Nawab and the English and win their (repeated) thanks.

It was the Tondaimàns that were pre-eminently faithful

(i) when, to use the words of Col. Malleson, the well-known writer of several valuable works on Indian history, "Trichinopoly seemed to be at its last gasp in 1752";

(ii) again when, in the Second Mysore War, to use the language of Swartz, the worthy Protestant missionary at Tanjore, "it seemed all the country people wished for a change", "Udaiyàrpálayam, Ramnad, Sivaganga, Tinnevelly and Madura were all up in arms against the English", and Tanjore "was suspected";

(iii) and finally, when in "the Poligar Wars", Madura and Tinnevelly were all ablaze in rebellion, and the Company, in the language of a Governor of Madras, "needed the Tondaimán's attachment and fidelity for staying the effusion of blood and restoring peace and order in the place of anarchy and confusion".

In the language of another Governor of Madras, "innumerable instances can be given of the solicitude and anxiety of the Tondaimáns to further the interests and prosperity of the English", and their services cannot be better summarised than in the words of Captain Fyfe, Resident of Pudukkóttai, who in 1828 wrote to the Madras Government as follows :—

"It is impossible for any servant of the Company not to feel the greatest regard and respect for the Tondaimán family. In prosperity or adversity, from the earliest period of our connection with them, they have never failed us; neither considerations of danger nor allurements of advantage have ever induced them to swerve from their allegiance; and their services sometimes in very critical circumstances, when we were struggling for Empire, have been eloquently recorded in the pages of history".

Such extraordinary services certainly deserve to be narrated at some length.

IV. Again, as Sir William Blackburne, who knew the relations of the English and the Tondaimáns so well, wrote about 1830 to the Chairman of the Court of Directors of the East India Company, "the actual condition of the Tondaimán family presents to the world a prominent and living example of the wisdom and disinterestedness of the Company's Government and of its ample performance of every promise made under prosperous or adverse circumstances. The truly generous and notable conduct of the Company to this family in acknowledgment of its fidelity and devoted attachment for four successive generations and of its valuable and always ready services in times of doubt and danger has established the reputation of the Company's Government in the Southern Provinces of India on the most solid foundation". "It has also", Sir William added, "very recently been the theme of applause in my presence in Paris by Oriental Literati, who are in no wise disposed, when not irresistably impelled by facts, to praise the British Sovereignty in India."

The book will thus be found to be a practical handbook on "Loyalty to the British and its rewards".

Further, in narrating the story of the foundation of the State, a good deal has had to be said about the settlements in these parts of the Kallars and other tribes, the ways of the Pálayakárs, the general insecurity of life and property in their days, and their relations to the Nàyak Kings of Madura. The book will thus be found to be in a way an introduction to the history of a portion of Southern India.

It is believed also that this book contains a better picture of the conditions of life and the manners and customs of the eighteenth century than any other single volume.

LIST OF BOOKS AND RECORDS QUOTED FROM OR REFERRED TO.

Madras Central Records Office Records :— { 1. Minutes of Military Consultations. 2. Military Country Correspondence.

The Fifth Report of the Select Committee appointed to report on the Affairs of the East India Company, 1813 (see p. 79, p. 87).

Madras Epigraphical Reports.

Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India (p. 19).

Records of the Geological Survey of India (p. 5).

Letters of the Madura Mission to Rome.

Madras Census Report for 1891 (p. 286).

Letters to the Tondaimáns written by the Governors of Madras and Civil and Military officers. Translated by Capt. Nethersole, Hindustani Translator to the Madras Government.

Letters to the Tondaimáns from the Governors of Madras, Civil and Military officers in the British Territory and the Nawab of the Carnatic (Pudukkôttai Edition).

Pudukkôttai Palace Records.

Do. Darbâr office Records.

Do. Sirkâr office Records.

Do. Inâm office Records.

Annual Administration Reports of the Pudukkóttai State.

Inscriptions of the Pudukkôttai State.

Old palmleaf records, specially collected for this book.

Copper plates.

Special Reports written by Pudukkóttai officers.

Special Reports written by the Residents and Political Agents of Pudukkóttai.

Mr. Lushington's Report on the Tinnevelly Country, 1802 (p. 228).

Mr. Wallace's Report on the Pálayams of Udaiyàrpàlayam, Ariyalúr and Turaiyúr, 1802 (p. 255, p. 296).

A petition of historic interest from Ilandàri Ambalakàran (p. 128, p. 159).

Another petition from Kannanúr Valamkondán Sérvaikár (Appendix C.)

The Madras Journal of Literature and Science (p. 26, p. 108] p. 394, &c.)

The Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society (p. 46).

The Madras Christian College Magazine (p. 44, p. 154).
The Journal of the South Indian Association (Appendix A.)
The Indian Review (p. 97).
The Tamil Antiquary (p. 336).
செந்தமிழ் (p. 79, p. 82, &c.)
தோல்காப்பியம் பொருளதிகாரம் உரையுடன் (p. 77, p. 154, &c.)
பட்டினப்பாலை, உரையுடன் (Appendix A).
புறநானூறு (p. 41, p. 47, &c.)
அகநானூறு (p. 41, p. 65).
கலித்தொகை (p. 62).
சிலப்பதிகாரம் (p. 41, Appendix A.)
மணிமேகலை (p. 47).
புறப்பொருள் வெண்பாமாலை (p. 154).
பெரிய திருமொழி (Appendix A.)
பெரியாழ்வார் திருமொழி (p. 98, Appendix B.)
சம்பந்தஸ்வாமிகள் தேவாரம் (p. 314).
கலிங்கத்துப்பரணி (p. 76).
திருவிளையாடற் புராணம், தில்லைநம்பி (p. 42).
ஷை ஷை பரஞ்சோதிமுனிவர் (p. 82, Appendix B.)
திருத்தொண்டர் திருவந்தாதி, நம்பியாண்டார் நம்பி (Appendix A.)
திருப்பெருந்துறைப்புராணம் (p. 2).
தொண்டமண்டல சதகம் (p. 61).
செவந்தெழுந்த பல்லவனுலா (p. 103, Appendix B.)
ஷை பல்லவன் பிள்ளைத்தமிழ் (Appendix B.)
விராலிமலைக்குறவஞ்சி (p. 161, p. 179).
இராயத்தொண்டைமான் அநுராகமாலை (p. 115, p. 120).
ஷை இரட்டைமணிமாலை (p. 119).
பொன்னமராவதி அழகியநாச்சியம்மன் புகழ் (p. 63).
நகரத்தார் குழுவல்நாடகம் (p. 72).
கான்சாய்பு சண்டை (p. 143).
அம்புநாட்டுவளந்தான் பாட்டு (p. 150).
வெங்கண்ணன்சேர்வை வளந்தான் பாட்டு (p. 171, p. 315).
திருக்குளம்பூர் வைரவன்சேர்வை கும்மி (p. 331).
வேளான்மரபியல் (p. 60).
சோழவம்ச சரித்திரம் (p. 76).
தேசநிர்ணயம் (1740-ஆவது வருஷத்து பூகோளம்) (p. 135, p. 145).
தேர்க்காட்டூர் காணுவிருத்தாந்தம் (p. 56, p. 61).
The Mahâbhârata (Sanskrit and Tamil) (p. 154).
Atmavidyàvilâsam (Sanskrit) (p. 176).

Tondaimàn Vamsàvali (Telugu) (p. 119, p. 147, &c.)
Tondaimàn Vijayamu (Telugu) (p. 191).
Andhra Bhàshàrnavamu (Telugu) (p. 119, p. 156, &c.)
Rev. W. Taylor's Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts (p. 44, p. 94, &c.)
Rev. W. Taylor's Oriental Historical Manuscripts (Pàndian Chronicle, a Tamil Geography) (p. 135, p. 190, &c.)
Wilson's Catalogue of Mackenzie's Manuscripts (p. 115).
Dr. Pope's Essay on Purapporul (p. 47, p. 154).
Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai's Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago (p. 41, p. 62).
Pharaoh's Gazetteer of Southern India, 1885 (p. 3, p. 5.)
Hamilton's Eastern India Gazetteer (p. 115 p. 279, &c.)
Balfour's Cyclopædia of India (p. 127, p. 334, &c.)
Gilchrist's General East India Guide and *Vade mecum* (p. 239).
Mr. Crooke's Things Indian (p. 33).
Mr. Thurston's Ethnographical Notes in Southern India (p. 242,p, 286).
Mr. Thurston's Castes and Tribes of Southern India (p. 56, p. 116, &c.)
Dodwell and Miles' Lives of Officers of the Indian Army (p. 341).
Sir E. Roper Lethbridge's Golden Book of India (p. 293).
Yule and Burnell's Hobson-Jobson (Mr. Crooke's Edition) (p. 394 p. 415).
Wilson's Glossary of British India (p. 289, p. 293, &c.)
A Statistical Account of Pudukkottai, (1813, unpublished) (p. 145, p. 155, &c.)
Dr. Oppert's Bháratavarsha (p. 116, p. 121, &c.)
Col. Sherer's Sketches of India, 1821 (p. 27).
Mr. Prinsep's Essays on Indian Antiquities (p. 115).
Captain Barbosa's Description of Malabar in the 16th century (p. 239, p. 336).
Viscount Valentia's Voyages and Travels to India and Ceylon, 1808 (p. 278, p. 314, &c.)
Pennant's View of Hindustan, 1798 (p. 129).
Sir James E. Tennent's Ceylon (p. 366).
Mr. Sewell's Sketches of the Dynasties of Southern India (p. 92, p. 101, &c.)
Sir M. E. Grant Duff's Notes from a Diary kept chiefly in Southern India, 1881—86 (p. 158, p. 443).
Sir Frederick Price's Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diaries (p. 183).
Wheeler's Madras in the Olden Time (p. 183).
Mr, Krishnaswami Ayyangar's Ancient India (p. 24, p. 76, &c.)

Mr. Kuppuswami Sastriar's Short History of the Tanjore Naik Kings (p. 92).

Col. Lawrence's Narrative of the War on the Coromandel Coast (1761) in Cambridge's *War in India* (p. 190, p. 191).

Orme's History of Indostan, about 1760 (p. 184).

Restoration of the King of Tanjore considered, 1777 (p. 236).

An Impartial view of the Origin and Progress of the present disputes relative to Mahomed Ally Khan and Tuljajee, the Raja of Tanjore, 1777 (p. 192).

An Analysis of the Political History of India, 1779 (p. 236).

An Inquiry into the Policy of Making Conquests for Mahomedans in India with the British Arms, 1779 (p. 244, p. 251).

Rous's Appendix of Papers relating to Tanjore, about 1780 (p. 246, p. 250).

Capt. Innes Munro's Narrative of the Military Operations on the Coromandel Coast, 1784 (p. 237, p. 241).

Colonel Fullarton's View of the English Interests in India, 1788 (p. 28, p. 251).

Lieutenant Colonel Wilks' Historical Sketches of the South of India (p. 120, p. 196, &c.)

Bishop Caldwell's History of Tinnevelly (p. 48, p. 261, &c.)

Ettayapuram, Past and Present (p. 303).

Rev. J. Kearns' Account of the Panjalamcourchy Polegars (p. 304).

Col. James Welsh's Military Reminiscences, 1830 (p. 282, p. 313, &c.)

Col. Malleson's History of the French in India (p. 188).

Col. Malleson's Historic Sketches of the Native States of India (p. 262).

Mr. Clunes' Historic Sketch of the Princes of India (p. 288).

Mr. Irvine's Army of the Indian Mughals (p. 240, p. 296, &c.)

Lt. Col. Wilson's History of the Madras Army (p. 204, p. 238, &c.)

Col. Vibart's Military History of the Madras Engineers (p. 252).

General Neill's Historical Records of the First Madras European Regiment (p. 194, p. 243).

Lt. Jackson's Historical Records of the Thirteenth Madras Infantry (p. 263).

Bertrand's *Mission du Madure* (p. 156).

Dr. Mosheim's Ecclesiastical History (p. 400).

Rev. J. S. Chandler's History of the Jesuit Mission in Madura (p. 399).

Do. Seventy-five Years in the American Madura Mission (Appendix D).

Abbe Dubois's Letters (p. 400).

Rev. James's History of Christianity (p. 399).
Sir J. W. Kaye's Christianity in India (p. 400).
Rev. G. M. Rae's Syrian Church in India (p. 401).
The Year Book of Missions for India, 1912 (p. 400).
Madras Catholic Directory for 1910 (p. 401).
Col. J. Biddulph's Life of Major General Stringer Lawrence (p. 247).
Memoir of Captain Dalton (p. 192).
Chanda Sahib and Beschi [St. Joseph's College Press] (p. 167, p. 170, &c.)
Col. Malleson's Dupleix (Rulers of India Series) (p. 193, p. 196).
Do. Clive Do. (p. 262).
Mr. Bowring's Hyder Ali and Tipu Sultan (p. 183, p. 262, p. 265, &c.)
Mr. Charles Stewart's Memoirs of Haider Ali (p. 264).
Capt. Robson's Life of Haider Ali (p. 265).
Mir Husain Ali Khan Kirmani's Life of Hyder Naik in Persian. Translated by Col. Miles, 1842 (p. 268).
Dr. Peterson's Memoirs of Christian Frederick Swartz (p. 261, p. 276, &c.)
Mr. Nagam Aiyar's Travancore Manual (p. 146).
Dr. Macleane's Manual of the Madras Presidency (p. 122).
Mr. Nelson's Madura Country (p. 128, p. 152, &c.)
Mr. Lewis Moore's Trichinopoly Manual (p. 123, p. 323, &c.)
Mr. Venkaswami Row's Tanjore Manual (p. 151, p. 265, &c.)
Mr. Rajaram Row's Ramnad Manual (p. 125, p. 152).
Mr. Venkat Row's unpublished Manual of Pudukkottai (p. 103, p. 117, &c.)
Mr. Annaswami Aiyar's Sivaganga Zamindari (p. 94).
Mr. Cox's North Arcot Manual (p. 45).
Mr. Stuart's Edition of the North Arcot Manual (p. 55).
Mr. Francis' Tanjore Gazetteer (p. 69).
Mr. Francis' Madura Gazetteer (p. 91, p. 101, &c.)
Mr. Hemingway's Trichinopoly Gazetteer (p. 124, p. 131, &c.)
The Imperial Gazetteer of India (p. 130, p. 323).
Orme's General Idea of the Government and People of India, 1753 (p. 175, p. 243).
Tipu's Mysore Revenue Regulations (p. 238).
Ain-i-Akbari (in English) (p. 293, p. 325).
Hindu Law according to Vignánesvar (p. 357).
Sir William MacNaghten's Principles and Precedents of Hindu Law, 1829 (p. 333).

Lt.-Gen. Chesney's Indian Polity (p. 281).
Sir Charles Aitchison's Treaties (p. 323).
Captain Tufnell's Hints to Coin Collectors in Southern India (p. 49).
Mr. Thurston's Roman, Indo-Portuguese and Ceylon Coins (p. 49).
Mr. Hill's Roman *Aurei* from Pudukkottai in Southern India (p. 50).
Dr. Fergusson's Rock-cut Temples in India (p. 53).

TABLE OF CONTENTS.

INTRODUCTORY CHAPTER.

Physical Description.

	Page.
Position and boundaries	1
Area—Division into Taluks	1
Etymology of the name Pudukkóttai	2
Surface	2
Rivers	2
Hills	4
Geology of the hills and rocks	5
(1) The gneissic or metamorphic rocks	7
(2) The Cuddalore series	11
(3) The lateritic group	14
(4) Alluvial formations	16
(5) Soils	16
(6) Magnetic Iron	17
Economic Geology	17
(1) Building stones	18
(2) Stones for road metalling	20
(3) Some rarer stones	20
(4) Cement materials	21
(5) Brickclay	21
(6) Potter's clay	21
(7) Bangle earth	22
(8) Dhobie's earth	22
(9) Earth-salt	22
(10) Saltpetre	23
(11) Ochre	23
(12) Iron	23
(13) Mica	25
Soils and their classification	25
Forests	26
Meteorology	29
(1) Climate	29
(2) Temperature	29
(3) Humidity	31

	Page.
(4) Rainfall	31
(5) Atmospheric pressure and winds	31
(6) Remarks on weather	33
Cyclones and Floods	34
Earthquakes	35
Flora	35
Plantations	38
Fauna	39
(1) Cattle, sheep and goats	39
(2) Game	40

CHAPTER II.

General History.

(From the earliest times to the time of the Tondaimans.

The earliest references to the State	41
The Véduvars, the original inhabitants	41
Panri Nádu	42
Dolmens (முதுமக்கட்தாழி)	44
Roman coins at Karukkàkkuricchi	49
Inscriptions and copper plates	51
Caverns fitted as habitations and rock-cut temples ...	53
The cavern at Sittannavásal	54-c.
Copper plates	54-d.
Settlements of the Tribes—	
(1) The Kurumbars	43
(2) The Kárála Vellálars in the Tamil land ...	54
Do. in the State	56
The Kàrála Vellàlars, good agriculturists ...	58
(3) The eighteen castes	59
The Kónàdu Vellàlars and the Kànàdu Vellálars ...	61
(4) The Maravars	62
(5) The Kallars	65
(6) The money-lending Chettis of the "seven towns" ...	69
(7) Nàttukkóttai Chettis	72
(8) The Jains	73
(9) The Brahmins	74
Foundation of Kalasamangalam (or Pudukkóttai) ...	69
Valnad, one of the towns of "the money lending Chettis" ...	70
Numbukuli, another town of theirs	71
Divisions of land in the times of the Pallavas and the Chólas ...	75

Page.
Administration in the time of the Chólas 76
The Araiyars 77
A Pádikàval document 79
The Araiyars fighting with one another 80
Some chiefs with whom the Tondaimàn line had no connection like the Vánàdiràyar line and the Gàngéyar line ... 82
(1) The line of Súraikkudi Tévans 82
(2) The line of Arantàngi Tondaimàns 84
(3) The Irukkuvéls of Kodumbàlúr ... Appendix A.
The rulers with whom the Pudukkóttai Tondaimàns were connected ... 86
Pálayams and Pàlayakàrs 87
The Central Authority. The Nàyaks of Madura and afterwards the Mussalmans 90
The Rájàs of Tanjore 92
The Sétupatis of Ramnad 92
Sivaganga Zamindàrs 93
Péràmbúr and Kattalúr chieftains 94
Váràppúr chiefs 95
Iluppúr chiefs 99
Kumàravàdi chiefs 55
Marungàpuri chiefs 96
Pálayavanam Zamindars 97
Nagaram Zamindars 97
Kanduvàn chiefs 97
Pallavaráyars of Vaittúr 97
and Appendix B.
General remarks on the Kallar classes and chieftains. The relations of the chiefs in these parts to the Central Authority ... 105
The Kallar land and the ways of the Kallars. Insecurity of person and property 108
Depopulation and its causes 110
(1) The weakness of Central Government 110
(2) The inroads of the Mussalmans 111
(3) Inability to pay the taxes and consequent flight ... 111
(4) Visits of famines 111

CHAPTER III.

The Rise and Growth of the Power of the Tondaimans.

The earliest reference to the name Tondaimàn 113
The origin of the Pudukkóttai Tondaimàns 114

Page.

Legendary origin of the Tondaimán line of rulers ... 115

Settlements of Ambunáttu Kallars 117

The Tondaimâns rise to power. An account of Ràya Tondaimàn. His services to a Vijayanagar King and the honours and rewards he secured 118

Raghunàtha Ràya Tondaimàn's services to a Nàyak King of Tanjore 122

The services of the Tondaimàns to the Nàyak Kings of Trichinopoly 123

The Tondaimàns at Ramnad 124

Foundation of the Tondaimàn State of Pudukkóttai ... 126

Was Pudukkóttai subject to Ramnad? 128

Origin of the Kulattúr Pàlayam 136

The Kulattúr Tondaimáns 137

Namana Tondaimàn's subjugation of the Visenginàttu Kallars ... 137

Annexation to Kulattúr of Péràmbúr and Kattalúr ... 138

Annexation of Viràlimalai and the tract about Ammankuricchi ... 139

Namana Tondaimàn as a ruler 140

Râmaswâmi Tondaimàn of Kulattúr 141

Rámaswàmi Tondaimàn's charities 141

The end of the Kulattúr line of Tondaimàns 143

Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman (1686—1730) 144—159

The relation of the Pudukkóttai Tondaimàns to the Kulattúr Tondaimàns 144

Foundation of Pudukkóttai 145

The Tondaimân's family 145

His successes in Travancore 146

He defeats the Mysore forces 147

He helps the Nàyaks in their war with Tanjore ... 147

The Tondaimân against Bàlàji Pant of Tanjore... ... 147

A terrible famine in the State 148

Invasion of the State by the rulers of Tanjore and Ramnad ... 150

The Battle of Péraiyúr 150

The Tondaimàn subdues several Pàlayakàrs 151

The Tondaimáns very powerful at Trichinopoly... ... 151

The Tondaimàn helps Tanjore against Ramnad... ... 151

Civil War in Ramnad—Acquisition of Tirumayyam ... 152

The Tanjore army defeats the Madura and Pudukkòttai forces ... 153

The Tondaimàn's conquests and annexations 153

The Tondaimàn's charities 156

Avúr, a Catholic central settlement north of the Marava country ... 156

	Page.
Destruction of the fine Church at Avúr	157
Persecution of the Christians in the Náyak Kingdom ...	157
Tondaimán's country a place of refuge	157
The Tondaimàn practically independent	157
The Tondaimàn's kind treatment of the Christians in his State ...	158
Character of the Tondaimán	158
Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán's death	158
Vijaya Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman (1730–1769)	**159–248**
A succession dispute	159
The Tondaimàn's ministers	161
Creation of two Jágírs	161
The Tondaimàn's family	162
State of affairs at the time in Southern India	162
Civil War in the Náyak Kingdom	163
The Nawab's invasion of the Tanjore and Madura Kingdoms ...	164
Sufferings in the Tondaimán's country	166
Invasion of the State by Chanda Sahib	168
The Tondaimán—known as "Sivagnànapuram Durai" ...	169
The Mughal army triumphant—End of the Náyak Dynasty ...	169
A summary of the miseries of those times	170
Ananda Row's invasion of Pudukkóttai	170
Invasion of Tanjore by the Mughals and the Madureans ...	173
The Mughals harass the Tondaimán's country	174
The Tanjore Zamindars attacked by the Tondaimàn ...	174
The Tondaimán's charities	175
The Tondaimán's spiritual Guru	175
The Tondaimán's charities after initiation	179
The Tondaimàn's administration of his charities ...	180
An attempt to persecute the Catholics	181
The Tondaimân leads the life of a recluse	181
Proposal to destroy the Catholic churches	181
Chanda Sahib's administration of the Nâyak Kingdom ...	182
Invasion of the Carnatic by the Marattas	182
The Tondaimàn helps the Marattas	183
The Nizam's invasion of the Madura Kingdom... ...	183
The Kallars harass the Nizam's forces	184
The Tondaimàn's interview with the Nizam	184
Another Maratta invasion. The Kallars attack the Marattas ...	186
Grant of Kilánilai to the Tondaimàn	186

Page.

CHAPTER IV.

The Tondaimans, the Nawab and the English.

The War of Succession in the Carnatic (1749—1754) ... 187
1. The contending parties 187
2. The French support Chanda Sahib 188
3. Muhammad Ali applies to the English for help ... 189
4. Muhammad Ali's alliance with the Regent of Mysore ... 190
5. Chanda Sahib slain 191
6. The Mysore Regent wants the Trichinopoly country ... 191
7. The siege of Trichinopoly by the Mysoreans and the French 192
8. The War, a series of engagements for the supply of provisions 192
The Tondaimán's services to the Nawab and the English ... 193
Outrages in the Tondaimán's country by the French and the Mysoreans 196
The Nawab and Major Lawrence in the Tondaimán's country ... 198
The Tondaimán troubled by the Maravars 198
The Mysoreans and the Marattas retire 199
Dupleix, the French Governor, recalled 199
The Tondaimán's services acknowledged by the Nawab ... 199
The Tondaimán authorised to attack and annex Pálayams ... 200
The Nawab's attempts to pacify Madura and Tinnevelly ... 202
The Tondaimán's services to the Nawab 202
Col. Heron forms an alliance with the Sétupati... ... 202
The alliance violently opposed by the Tanjore Rájà and the Tondaimân 203
Col. Heron's alliance with the Sétupati given up ... 203
Dispute between the Tanjore Rájá and the Tondaimán about the Kilánilai tract 204
The Tondaimân exempted from payment of tribute ... 206
The full significance of the exemption from tribute ... 207
The Tondaimàn applies to the company for a deed of permanent protection 209
The powers exercised by the Renters of Provinces ... 213
Troubles in Madura and Tinnevelly. The Tondaimán's help to the Nawab 214
Captain Caillaud is sent to Madura 215
War between the English and the French. Troubles at Trichinopoly. The Tondaimán's services to the English 215
Captain Caillaud unsuccessful at Madura. He is recalled to Madras 216
The Tondaimán's help to the Nawab against the Maravars ... 216

		Page.
Dispute with the Tanjore Rájá about Kîlánilai...	...	217
Lally attacks Tanjore. The Tondaimán helps the Tanjore Rájà	...	218
Siege of Madras. The Tondaimàn's forces in the Chenglepat country		219
Troubles in Madura and Tinnevelly ...	...	222
The Tondaimán's pilgrimage to Rámésvaram ; marriage of his son, etc.		222
Dispute with the Rájá of Tanjore ...	...	223
Mr. Bourchier's report (favourable to Pudukkóttai) on the relations between the Rájá of Tanjore and the Tondaimán	...	224
Troubles at Trichinopoly. The Tondaimán's services	...	225
Disputes with Ramnad and Sivaganga, etc. ...	...	226
Mahfuz Khan persuaded to leave the Madura country	...	227
Yusuf Khan's attempt to make himself independent	...	228
Yusuf Khan declared a rebel. The Tondaimàn's help to the English		229
Yusuf Khan subdued and punished with death...	...	230
The Nawab against the Udayàrpàlayam and Ariyalûr Pálayakars. The Tondaimán's services to the Nawab ...	...	230
The Nawab against Tanjore ...	...	231
A temporary amicable arrangement ...	...	232
The Tondaimán against Sivaganga ...	...	232
Haidar's invasion of Tanjore, 1769 ...	...	233
The Tanjore Rájá concludes peace with Haidar...	...	233
Troubles in the Pudukkóttai State caused by Haidar's men	...	233
The Nawab jealous of the power of the English. The Vakils of the "Country powers" withdrawn from Madras and required to attend the Nawab's Court ...	...	235
The formation of an Asiatic army ...	...	237
1. Military bazaars ...	...	237
2. Bullocks ...	...	237
3. Hircarrahs ...	...	238
How armies were raised and equipped by the Tondaimán	...	240
1. The weapons of war that were in use ...	...	241
2. The rudeness of the military art in India	...	243
Was the Tondaimàn tributary to the Nawab ? In the opinion of the Madras Presidency, the Tondaimán was constitutionally independent of the Nawab ...	...	244
Death of Vijaya Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimàn...	...	246
His character ...	...	246
Raya Raghunatha Tondaiman (1769—1789)		248—284
Invasion of Ramnad by the Tanjore Rájá ...	...	248

Page.
The Nawab's Policy 251
The Nawab's First War with Tanjore. The Tondaîmán's help to the Naweb 251
The Tondaimán helps the Nawab in conquering Ramnad and Sivaganga ... 252
The Nawab's Second War with Tanjore. The Tondaimán's services. The Tanjore Ràjà deposed 254
A portion of the Pattukkóttai Taluk assigned to the Tondaimàn ... 256
The Tondaimán sends a force to help the Nawab against the Dutch 256
Tuljáji reinstated as Rájá of Tanjore 257
Dispute between the Tanjore Rájá and the Tondaimán ... 258
Relations between the Nawab and the country chiefs. The Company assert their right to correspond with these 259
Haidar Ali's Second Invasion of the Carnatic 260
Among the faithless, the Tondaimàn alone faithful to the Nawab and the English 260
Haidar Ali in the Tanjore Country 263
Haidar Ali prevented from entering the Tondaimán's country ... 263
Haidar Ali's atrocities 264
"The Single Horseman" "ஒற்றைக் குதிரைக்காரன்" ... 266
Haidar's forces at Trichinopoly. The Tondaimàn's help ... 266
Haidar's general "frequently and shamefully defeated by the Kullurs of Tondiman" 267
The Tondaimán desired to capture Kilànilai 268
His men capture the enemy's forces escaping from Mannárgudi ... 270
The Tondaimán captures Kîlánilai, Pattukkóttai and Arantángi ... 270
Disputes between the Tanjore Rájá and the Tondaimán about Kilá-nilai and the two other forts 271
Disturbances again in the Tanjore country caused by the Mysoreans 271
Tipu's second attempt to seduce the Tondaimán ... 272
The Tondaimàn's army marching towards Seringapatam. They pass through Dindigal, Dáràpuram, Pálghát and Coimbatore ... 273
The Tondaimán's men praised by Col. Fullarton ... 274
Tipu's atrocities in the Tanjore Country 275
Disputes about Kilànilai and other tracts 276
The Tondaimán's charities 279
The Tondaimán afraid of an attack by Tipu 280
Disputes between the Tondaimán and Sivaganga ... 281
The Nawab's War with Sivaganga. The Tondaimán's services ... 281
Death of Ràjà Raghunátha Tondaimán. His character ... 284

Page.
Raja Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman Bahadur (1789-1807) 285—339
The Nazar paid by the Tondaimán for recognition of his succession ... 285
The Nawab's affairs and the rights claimed by him as a feudal lord... 288
The Tondaimán's family 289
War with Tipu 290
The Tondaimán sends a force against Tipu 290
Disputes with Tanjore and Sivaganga 291
Conferment of Military Rank and the title of "Rája Bahadúr" on the Tondaimán 292
The Nawab's Wars with Udaiyárpalayam and Ariyalûr. The Tondaimán's services to the Nawab 294
The Nawab's War with Turaiyúr. The Tondaimán's services ... 295
Ramnad becomes a Zamindâri 297
The last War with Mysore 297
The Tondaimán's men receive prize-money for their services in connection with the Mysore War 299
Transfer of the Carnatic and Tanjore to the English ... 301
The beneficial results to the Tondaimán of the transfer ... 301
The First "Poligar War" 302
Capture of Kattaboma Nayak and six others by the Tondaimán ... 304
The Tondaimán, "safely to be depended upon in all respects", receives hearty congratulations from the Governor and other English officers 305
The Second "Poligar War" 307
The Tondaimán's services to the English 309
Operations in the Sivaganga country 313
The end of the War 314
The Tondaimán praised by the Governor for his help in the War ... 315
Capture of Boma Nayak 315
The Close of the Era of War 316
Grant of the Kilánilai tract to the Tondaimán 317
The required annual tribute of one elephant for this tract never paid and formally excused 323
Grant of two Chobdar sticks 325
Settlement of boundary disputes with Marungápuri ... 325
Settlement of boundary disputes with Manappárai ... 327
The Tondaimán's charities. The Ruler styled "Bhója Rája" ... 327
(1) Chattrams 328
(2) Endowments to temples 328

Page.

(3) Agraháráms ... 329
(4) Grants of Sarvamányam lands ... 329
(5) Patronage of learned men ... 329
(6) Forest lands granted at easy rates of assessment for their being cleared and made fit for cultivation ... 330
Literary activity at the time ... 330
Kandy prisoners sent over to Pudukkóttai ... 332
An ordeal of red-hot metal in the Tirumayyam Taluk ... 333
The honours received by the Rája ... 334
Death of the Tondaimán ... 335
His Rani commits Sati. A description of the Sati ceremony ... 336
The Tondaiman's character ... 338

CHAPTER V.

Internal Organisation.

Peace, Progress and Reform.

Vijaya Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman (1807—1825) 340—375
The Tanjore Resident becomes the Political officer for Pudukkóttai... 340
A sketch of Sir William Blackburne's career ... 341
A proposal to abolish in 1829 the Residency of Tanjore and the Tondaiman's success in opposing the proposal ... 342
The Residency finally abolished in 1841 ... 344
Administration during the minority of the Rája ... 345
The training of the Princes ... 347
The relation between the Rajá and Major Blackburne ... 350
The reforms that were needed ... 351
Arrangements for Revenue collection ... 353
The distribution of the Fourth Mysore War Prize-money ... 354
A force collected in 1809, but not required to be sent ... 354
Excessive rain in 1809 ... 354
Taxation and Finance ... 355
Treasury Rules, etc. ... 355
Establishments of Courts of Justice (1811—1814) ... 356
Visit of the Lord Chief Justice of Madras ... 359
Fire in Pudukkóttai. Rebuilding of the Town in 1812 ... 359
A boundary dispute between Pudukkóttai and Sivaganga in 1812 ... 360
The marriages of the Ràjà and his brother ... 361
The Western Palace affairs ... 361
The Rajá Bahadúr congratulated by the Court of Directors ... 361

	Page.
A proposal for suppressing the manufacture of Earth-salt in the State.	362
A Survey of the State ...	363
Interference with the lands enjoyed by Amarakárars ...	363
Establishment of an Indigo factory at Karambakkudi ...	364
Some men from Kandy sent as State prisoners to Pudukkóttai (1816)	365
Clearing of forests ...	366
The Rájá invested with full powers (1817) ...	367
Pudukkóttai free from cholera which raged in the Tanjore District.	367
The Resident's advice to the Rájá against running into debt (1821)	367
The Rájá's powers and privileges clearly set forth by the Resident.	368
Bungalows built at Virálimalai and Adanakkóttai ...	369
Soiróba Naig appointed Sirkil ...	370
Resignation of Lieutenant-Colonel Blackburne as Resident and his departure for England (1823)	370
The Rájá's trip to the Tanjore country ...	371
Receipts and Disbursements for 1824—1825 ...	371
A drought in the State ...	373
The Rájá's death and character ...	373
Raja Raghunatha Tondaiman Bahadur (1825—1839)	375—412
Character of the Rájá ...	375
The Rájá's charities ...	375
A hurricane in the State ...	377
Interview with the Governor of Madras at Virálimalai ...	377
Condition of the State in 1827 ...	378
Marriages of the Rájá's daughters ...	382
Boundary disputes ...	382
The Rájá's interest in literary matters ...	382
Birth of an heir to the Rájá ...	383
A question of jurisdiction in Criminal trials ...	383
"The Rájá in possession of privileges not allowed to other Native States."	387
Conferment of the title of "His Excellency" on the Rájá ...	388
Another drought in the State ...	394
Abolition of "Sayer" or land-customs ...	394
Protestant Mission work in the State ...	397 and Appendix D.
1. Visit of a Lord Bishop of Madras ...	398
2. ,, of another Lord Bishop ...	399
Catholic dissensions at Avúr ...	399
Musical activity at Pudukkóttai ...	402

	Page.
A scheme for introducing the Kàveri water into the State ...	405
History of the Postal Department ...	405
The Ràjà's visit to the Tanjore country ...	406
General Remarks ...	407
1. Powers of the Sirkil and the Foujdàr ...	407
2. The Jágirs in the State ...	408
3. Details of the distribution of lands ...	409
4. Income and expenditure of the State ...	410
5. Public debts and Rájmahal debts ...	411
6. The Departments under the Foujdàr ...	411
Death of the Ràjà ...	412
Raja Ramachandra Tondaiman Bahadur (1839—1886)	**412—444**
His accession while a minor and administration during minority ...	412
Mr. Bayley's Report ...	413
Abolition of the Tanjore Residency ...	414
The Ràjà's marriages ...	415
The Ràjà's visit to Trichinopoly ...	415
Mr. Blackburne's Improvements ...	415
Some administrative changes ...	416
Disturbances raised by Venkannan Sérvaikàr and his adherents ...	417
Mr. Parker's Report on the disturbances ...	418
A check to Maratta preponderance ...	419
Assumption of the Government of India by Her Majesty the Queen-Empress ...	420
Withdrawal of the title of "His Excellency" from the Ràjà ...	421
Sanad announcing that adoptions made by the Rulers of Pudukkóttai will be recognised and confirmed by the Government of India ...	422
Some Revenue matters ...	422
Change in the Administration (1863) ...	423
Some Jàgir matters ...	423
Judicial affairs ...	424
Transfer of Political Agency from Madura to Tanjore (1865) ...	425
Mr. G. Lee Morris' Report ...	426
Introduction of Mr. Morris' scheme ...	427
Visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh to Madras ...	428
Transfer of the Political Agency from Tanjore to Trichinopoly (1874)	429
Mr. Pennington's Report ...	429
Reorganisation of the Police Department ...	432
Birth of Ràjà Mártánda Bhairava Tondaimán Bahadúr ...	432

Page.
The Tour of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in Southern India ... 433
The assumption of the title of "The Empress of India" by Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen ... 433
A Grand Darbar held at Pudukkóttai in honour of the assumption of the title of the Empress of India by Her Most Gracious Majesty, Queen Victoria ... 434
Adoption by the Ràjá of Pudukkóttai of his eldest daughter's third son as heir to the Ráj ... 434
A Darbar held in connection with the confirmation by the Viceroy and Governor-General of India of the adoption made by the Rájá 434
Appointment of A. Sashia Sastriar as the Sirkíl of the State ... 435
The abolition of the *amáni* or sharing system ... 437
The resumption of the Western Palace Jàgír ... 437
The restoration of salute and the grant of the title of "His Highness" to the Ràjá and his heirs ... 438
His Highness the Rájá's Tours ... 442
The first gubernatorial visit to the capital of the State. His Excellency Sir M. E. Grant Duff, Governor of Madras, at Pudukkóttai ... 443
Death of Rájà Ràmachandra Tondaimán ... 444

Raja Martanda Bhairava Tondaiman Bahadur ... 445

Education of His Highness the Ràjà ... 445
Installation ... 449
Regency ... 451
The Salt Convention ... 451
The Settlement of *Ináms* ... 454
Town improvements ... 456
Reorganisation of the Judicial Machinery ... 457
Survey and Settlement ... 458
Certain permanent remissions ... 458
Change of ministry (1894) ... 459
Constitution of a State Council (1898) ... 460
His Highness' visit to Europe ... 460
A change in the Council (1899) ... 461
The finances placed on a satisfactory footing ... 461
Representative Assembly ... 462
Irrigation Improvements, etc. ... 463
Revenue Settlement ... 464
Legislation, etc. ... 465

	Page.
Elementary Education ...	465
Political affairs. Resumption of the Chinnaranmanai Jàgir ...	466
Modification of the Administrative Council (1909) ...	467
Revenue Settlement. Manóvarti lands treated for administrative purposes as *Ayán* lands ...	467
Special *Jamábandi* for collection of old arrears ...	468
Village Mirásdars utilised for increasing the efficiency of village administration ...	469
Irrigation and other Improvements ...	469
Formation of a Museum. Opening of an Agricultural Farm ...	469
Formation of the Second Appeal Court ...	470
Celebration at Pudukkóttai of the visit to India of their Imperial Majesties King George V and Queen Mary ...	470
Conferment of the title of *Grand Commander of the Indian Empire* on His Highness the Ràjà ...	471
The Silver Jubilee of His Highness the Ràjà's reign ...	471
"The Silver Jubilee Boons" ...	477
The economic condition of the State ...	478
Concluding remarks ...	482

APPENDICES.

Appendix	A.	The Irukkuvéls of Kodumbálúr ...	i
,,	B.	More about the Pallavaráya line of rulers ...	v
,,	C.	Notes from a petition of historic interest ...	ix
,,	D.	A note on Protestant Mission work ...	x
,,	E.	(1) List of Residents of Tanjore and Pudukkóttai ...	x
,,		(2) List of Political Agents of Pudukkôttai ...	xi
,,	F.	List of the Administrators of the State from 1807 A. D.	xiii
,,	G.	List of Inscriptions in the State ...	xv
,,	H.	Facsimiles of ten old inscriptions, &c. ...	xx
,,	I.	Extracts from the Author's Gazetteer of Pudukkóttai	xxxi
,,	J.	Some Additional Notes ...	xxxix

LIST OF MAPS.

1. A general map of the State. Front.
2. A map showing the divisions of the State about 1200 A. D. between pages 74 & 75
3. A map showing the divisions of the State about 1650 A. D. ,, ,, 86 & 87

LIST OF LIKENESSES, ETC.

1. His Highness Srî Brihadambá Das Rájá Sir Mártánda Bhairava Tondaimàn Bahadúr, G. C. I. E. *Frontispiece.*
2. View of Pallavan Tank ... facing page 103
3. Temple at Tirugókarnam ... ,, ,, 160
4. His Holiness Paramahamsa Sadasiva Brahmam ... ,, ,, 175
5. Major Lawrence and Nawab Mohammed Ali ... ,, ,, 198
6. Raya Raghunàtha Tondaimàn ... ,, ,, 248
7. Rájá Vijaya Raghunàtha Tondaimàn .. ,, ,, 2[illegible]
8. A view of the temple at Tirukkalambúr ... ,, ,, 305
9. Ràjà Vijaya Raghunàtha Ràya Tondaimán ... ,, ,, 340
10. Sir William Blackburne ... ,, ,, 342
11. His Excellency Ràjà Raghunàtha Tondaimàn Bahadúr ,, ,, 375
12. His Highness Srî Brihadambá Dàs Ràjá Rámachandra Tondaimàn Bahadúr ,, ,, 412
13. Do. Do. in Darbar ... ,, ,, 415
14. Views of the College and Hospital buildings ... ,, ,, 457
15. Do. Public office and Pudukkulam ... ,, ,, 458
16. A group photo taken on the occasion of the visit to Pudukkóttai by His Excellency Sir A. Havelock, Governor of Madras, in 1899 ,, ,, 461

ADDITIONS AND CORRECTIONS.

Page.

61. Line 19. For 'Kárála' read 'Kónadu'.

64. In the 5th line from the last for 'Kumban' read 'Kamban'.

73. Line 27. For *Jain* read 'first Buddhist and afterwards Jain'.

,, Line 28. For 'mound' read 'plot of ground'.

82. Line 21. After 'Pillamangalam' add 'Bring in here Appendix A'.

103. Omit the last ten lines }
104. Omit the whole page } and substitute Appendix B.
105. Omit the first thirteen lines }

115. 5th line. For 'Pallava Kings' read "Chola Kings of whose dominion Tondaimandalam was a portion".

135. 31st line. For 'Kaledoscope' 'read Kaleidoscope'.

137. Add 'Appendix C' after 'not known' in the footnote.

140. Line 29. Omit 'a Siva temple and'.

155. Line 17. After 'Karisalppa*tt*ú' add 'see Appendix C'.

174. Line 5 (from the last). After 'Sittannavásal' read 'or Séndamangalam'.

175. Line 10. For { Lingappa Sérvaikár son of Ramaswami Sérvaikár } read { Ramaswami Sèrvaikár son of Lingappa Sérvaikár.

179. Last line. For 'must have been' read 'was'.

227. Line 6 from the last. After 'examined' add 'It cannot be traced in the Madras Central Record Office'.

239. Line 34. For 'recovered' read 'covered'.

243. Line 3. For 'vallayam ?' read 'vallayam or lance. See Dr. Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly*, p. 104'.

314. Footnote. Last line. For 'Ventia' read 'Valentia'.

331. Line 21. For 'தரை' read 'துறை'.

332. Line 25. Before 'Kandy' add 'The property of'.

333. Line 9. For 'Tirumá' read 'Turuma'.

NOTE 1. Some very minor errors, which can be easily detected by anybody, such as 'af' for 'of', 'amoung' for 'among', etc., have not been included in this list.

NOTE 2. Diacritical marks ', ` and ^ have all been used to denote long vowels—long *a*, long *e*, long *i*, long *o*, and long *u*.

MANUAL
OF THE
PUDUKKÓTTAI STATE.

CHAPTER I.

PHYSICAL DESCRIPTION.

Position and boundaries:—PUDUKKÓTTAI is a Native State lying between 10° 7′ and 11° 4′ N. latitude and 78° 25′ and 79° 12′ E. longitude. It is bounded on the North by the Trichinopoly and Tanjore Districts, on the West by the Trichinopoly District, on the South by the Ramnad District and on the East by the Tanjore District. By way of natural boundaries Piránmalai in the South-west of the State and the Sevalúr hills on the South for a few miles may be mentioned. The State has expanded by conquests at different times and its boundaries are such as have been determined by the history of the State. This accounts also for several bits on different sides of the State being enclosed by the British territory, such as the tract containing Émbal and Irumbánádu vattams in the South-east, Káttáthi and Kaliyiránviduthi bits in the East, Kómangalam bit in the North-west and Pálaikkuricchi in the West. The State has no sea-board, the nearest point in the State to the Bay of Bengal being about 12 miles therefrom.

The State comprises an area of 1178 square miles. Its greatest length from East to West is 52 miles and its greatest breadth from North to South is 41 miles. It is the *third* in importance of the five Native States that have direct political relations with the Government of Madras.

Taluks:—The State is divided into three Taluks, the Álangudi Taluk, the Kulattúr Taluk and the Tirumayyam Taluk, the headquarters of these Taluks being Álangudi, Kíranúr near Kulattúr and Tirumayyam respectively.

Etymology of the name :—*Pudukkóttai* means *New Fort*, and the name was given to the chief town, the residence of the ruler of the State, (and afterwards to the State) by Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán who about 1720 built a wall, 2¼ miles in circuit round the town, and established *vádis* or sentinels' stations to the south, west and north of the Fort. The name first occurs in an official paper in the year 1754. But till the commencement of the last century, the State was generally known as "the Tondaimán's country."

Surface :—The surface may be described as flat, except for a few rocks and hills which are described later on.

Rivers :—Most of the so-called rivers of the State are only jungle streams that remain dry for the greatest portion of the year.

1. *The Vellár*.—This is the longest stream in the State. It rises in the Vela (வேழ) Malai in the Marungápuri tract to the west of the State and after passing through Kudumiámalai, Péraiyúr, Kadayakkudi and Valnád falls into the Bay of Bengal to the north of Manamélkudi in the Tanjore District, after a course of about 85 miles. The river separates Tirumayyam Taluk on the South from the Kulattúr and Álangudi Taluks on the North. The river is very torrential in its character, rising suddenly in high freshes of short duration which cut away the banks or excavate side channels. Particular spots of this river, called in Sanskrit *Svétanadi* (or white river) are considered sacred,—like the portion of the river near Thiruvidaiyáppatti, seven miles to the South-east of the town and *Pushya Thurai*, the portion almost directly to the south—and to these spots pilgrims resort for baths on days considered holy. The Vellár figured prominently in the early history of these parts, as it was taken to be the boundary between the Chóla and the Pándya kings, between the two tracts occupied respectively by the Kónádu and the Kánádu Vellalars and afterwards between the Tanjore Rajas and the Sétupatis of Ramnad. The Náttukkóttai Chettis, who, on being oppressed by a Chóla king, are said to have gone to the south of the Vellár and settled down there, had laid down for themselves a rule, which they followed until very recently, not to build houses or send their women to the north of the river. It is

said of the Valnád Chettis, who live to the north of the river, that they do not permit their women to go to the south of the river.

The Kundáru (in Sanskrit *Chandranadi*) which flows two miles to the south of the town is a runnel which takes its rise in the Kavinád tank and after a course of about five miles falls into the Vellár to the north-east of Kadayakkudi.

The Pámbáru (called in Sanskrit *Sarpanadi*) is the outflow of Perundurai tank in the Mélúr tract of the Tirumayyam Taluk. It empties itself in the Marungúr tank and, issuing from it and flowing in a south-easterly direction, joins the Vellár near Arantángi. It separates from it and flows again as an independent river and, dividing itself into five branches near Sundarapándiyapuram in the Tanjore District, falls into the Bay of Bengal.

The Agnànavimôchani river is the outlet of the Kulattúr irrigation tank. After passing through Perungulúr, Malaiyúr and Karambakkudi, it falls into the Bay of Bengal south-west of Adrámpatnam in the Tanjore District. "It has a course of only about fifty miles and is rather torrent-like in wet seasons".

The Uyyakkondán is the overflow of the rainwater that falls to the west of Vallam in Tanjore. After flowing through Kilánkádu and Sengalmédu in the Álangudi Taluk, it falls into the Agnánavimóchani to the south of Sándákottai in the Tanjore District*.

---

* In Pharaoh's Gazetteer of Southern India (1855), the rivers which run through the State are mentioned as the Vellar, the Pambar, the Koraiyar, the Suraiyar, the Ambuliyar, Agnanavimochaniar and the Maharajasamoodram. Of the last river, the following is written. "The Maharajasamoodrum channel is a narrow and rapid stream taking its rise from the highlands at Vellum in the Tanjore province. It was originally a branch of the Veeacondan (Uyyakkondán) river flowing into the Puttocottah Talook of the Tanjore country, and was formerly navigable for small trading vessels about fifteen miles in the interior of the country from its communication with the sea; it has been for ages long past in a total state of decay west of Vellum; the ancient tank and its low bed have been traced for several miles, but to the eastward it is not discernable till it enters the (Pudukkottai) province on the north-east and runs four miles, whence it proceeds to the Tanjore province again and widens considerably in its way to the eastward for several miles and then disembogues into the sea below Rajangopallypatnam, a small fishing village on the coast, situated four or five miles south of Adrampatnam". What river is thus referred to—as originally a branch of the Uyyakkondán and afterwards as an independent river—is not clear.

The Ambuliyáru has its source in Mánjanviduthi tank in the forest to the east of Tiruvarankulam, and, after passing through Álangudi, Vadakádu and other villages, falls into the Bay of Bengal to the north of Sulóchaná Bái Chattram in the Tanjore District.

The Kòraiyàru is the outflow of an irrigation tank in the Virálimalai tract. It passes to the west of Rájagiri and to the east of Kattalúr in the Kulattúr Taluk and falls into the Uyyakkondán river of Trichinopoly, three miles to the south of Trichinopoly.

The Súraiáru is another similar rivulet of the Kulattúr Taluk which falls in the Samudramkulam of the Trichinopoly District.

The Manimuktá river or the Tiruppattúr river "gathers the drainage of the eastern end of the Sirumalai and of the hills lying north of Nattam in Madura". In the Statistical Account of the State (1813), from which most of the information relating to the rivers is taken, the river carries the surplus water of a tank in Váráppur Zemindari, passes through Várput and Thirukkalambúr under the name of *Yenádiáru* and falls into the Neikkuppaikkanmái in the Tiruppattúr tract.

Information on the anicuts of these rivers and the tanks that are fed by them will be found in the section dealing with *Irrigation Projects.*

Hills:—Numerous hills and several lofty rocks are to be found in the State, of which the most important are the following :—

1. The *Pirànmalai* hills, the highest in the State, on the south-western border of the State and reaching a height of 1,800 feet above the sea-level.

2. The *Nârttâmalai* hills, a small range lying west of the road from Trichinopoly to Pudukkóttai.

3. The *Aluruttimalai* at Ammáchattram, which is a rock contiguous to the Nárttámalai.

4. The *Sevalúr* hills, in Tirumayyam Taluk, which are low, craggy ridges covered with jungles, of which the Kánjáttimalai is an offshoot.

5. The *Annavàsal* hill lying near Annavásal and Sittannavásal.

6. The *Pùram* hills which are low and craggy and lie in the Arimalam Vattam of the Tirumayyam Taluk.

7. The *Kunnattumalai* which is a flat rock in the Vattam of the same name in the Kulattúr Taluk.

8. The *Sampatti* hills,* in the north-west of the State, in Kílaiyúr vattam in the Kulattúr Taluk.

9. The rocks at Virálimalai, Nedungudi, Kudumiámalai, Tirugókarnam, Vaiyápuri, Kumaramalai, Kunnandárkovil, and Malayadippatti, on the tops or slopes of which are well-known temples.

Many of these rocks will be found described in the Gazetteer at the end of the book.

Geology of the hills and rocks:—A good idea of the hills and rocks can be formed by studying the geological structure of the area, "all the rocks met with being referable to but six divisions,† which are given below in their descending order :—

6. Soils and subaërial formations.
5. Alluvial formations, marine and fluviatile.
4. Lateritic conglomerates, gravels and sands.
3. Cuddalore sandstones, grits and conglomerates.
2. Upper Gondwána beds. Hard mottled shales.
1. Gneissic or metamorphic rocks."

Most of the general remarks that follow apply not only to the State, but to the southern portion of the Tanjore District and the northern portion of the Madura District.

"The gneissic rocks occupy the western part of the area to be described, and form the highest prominences in it. Amongst them are the line of hills stretching from south of Kolatur (Colatoor)

* In Pharaoh's Gazetteer of Southern India, most of these hills are mentioned, as also one *Velletimalai* (?) which is described as "a hill which rises by a steep and rugged ascent till it reachs a height of 250 feet".

† The paragraphs on the Geology of the State are extracted from Mr. Bruce Foote's *Records of the Geological Survey of the Pudukkottai State, the northern part of the Madura District and the southern parts of the Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts.* See *Records of the Geological Survey of India*, Vol. XII, Part 3.

south-south-westward to the Pudukotai-Illipur road, near Anna-vassel; and, several small granite gneiss hills to the south of the Vellár, at and near Trimiam.

"A considerable part of the surface of the gneissic rocks is occupied by debris of the younger overlying rocks, which have been in greatest part destroyed by the denuding agency of atmospheric forces.

"The rocks assigned to the Rájmahál section of the Upper Gondwána system are very slightly exposed, and their contact with the gneiss was not visible, but there is no reason from the analogy of other parts of the Coromandel coast to imagine that their base rests on anything else than the gneiss.

"The Cuddalore sandstones and grits rest, wherever their base is exposed, on the irregular surface of the gneissic rocks and are themselves overlaid by lateritic conglomerates, gravels and sands, the relations between the two being extremely obscure from the great petrological similarity of two of the principal members of either group, and from the extremely limited number and unsatisfactory character of the sections in which the two series are exposed in juxtaposition.

"The total absence of organic remains from both series greatly increases the difficulty of dealing with them. The unconformity of the two groups is inferred from the extensive overlap of the younger of the two. .... Only one section was seen in which unconformity could be demonstrated, and in several of the best sections there is a passing of true mottled grits, which may belong to either group, into lateritic conglomerates of the most typical character, instances of which will be adduced further on.

"The Cuddalore conglomerates, sandstones, etc., appear to be the lower part of one formation; the lateritic conglomerates (mostly), gravels and sands the upper part of one and the same group of rocks; mottled grits of both ages apparently lying in between.

"The conglomeratic beds of both groups occur in the western parts of the areas, and generally close to the boundary, at which they are mostly well displayed.

"The gravelly and sandy members of the lateritic group occupy the eastern part of the slope, and sink in most cases below......or the coast alluvium.

"The lateritic area is divided by the alluvial valleys of the several rivers (the Agnánavimóchaniár, the Vellár, the Pámbár, the Manimuktánadi) into various patches, of which the most northerly are by far the largest in area. These patches will be found described and named further on.

"Of the alluvia there is very little to say............The river alluvia are of no great extent or importance. Owing to the great extent of wet cultivation carried on along the various rivers and under tanks constructed across their tributaries, the apparent area of the alluvium has, in the course of many centuries, been largely increased by the formation of artificial alluvial spreads, the boundaries between which and the true alluvia it is in very many, if not in most, cases impossible to determine with any accuracy.

"The several rock groups will be most conveniently studied by taking them in ascending order.

1. "THE GNEISSIC OR METAMORPHIC ROCKS. The prevalent form of gneiss in this region is quartzo-felspathic micaceous granitoid or semi-granitoid gneiss, of pinkish or greyish-pink colour. In texture it varies from a massive, coarse highly granitoid rock to a schistose gneiss nearly akin to mica schist. A very marked variety which is of common occurrence is a coarse granular quartz rock very rudely bedded and showing numerous small indistinct cavities from which some mineral has been weathered out. In some cases these cavities are filled with an earthy form of dark-red or brown hæmatite. The cavities lie in the planes of lamination (coinciding with the bedding), and indeed but for the cavities the lamination would not be visible in most cases. The mass of the quartz is in places not unfrequently very translucent and vitreous in texture.

"Hornblendic varieties of gneiss are very much less common in this region, and talcose or chloritic schists were nowhere observed. Ferruginous schists are extremely rare; no example of hæmatite schist was met with, and only one example of magnetite schist.

"Finely banded granite gneiss of dense grain occurs here and there largely, as at Tirkornum (Tirugókarnam) and at Ammachattram on the Trichinopoly road.

"The line of hills which cuts the Trichinopoly road south of Kolatur, and forms the Alurruttimallai* and Narthamallai, consists of banded slightly hornblendic granite gneiss of pale grey color weathering to pale dirty flesh color, and showing characteristic bare rocky masses. Tors are not remarkable, or abundant, but there is much weathering along the lines of outcrop and along the plane of an important joint occupying a nearly horizontal position, giving rise to numerous low caves and rock-shelters which are yet used for various purposes by the field labourers. The basset edge of the bedding coincides with the run of the hills, and the dip is westerly. A good specimen of a rock-cut Hindu temple is to be seen on the east side of Narthamallai, and near it are some large holes, now full of water, formed apparently by the weathering out of lenticular masses of more perishable rock.

"The Annavassel hills are of very similar petrological character, and so also is the bold rocky mass of the Kudumimallai, four miles further to the south-west, so called by the natives from a fancied resemblance to the lock of hair worn by orthodox Hindus at the back of their heads.

"These hills are almost bare of vegetation owing to their very rocky character, but to the east of Narthamallai is a ridge of the highly crystalline quartzose rock above mentioned, which crumbles by weathering into a coarse grit thickly covered by heavy thorny scrub. Very little rock is to be seen here, and the contrast between the two ridges is very marked. The bedding of this quartzose rock is very obscure, but still traceable by the lines of hæmatitic grains which form discontinuous laminæ. A precisely similar rock, probably the extension of the same bed, is to be seen a little south-east of Pilliur (Puliyúr), eleven miles to the north-east-by-north. No other minerals could be

* The Alurrutti Mallai or "Man-rolling hill" obtained its name from the practice adopted in former times of executing criminals by rolling them over the great precipice on the south side of the hill. The hill is about 400 feet in height and the upper part of the great south scarp overhangs slightly.

traced in this rock. This band of granular quartzose gneiss shows also strongly to the east of the Annavassel hill, and is doubtless connected with more southerly outcrop of similar rock, as, for example, that on the south bank of the Vellár close to Kemanur. Still further south this very peculiar variety of gneiss occurs largely, and forms several low hills and ridges which, though nowhere of any height, are yet conspicuous from their light color where not covered by jungle, or from their being crested by narrow ridges of bold blocks and tors. Among these the following are noteworthy: the Neddamurrum hill, three miles north-east of Tripatur,...............................The gneissic rock seen in the inlier south of Trimiem is a similar quartzose variety, the crest of a basset edge from which the overlying laterite has been denuded.

"Unconnected with any of the above beds is a band of the granular rock at Mallampatti (in the Kulattúr Taluk), forming a low rocky ridge. The bedding in this case is extremely obscure and doubtful.

"A great show of beautifully banded micaceous granite gneiss is to be seen at Virallimallai, a bold rock crowned with a temple of some note about twenty miles south-west of Trichinopoly on the high road to Madura. The lamination is in parts greatly contorted and "vandyked", and the pink color of the rock, banded with shades of grey and occasional black micaceous laminæ, forms a stone of striking beauty.........

"Among the more noteworthy outcrops of granite gneiss in the northern part of our area is a band of a pale grey micaceous variety which forms large tors and bosses at Killumallai (between Visalúr and Killukudi) in the northern corner of the bay of gneiss north of the Ikani-ár (Agnánavimóchani river) valley. The general surface of the gneiss in this bay and south of it nearer Pudukotai is much obscured by sandy semi-lateritic soil. Gneiss crops only here and there, and mostly in detached rounded bosses or "whale backs," as *e. g.*, by the Konanda Kovil (Kunnándár kóvil) bosses, and the extensive "whale backs" north-west of Shembatur.

"The rock forming the Vellengoody and Kunamulla trigonometrical stations (to the north-east of Kíranúr), lying a little westward of the gneissic bay just referred to, and the bosses of gneiss north of Kirnur (close to Kolatur) consist also of micaceous granite gneiss distinctly bedded, especially in the former case. There the bedding is greatly crumpled, and the rock weathers of dirty pinkish color. The Kunamalla rock is more compact, less micaceous and paler in color. It is quarried, and the freshly broken rock is very handsome, banded with pale shades of bluish and whitish-grey.

"Where the gneiss has been directly overlaid by the conglomerates and laterites of the younger series, it mostly shows a great deal of yellowish-red (rusty) ferruginous staining and a peculiar and characteristic gritty roughness of decomposition of the surface not seen where the weathering action has taken place on the long exposed surface.

"Other fine outcrops of granite gneiss occur at Suriur on the boundary of the laterite about seven miles north of Kolatur, and to the west of the last place to the north and south of Nangupatti. There are also numerous fine examples of granite gneiss rocks to be seen on either side of the Vellár valley to the westward of Tirkornum (Tirugókarnam), *e. g.*, at Permanad, Chittur (to the north of the Vellár), and Surramulla (in Tirumayyam Taluk). West of the latter village is a superb tor (evidently what is known as ஒற்றைக்கொம்புமலை or 'a single peak hill') of great height, a conspicuous object from considerable distances. East of the village several ridges of gneiss cross the river and divide the alluvial basin into two parts. The high ground south of this near Kotur is crowned by several prominent bosses standing up out of the scrub jungle. ....

"The numerous low rocky hills at and around Trimiem in the southern part of Pudukotai State all consist of coarse, generally micaceous, banded granite gneiss of pale color, varying from pure grey to pinkish or brownish-grey. Tors and great rounded blocks are numerous.

"Highly hornblendic gneiss is of rare occurrence in the gneissic area between the Vaigai (in the Madura District) and the Cauvery; no important beds of it were noted anywhere.

"The general strike of the bedding (of the gneissic rocks) trends............to north and south or north-by-west south-by-east, in the neighbourhood of Illippur and near the northern limit of our area as Trichinopoly is approached.

"A small tract of country over which the strike has a totally different tendency occupies the centre of our gneissic area, and extends from the valley of Manimutár northward to within a couple of miles of the Pambár valley at Trimiem. In the southern part of this tract the strike varies from east-by-south west-by-north to north-west-by-west south-east-by-east; in the central part no well-bedded rocks were mapped, but in the northern part the strike changes from east-west to east-by-north west-by-south.

"Only one occurrence of magnetic iron in the gneiss was met with; this was about a mile north-east of Mallampatti, a village in the Pudukotai State nineteen miles north-west-by-north of the town of Pudukotai. Very little of the outcrop is seen, but a good deal of debris of a rich magnetite bed is scattered about the fields a little to the eastward of the Mallampatti granular quartzose gneiss ridge above referred to.

2. "UPPER GONDWANA BEDS. HARD MOTTLED SHALES........

3. "THE CUDDALORE SERIES. The representatives of the Cuddalore series (established by Mr. H. F. Blanford for certain rocks in South Arcot and Trichinopoly districts) which occur in our limits consist of coarse conglomerates, sandstones and grits, the latter passing locally into a rock perfectly undistinguishable from the common laterite which so largely covers the surface in this region. Here as in so many other parts of the Coromandel coast, the slight slope of the country and the very low dip of the rocks have prevented the formation of really valuable natural sections, and civilization has not yet advanced sufficiently to have given rise to any artificial ones of importance. The extension of wet cultivation greatly militates against the formation of deep channels by the different smaller streams draining the country. All are dammed back at many points of their courses, and give rise to the formation of local alluvial flats which only add to the obscuration of the younger rocks, whose relations are therefore

generally very unsatisfactorily and imperfectly displayed, so that definite information regarding many interesting stratigraphical points is at present not procurable. The total absence, so far, of organic remains renders the correlation of detached exposures of even similar rocks of great and inevitable uncertainty. These difficulties present themselves saliently in the Tanjore, Pudukotai and Madura districts.........

"*Shingle conglomerate near Pudukotai.* Ill-compacted gritty shingle conglomerate occurs resting on the gneiss on the high ground north-east of Pudukotai near Kumupatti (to the north-east of Mullúr and west of the Tanjore road) and further west near Yeddiapatti (west of Mullúr). Along the southern brow of the same high ground overlooking the town of Pudukotai is a line of low cliffs 12 to 16 ft. high, showing conglomerate of quartz and gneiss pebbles in a gritty, often semi-lateritic, matrix of reddish purple, color, and containing here and there small nests of clay. This conglomerate, which is not very hard, rests on the very irregular surface of the banded (slightly hornblendic) granite gneiss, to which it has imparted a strong yellow stain.

"*Shenkarai ridge conglomerates.* Among the more southerly conglomerate beds are those met with in the Shenkarai ridge, about eight miles south-by-east of Pudukotai. They are displayed on the western slope opposite Shenkarai village by an extensive series of rain gullies which expose a considerable surface of the gritty conglomerate; but unfortunately do not cut deeply into it. Its base is not seen, but it probably rests directly on the gneiss which shows in Shenkarai tank. The bedding is seen to dip east-north-east or east-by-north at angles of from 12° to 15°. False bedding prevails, but only to a small extent, for so coarse a rock. The conglomerate is of mottled brown to pinkish and whitish, less frequently reddish-yellow color, and tolerably compact with a gritty matrix, including quartz and gneiss shingle from the size of a cocoanut downward, in moderate quantity. The eastern slope of the ridge* is overlaid by the most massive and continuous (sheet-like) bed of lateritic conglomerate that I have seen on

* It is a merely low rise scarped only for a short distance at its northern extremity. Extensive scrub jungle covers the greater part of its surface thickly.

the Coromandel coast; it covers a considerable space between Arimullum and Malalapatti (near Nedungudi), and is itself lost sight of to the east under lateritic sands and the alluvium of the Vellár..........

"*Section near Ayangudi.* A second section of the Cuddalore beds forming the Shenkarai ridge was found in the scrub jungle about two miles further south-west and about a mile south-east of Ayangudi. The beds here seen are unlike the Shenkarai beds, they are conglomerates of very coarse texture and rather friable. The matrix, which varies from light red to brown red in color, is semi-lateritic and vermicularly cellular to some extent. The enclosed shingle is mostly large and rounded; it is chiefly quartzose and all apparently of gneissic origin. The lowest bed seen is mottled and more gritty in texture with fewer enclosed pebbles. The dip is southerly at low angles. Here as at Shenkarai the section penetrates but a few feet vertically..........

"*Section at Perungalur.* The best section of Cuddalore grits of the softer variety occurs about eleven miles north-east from Pudukotai, a little west of the high road to Tanjore. Here the small stream, which feeds the Perungalur tank, in descending from the high ground to the north, cuts through the upper laterite beds, and exposes beds of typical grits in many gullies, forming so many miniature canons of very perfect shape with nearly vertical sides, from 12 to 18 feet deep and only 2 or 3 feet apart at the bottom. The grit beds show a rude but distinctly columnar jointing strongly resembling starchy cleavage on a huge scale.

"The section here displayed shows the following sequence of beds in descending order:—

4. Black laterite conglomerate, on gravel.

3. Red-brown vermicularly porous conglomerate, passing down into—

2. Brown conglomerate with many pebbles of quartz-grit and older laterite.

1. Grits, pale mottled, generally showing columnar jointing with vermicular tubes and scattered galls of fine clay.

"In this section distinct unconformity is seen to exist between Nos. 1 and 2. No signs of organic remains could be traced after very careful search.

"A small show of rather soft grit of red and brownish mottled color appears between the boundary of the gneiss and the overlying laterite between Surianpatti and Parembur (lying between Kunnandárkóvil and Áthanakkóttai).

4. "THE LATERITIC GROUP. The Cuddalore series is overlaid by the several members of the lateritic series, which vary from hard typical conglomerates through gritty beds to gravels and finally to reddish sands with variable quantities of gravelly pisolitic hæmatite concretions The sandy beds occupy the lower slopes ....while the conglomeratic beds occupy the higher grounds to the west and often overlap widely on to the gneiss.

"*Sub-division of the lateritic area* The various rivers which convey the drainage of the country to the sea divide the lateritic region into a number of minor areas or patches amounting in all to nine. Their sizes are very unequal as might be expected, ranging as they do from several hundred square miles to only a few dozen or so in extension".

We have to deal only with five of these nine patches and they are—

1. *The Tanjore patch* being the southward continuation of the great patch, on the northern edge of which stands the town of Tanjore,

2. *The Pudukkóttai patch* to the south of the Agnánavimóchaniar, and to the north of the Vellár,

3. *The Shenkarai patch* between the Vellár and the Pámbár.

4. *Shahkotai patch* to the south of the Pámbár, and

5. *The Nallúr patch* at the western extremity of the Tanjore patch.

"*Tanjore patch.* The most remarkable spreads of conglomeratic laterite are to be seen along the western boundary of the areas in nearly every case, but only a few of them need be specially mentioned. To begin with the Tanjore patch. Vast

sheets of laterite conglomerate are to be seen to the west and south of Gandarakotai (a village on the high road to Tanjore two miles beyond the Pudukkóttai frontier). A little to the north of Suriampatti especially the bare black sheets of rock arranged in terraces with low steps give the country a strange appearance. Where the conglomerate is covered with soil the latter is generally a very hard compact sandy clay of red or yellow (bath-brick) color much marked by sun-cracks, which run in very regular systems and give the soil a tesselated appearance on a large scale. In the presence of water these lateritic soils are fertile, but the high dry downs they are oftenest seen upon are generally waste, and bear but little else than a very low scrub of *Dodonæa viscosa* (விராலி) mixed with a few dwarf *Mimosæ* (உசிலை).

"This low *Dodonæa* scrub is quite a feature of the hard lateritic soil tracts and many instances of it might be noted......

"*Pudukotai patch.* Striking spreads of hard typical conglomerate are to be seen in many places near the western boundary and even at some miles distance from it, *e. g.*, at Urriur (a few miles to the south-west of Perungulúr) in the extreme north-west corner of the patch, also nearly all along the left side of the Vellár alluvium valley down to Arrantangy and to the north and north-west of Alangudi.

"*Shenkarai and Shahkotai patchs.* The Shenkarai patch contains, as already mentioned above, an extensive and massive development of conglomerate in the eastern slope of the Shenkarai ridge and the plain east of it. This great development of conglomerate is continued under the alluvium of the Pambiár and re-appears in the Shahkottai patch and is especially well seen at Kilanellikotai, where the walls of the extensive old poligar fort are built of the massive laterite quarried close by. The conglomerate is also admirably seen on the bluff east of Neddengoody (Nedungudi), which may be regarded as the continuation of the Shenkarai ridge south-westward. From this bluff which is crowned by a picturesque temple called the Padikása Nadar Kovil, the ridge declines and is lost to the south-west in a high-lying plain of massive laterite extending without a break to Palatoor (a Náttukkóttai chetti village, a little to the south of the Pudukóttai State).......

"*Nallur patch.* The Nallur patch like the western part of the Tanjore patch consists of a more gritty and rather less compact form than prevails over the spreads above enumerated. The rock is perhaps equally ferruginous, but owing to its gritty character shows a rougher duller surface with many fewer vermicular cavities. The larger enclosed fragments of older rocks, which consist almost entirely of gneissic quartz, are mostly subangular or angular, giving the rock a breccia-like appearance. Well-rounded pebbles do, however, also occur..........

"*Alluvial formations.* The alluvia of the various small streams traversing our area are very limited and are generally a whitish mixture of sandy clay with lateritic pellets and small debris of quartz and gneiss.

"*Soils.* The soils depend almost everywhere on the underlying rocks for their character. Red and reddish sandy soils abound. Black soil is not at all common. It occurs largely only .... under a few important irrigation tanks where it must be regarded as of artificial origin.........

"Where the conglomeratic laterite occurs two forms of soil prevail, both of them hard clayey sands, the one of bright red, the other of pale yellow (bath-brick) colors—often approaching in texture to true sandstones. Many large spreads of these occur covered with low scrub of *Dodonæa Viscosa* (விராலி) and a few dwarf *mimosæ* (உசிலை) and other thorny brushes, *e. g.*, on the high ground to the south of Gandarakotai in the Tanjore patch, and again on the high ground north-east-by-east of Álangudi in the Pudukotai patch. The surface of the soils is often covered with light wreaths of grit and sand collected by the prevailing winds.

"The red soil is the more common form, but both it and the yellow variety show frequently on the hardest parts of the surface a semi-metallic-looking blush of bluish-black color.

"Over the lateritic bands the soil is generally a nearly pure, less frequently somewhat clayey, sand".

The above remarks on the rocks and soils of Pudukkóttai were made by Mr. Bruce Foote on a survey that was conducted by him in 1878. There has been no later survey of the State, if we except the operations which were carried on for about a month

in December 1908, by a geologist (Mr. Alexander Primrose) in prospecting over the area (see page 11) in which Mr. Bruce Foote thirty years before had found a small outcrop of magnetic iron ore. The following is "a summary of the discoveries made by him" in his own words.

"Coming upon a small outcrop of dark magnetic Iron ore about a mile north of Mallampatti village, probably the ore mentioned by Mr. Bruce Foote, though not in the exact position mentioned by him, I opened out the ground here and a considerable deposit of the ore was exposed. From this point I have followed a line indicated by other small outcrops both north and south of the original ore, and along this line by sinking pits at various intervals I have found the ore extending for about $1\frac{1}{4}$ to $1\frac{1}{2}$ miles reaching northwards to about one or two furlongs north-east of Ambvráppatti and south some 200 yards from the original outcrop. How far beyond these points it may extend remains for further exploration, but it is not improbable it may be found running beyond these. The sinking I have made cannot be taken to prove that the ore runs without a break, but I think it not improbable it will be found to take the form of a fairly continuous reef representing a very extensive deposit of ore.

"On ground about two or three furlongs south of the original outcrop and east-ward of a rocky ridge known as 'Lingamalai', Mr. Bruce Foote noted debris of magnetic iron ore................ While sinking pits southward to trace the first deposit, I have latterly come upon a considerable mass of ore very similar to the surface fragments.

"The two ores differ considerably, that latterly come upon being much more magnetic and heavier than the other, which is a very dark ore and which on a careful assay may be found combined to some extent with other minerals. ....As much of the principal deposit traced lies near the surface, mining should be easy. Fragments of ore are found scattered over other parts of the area—over a long sketch of country—and there is no doubt I think that further deposits will be discovered".

Economic Geology. Minerals. The State, though poor in precious metals, is fairly rich in useful minerals, of which the following may be mentioned :— building-stones and stones for

road-metalling, lime and cement materials, brickclay, potter's clay, bangle-earth, ochre and clay for crayon pencils, earth-salt, nitrous earth and dhobie's earth, iron ores and mica.

Building stones. Of the stones that occur in the State, granite and laterite * are those that are used for building purposes. These are used also for rivetting the inner slopes of the large tank bunds and irrigation wells and for constructing sluices and kalingulas or wastewater channels as also bathing ghauts. We find granite employed also for making paddy mortars, water-troughs, domestic corn-grinders, mortars and pestles for grinding, etc.

We learn from inscriptions that granite was used for making stone-sluices and for building temples even as early as the eighth century A. D. The stones forming the sluices at Rásálippatti and on the Nárttámalai hills and the walls of the numerous temples on which inscriptions are found engraved are of granite. Mr. William King has observed that "no one can have travelled through any of the districts of Southern India in which large pagodas occur without having been struck by the admirable adaptation to architectural purposes of several varieties of gneiss rock, as regards both the size and the durability of the blocks employed, independently of their beauty when polished." †

Mr. Bruce Foote, in the *Record* from which we have quoted above, remarks that "very handsome gneiss is quarried at Tirkonum (Tirugókarnam), west of Pudukotai and at Kunamulla (in the Kulattúr Taluk) fourteen miles to the north (of Pudukkóttai). The granite gneiss at Virallimallai, twenty miles south-west of Trichinopoly on the Madura road, could yield stone of very great beauty if required. Less handsome but very useful stone is quarried from the granite gneiss rocks occurring at Trimiem in Pudukotai State. ....

"Some of the finest and boldest carvings both of statues and scroll work that can be met with in Southern India, are to be seen at the Avadiar Kovil or temple in the southernmost corner

* Sandstone as such is not separately recognised, "the Cuddalore series passing *locally*" according to Mr. Bruce Foote "into a rock perfectly undistinguishable from the common laterite".

† *Geology of Trichinopoly*, p. 145.

of Tanjore District. The great mantapam in front of the temple gate is an architectural work of great beauty and noble proportions. .... The stone used is said to have been brought from Trimiem and Tirkornum, but is more hornblendic than any of the rocks seen at those places ".

With reference to the laterite found in the State, the same geologist has remarked as follows "The laterite of the Shenkarai patch and the northern part of the Shahkotai patch yields the largest and apparently the most reliable and homogeneous blocks I have seen quarried anywhere between Cape Comorin and the Kistna river. In the laterite quarries at these places, masses are raised measuring as much as $8' \times 1\frac{1}{2}' \times 1'$, a very large size for a lateritic stone. The compact richly ferruginous laterite conglomerate furnishes endless material for rough building purposes, and is even carefully cut and dressed for better class buildings now put up at various places by the rich Natukotai Chetties, a caste of rich traders and soucars who are buying much land in many villages on the lateritic area and building palatial houses in every direction, besides tanks and temples. Many old buildings of importance have been built of this stone, *e g.*, the great fort at Kilanelikotai and the fort at Arrantangy .... The laterite frequently varies greatly in quality even in different parts of the same bed; hence in any work in which durability is an object much circumspection should be used in the selection of laterite blocks to be employed, which should be neither very sandy nor yet wanting in iron ".

As has been remarked by Mr. Henry F. Blanford about the laterite bed to the south of Vallam, which he says, appears to extend into Tondaimán's country, the laterite is "when freshly cut, a porous, ferruginous sandy clay, which hardens on exposure to the weather and only after some months becomes brown and glazed, in the manner characteristic of laterite". *

The places where granite and laterite stones are now quarried (under Sirkar licences) are given below :—

Granite stones. 1. Near Tirugókarnam, (*a*) Kirankurichi rock; (*b*) Karuppar Kóvil rock; (*c*) Tirugókarnam Temple Quarry; (*d*) Adaippakkára Chuttram rock, a few miles to the west.

* *Memoirs of the Geological Survey of India*, Vol. IV.

2. Puttámbúr quarry.
3. Tirumayyam Ucchippárai quarry.
4. Rocks near Lambalakkudi. (*a*) Tattimutti quarry; (*b*) Lambalakkudi rock; (*c*) Ráman párai.
5. Rocks near Kónaput. (*a*) Karuppadaiyánmalai; (*b*) Ennayáttipárai; (*c*) Paralimalaippárai.
6. Malayakkóvil rock.
7. Péraiyúr Kanmoi rock.
8. Uilamalaippárai.
9. Sevali (Sevalúr) malaippárai.
10. Virálimalai rock.
11. Vittampatti rock.
12. Kudumiámalai rock.
13. Panangudimalai near Perumsunai.
14. Ammáchattram quarry.
15. Vírappatti rock near Killukóttai.
16. Chittámbúr quarry near Pérámbúr.
17. Kíranúr quarry and Parappatti quarry by its side.

Laterite quarries. 1. Arimalam quarry.
2. Panaiyúr quarry } near Arimalam.
3. Kallúr quarry }

The rules under which these quarries are worked will be found later on. The stones of the State (both granite and laterite) are highly prized by the people of the neighbouriug British districts and are exported by them.

Stones for road metalling. For the purpose of metalling roads, decomposed laterite rocks are used as also small pieces of granite obtained by blasting the gneiss rocks or by breaking into pieces of required size granite rubbish rejected by stone-smiths. Pieces of granite and laterite are also used in the construction of compound walls.

Some rarer stones. Specimens of red jasper and large pieces of rock-crystal (of white and of violet colour) have been picked up on the surface of the land adjoining the rock in Sittannavásal and on a waste piece of land known as *pacchaip-pottal* in the Kulattúr Taluk. The violet-coloured crystals, which are considered to be amethysts, are not large ones; but the white

crystals are appreciably big. Samples of a coarse and inferior variety of garnets have also been picked up at Sittannavásal, in the *vari* leading to the tank at the place. *

Cement materials. Two materials alone are used for the manufacture of lime, *viz. kankar* and *shells*. The former occurs in various parts of the State, as on the banks of the Vellár, Káraiyúr, Perumánádu, Ammáchattram, Váráppúr to the east of Álangudi and Karuppudaiánpatti near Perungulúr. The lime prepared out of kankar got from the last two places is considered to be of very good quality. Shells are found in small quantities in the Agnánavimóchani river near Karambakkudi and are collected. But most of the lime for marble-like stucco work which is prepared at this place and in several Náṭṭukkóttai villages is obtained from shells collected on the sea-shore, twenty miles to the east of the State, and carted to these places.

Brickclay. Clay for bricks, which are manufactured almost throughout the State, is obtained from superficial alluvial deposits. These deposits are generally between 2 feet to 4 feet in depth and are found occasionally to extend down to 7 or 8 feet. The clay used for the manufacture of bricks in the Sirkar factory to the north of Tirugókarnam is obtained from Pa*tt*attikulam, through which the rain water feeding the tanks of Tirugókarnam passes.

Potter's clay. The clay used by potters has to be fine and is collected by them from the beds covered with fluviatile alluvial deposits of the irrigation tanks, of which there are many in the State. Both the men and women of the potter's caste are engaged in the work, and, when fine enough clay cannot be obtained from the dry portions of the tanks, the women collect it standing from portions of the tanks which are knee-deep, while the men go farther into the tank, and collect it sitting. The potters generally mix together silts that they procure from several tanks, and, after drying them for a time, add the requisite quantity of water and knead them. Since the suppression of earth-salt manufacture in 1888, the silt is said to have become rather saline and not so good for the production of such strong vessels as were produced before 1888. The pots that are made in the parts

* This note was kindly supplied to me by Mr. B. V. Sankarakamesvara Aiyar B. A., Chairman of the Pudukkottai Municipal Council.

about Malaiyúr and Adiránviduthi are strong, the soils at the places not being saline. Most of the potters of the State are engaged also in making tiles, for which rather inferior clay will suffice.

Bangle-earth. The alkaline earth from which bangles are made occurs mostly in the Kulattúr Taluk. It is found chiefly in the bed of the Vaittikkanmoi tank at Vaittúr. The earth is supposed to be very good in quality and large quantities of this earth are purchased from the contractors and taken from Vaittúr to the Trichinopoly district by the bangle-makers of that district. Fairly good bangle-earth is also found in the bed of the Nírpalani tank, in the bed of the Pérámbúr tank, in the bed of the Támarai Kanmoi at Tirumayyam, on the banks of the Pámbár, on the banks of the Perungulúr river, at Kurumbavayal near Karambakkudi and in the waste lands of Rásipuram and Pákkudi.

Dhobie's earth, which native washermen use for bleaching clothes, is widespread and occurs as a whitish soil. A few places where this earth is found are the northern bank of the Vellár, the banks of the Nerinjikkudi stream, a tributary of the Vellár, Namanasamudram and Perumánádu. Washermen who are too lazy to collect the earth, and all washermen, after heavy showers of rain which wash away the earth, purchase it from the bangle-manufacturers of Vaittúr.

Earth-salt. The saline earth, from which earth-salt could be manufactured, occurs in various parts of the State. Before the suppression of earth-salt manufacture in 1888, earth-salt was made in 175 villages distributed among the three Taluks. Some of the tracts where earth-salt was manufactured were,

(1) in the Álangudi Taluk, Maniambalam and Vandakóttai to the east of the town; Thandalai, Uppuppatti and Kusalákkudi to the south of the town; Váráppúr to the east of Álangudi; and Kírattur and Sengalmédu near Karambakkudi;

(2) in the Tirumayyam Taluk, Ónangudi, Miratnilai, the banks of the Pámbár near Tirumayyam, Perundurai Kanmoi, Émbal, Madakam, Nedungudi, Melaivániyam, Nerinjikkudi, Káraiyúr, and Múlangudi near Ponnamarávati;

(3) and in the Kulattúr Taluk, Mandaiyúr, Ícchinári, Pérambúr, Kattalúr, Kodumbálúr, Meenavalli, Annavásal, and Visalúr.

Salt-petre. The nitrous earth required for the preparation of salt-petre was collected in the southern part of the town of Pudukkóttai, Thiruvappúr, Annavásal, Puttámbúr and Sembá*tt*úr. Several wells to the south of the town Police Station and Post office were known as "வாணைப்பட்டைக் கிணறு" or wells from which the water required for boiling the nitrous earth to prepare salt-petre for fireworks was taken. After the earth was boiled once, something like earth-salt was produced, and as good salt-petre as was thought could be produced locally was obtained only after three boilings. The Uppiliyans, a class of people who manufactured both earth-salt and salt-petre found their occupation gone on the suppression of earth-salt in 1888, and salt-petre is nowhere manufactured now in the State.

Ochre. Ochres of different colours, yellow, blue, red, white, reddish-yellow, etc., are found in the Senkarai tract and the parts about Tiruvarankulam. They are useful for making pigments, for manufacture of crayons, and as materials for coloured chalks. These ochres are much prized and are used not simply in the State, but are carried to the neighbouring British districts. The ochres can be pounded, sifted and refined so as to be used for water and oil colouring.

Iron. It has already been mentioned that magnetic iron occurs at Mallampatti. Mr. Bruce Foote remarks that in this State "the metallic minerals are represented by iron ore only, and that not of the highest quality. In the Shenkarai tract, the conglomerate is very thick and massive over an area of several square miles in extent and remarkably rich in iron, as is clearly indicated by the rich red colour of the wheel tracks passing over the great bare sheets of rock. .... Abundance of an earthy form of hæmatite is to be found in the lateritic rocks, and there are traces of a considerable smelting industry having been carried on at no remote period at Áyangudi in the southern part of Pudukkóttai State. The ore treated is clayey red or brown hæmatite of fair quality".

Iron is known to have been smelted at Tiruvarankulam at least about six hundred years ago, as, from an inscription at the place dated the 4th year of Víra Pándya (say, 1258–72) it appears that a cess of 1200 *kásus* * a year was collected for the right to mine iron, and two blacksmiths of the place were required to pay 6 *kásus* a year for maintaining two lamps in the temple at the place. The Statistical Account of Pudukkóttai (1813) mentions the following tracts as those in which iron was found.

1. In Ándakkulam vattam, the jungle which is one mile in extent.

2. Near Perungulúr to the south of Uttarakkulam, to the west of the road to Tanjore, to the north of Kúlaiyánviduthi and to the east of the tank at Mánthánkudi, a tract which is two furlongs from east to west and two furlongs from north to south.

3. Near Perungulúr, to the east of the village, to the north of Vellaiváttánviduthi, and to the south of Nemmélippatti, a tract which is four furlongs from north to south and four furlongs from east to west.

4. To the west of the Palace Jack grove to the north of Mayiláppárai, to the east of the forest of big trees and to the south of Thékkádu, a tract about half a mile from east to west and about a quarter of a mile from north to south.

5. Near Tiruvarankulam, to the east and south of the village, a tract of land in the forest of big trees, about a quarter of a mile from east to west and about half a mile from north to south. [There are traces even now of about a dozen mines there].

6. In Mélnilaippatti jungle near Kílánilai, a tract which is about 30 yards from east to west and about 10 furlongs from north to south.

7. In the Senkarai forest, to the east of the Ánaivári jungle stream, a tract which is about 30 yards long from east to west and about 10 furlongs from north to south. Ferruginous blocks of stone were collected from which iron was got.

That iron was smelted in these places till the middle of the last century will be evident from Mr. Bailley's report of 1841, in which it is stated that "the monopoly of digging and smelting iron ore was farmed out for Rs. 1,300" a year.

* "The unit of currency was the gold kasu weighing about 20 grains Troy". *Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's Ancient India*, p. 183.

Mica. Mica is found in small pieces at Annavásal and other places, and specimens of it collected at Káraiyúr were sent to the Madras Exhibition of 1903. It is not known whether the mineral occurs in such quantities as would justify mining operations being begun.

Soils. The remarks of Mr. Bruce Foote on the soils of Pudukkóttai will be found in the paragraphs relating to the geology of the State (See p. 16). The following extracts on *Soils and their Classification* are from the State Revenue Settlement Officer's *Scheme Report.*

"The soil in the State is for the greater part 'Red Ferruginous'. There is black cotton or 'Regar' soil also, but it is mostly found in the wet fields of Trimiem and Kolattur taluqs. Only in some places in the Alangudi taluq 'Regar' soil is found. Almost all the dry lands in the state are of 'Red Ferruginous' soil. According to local usage, the soil of the state is divided into six classes (1) Padugai, (2) Karisal, (3) Sevval, (4) Manal, (5) Saralai, and (6) Kalar.

1. Padugai soil means alluvial soil. It is very rarely found in the state. I have not come across any soil which can be strictly called alluvial and compared with the alluvial soil in the delta portions of Tanjore and Trichinopoly. What are called Padugai lands in the state are lands containing somewhat rich loamy soil. This soil is generally found in the ayacuts of large tanks, and by constant manuring with green leaves, etc., has slightly turned into a chocolate colour. Such soil is found in villages situated close to forests, the green leaves from which are often used for manuring the wet fields in the adjoining villages. Some of the villages in which I found this soil are Kavinad, Vallanad, etc., in Alangudi taluq, and Pudunilaivayal, Melainilaivayal, Nedungudi, Rayapuram, Arimalam, etc., in Trimiem taluq.

2. Karisal is black loamy soil. This soil is generally found in the wet lands of the Trimiem taluq. In some villages, the proportion between clay and sand is what it ought to be. But in most parts clay preponderates and makes the field yield a poor crop.

3. Sevval is 'Red Ferruginous' soil. It is found almost throughout the state. This expression is generally used in the State for the loamy soil, as distinguished from

4. Manal which is 'Ferruginous' sandy soil, and

5. Saralai which is 'Ferruginous' gravelly soil.

6. Kalar is the black clayey soil of a saline character. Several villages in the Trimiem taluq contain extensive lands containing saline soil. Some of them were lands on which salt was actually manufactured before its manufacture in the State was put a stop to.

This classification of soils is not a scientific classification, but it represents some characteristic features connected with the different soils in the State." It will be found that, from a scientific point of view, the soils of the State are either black cotton or red ferruginous, containing in each case more or less proportion of clay to sand.

Forests.—The State was once covered almost wholly with forests. The southern portion of the State was called Kánádu (or the forest tract), while divisions of the northern portion were known as 'North palm forest land', 'South palm forest land', &c. The names of the gods such as A*t*avîsvarar or 'the lord of the forest' at Kulaváippa*tt*i, 'Tálavanésvarar', or 'the lord of the palm forest' at Vaittúr, and Vénuvanésvari' or 'the goddess of the bamboo reed forest' at Tirumayyam testify to this fact. In course of time the forests were cleared and villages were established, a fact also established by the onomatology * of the State—

---

* Lt. Colonel R. B. Branfill, in his interesting article on "the names of places in Tanjore in the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* for 1879, has given a list of the common descriptive words affixed to proper names of places prevalent in the southernmost part of the Tanjore District. Most of the words are found affixed to the names of places in the State and we give them below :—

1. *Chattiram*, a rest-house: *e. g.*, Ammachatram, Adaippakarachatram, Chinniachatram, *etc.*
2. *Kadu*, jungle or forest: *e. g.*, Mangadu, Vadakadu, Kilankadu, Ko*tt*aikkadu, Pa*tt*attikkadu, Kadukkakkadu, Vannakkan Kadu, Alankadu &c.
3. *Kollai*, enclosure: *e. g.*, Vellakkollai and Toppukkollai (Alangudi Taluk).
4. *Kottai*, fort: *e. g.*, Pudukko*tt*ai, Adanakko*tt*ai, Vattanako*tt*ai, Killuko*tt*ai, Vandako*tt*ai, Vallattirako*tt*ai, Manko*tt*ai (near Alangudi) Kolandirako*tt*ai, Kottako*tt*ai, *etc.*
5. *Kudi*, habitation: *e. g.*, Ayangudi, Panangudi, Thennangudi, Alangudi, Pungudi, Vennavalkudi, Karambakkudi, Mangudi, Kadayakkudi, *etc.*

by the names of villages such as Mángádu (mango forest), Vadakâdu (the northern forest), Kilánkádu (wild apple forest), Kó*tt*aikkádu (the fort forest) and Álangádu (banyan forest). Even as late as 1788, "the country was with the exception of some spots overgrown with thickets, which had to be cleared before the country

6. *Kurichi*, a hamlet of cottages: *e. g.*, Kaikkurichi, Kattakkurichi, Karukkakkurichi, Valakkurichi, Ammankurichi, Palakkurichi, Vattanakurichi, *etc.*
7. *Nadu*, a settled country: *e. g.*, Valnadu, Kavinadu, Irumbanadu.
8. *Pattanam*, a town: *e. g.*, Pa*tt*anam to the south of Tirumayyam, Muttuppa*tt*anam.
9. *Patti*, (of frequent occurrence), a village of herdsmen: *e. g.*, Nacchandupa*tt*i, Vendampa*tt*i, Sevalpa*tt*i, Nagarattuppa*tt*i, Mithilaippa*tt*i, Che*tt*ipa*tt*i, Kadiyappa*tt*i, Rasalippa*tt*i, *etc.*
10. *Pattu*, a village: *e. g.*, Konapa*tt*u, Varpa*tt*u.
11. *Sandai*, fair: *e. g.*, Munaisandai.
12. *Sandaipp ttai*, market-village: *e. g.*, (Pudukkottai) Sandaippe*tt*ai, Tirumayyam Sandaippe*tt*ai.
13. *Teru*, a street: *e. g.*, Vadateru, Terkutteru.
14. *Ur* (of frequent occurrence), a town: *e. g.*, Kiranur, Nallur, Mattur, Kattalur, Kulattur, Vellanur, Palaiyur, Avur, *etc.*
15. *Vasal*, entrance: *e. g.*, Tiruvengavasal, Vagaivasal, Pallivasal, Annavasal, Neivasal, Kalanivasal.
16. *Vayal*, field: *e. g.*, Pulvayal, Agavayal, Alavayal, Manyavayal, *etc.*
17. *Viduti*, lodging: *e. g.*, Adiranviduti, Karambaviduti, Kulaianviduti, Manaviduti, Manjanviduti, Pilaviduti, Ponnanviduti, Tittanviduti.

We may add the following affixes:—

1. *Kulam* (tank), *e. g.*, Tiruvarankulam, Venkatakulam, *c. f.*, Tondamanuruni.
2. *Kovil*, (temple), Ambukkovil, Kunnandarkovil, Vaittikovil, Sunaiyakkovil.
3. *Malai*, (hill), Viralimalai, Kudumiamalai, Arasamalai; *c. f.*, Rajagiri.
4. *Mangalam*, (a flourishing village), Valamangalam, Kulamangalam, Karamangalam, Pillamangalam, Satyamangalam.
5. *Nilai*, (station), Melanilai, Pudunilai, Miratnilai, Kilanilai.
6. *Puram*, (town), Ramachandrapuram, Durvasapuram, Rayapuram, Ganapatipuram, Raghunathapuram.

The terminations *cheri* (Tirumanancheri), *Veli* (Menelveli or Minaveli) and *Medu* (Sengalmedu) rarely occur.

7. *Samudram*, (ocean or big tank), affixed to names of Sarvamaniam villages such as Namanasamudram, Nallambalsamudram and Thirumalarayasamudram.

Col. Branfill states that "the chief fact learnt from a cursory study of the onomatology of the Kaveri delta appears to be the universal influence of Brahminical civilisation upon an industrious and agricultural population of indigenous origin". A similar inference drawn from the onomatology of places in this State will be that the State is hilly and was once almost wholly covered by forests, of which a great portion has been cleared and rendered fit for cultivation by an industrious non-Brahmin population, and that the tract abounded in men who lived by plunder. The last fact is borne out by the prevalence of place-names ending in *kottai* or fort. In this connection we may quote the following from Col. Sherer's *Sketches of India* (1821). "The villages in the plain open country........have a small fort or ghurry, built of mud or else of brick and often of stone. These sort of defences throughout the country have universally fallen to decay. A volume in praise of our present rule as compared with the ancient order of things could not speak more plainly or half so convincingly in its favour".

could be rendered valuable." * The main reason for the failure of the people to clear the forests was that the thickets afforded a safe place of shelter to the *Kallars* when they were attacked (See General History), and in those early times the *Kallars* "were little disposed to check the luxuriance of rank vegetation which yielded them at once subsistence and shelter." A systematic attempt was however made in the time of Rájá Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán Bahadúr (1789–1807) to get rid of the thickets, who granted as *Ináms* many tracts of forest land on the express understanding that the forests were to be cleared and rendered fit for cultivation. And we know that in the time of his successor also (1807–1825), Major Blackburne, the Resident, arranged for much land that was occupied by forests being brought under cultivation. At present about one-eighth of the State is covered by forests and jungles, of which there are more than sixty in number, none of them however being very large. About twenty of these are larger than the rest and occupy roughly about 140 square miles, the smaller ones covering about 10 miles in all. Six of the larger jungles are preserved more carefully than the rest for the shooting of His Highness and are known as "Game Preserve Forests".

The names of these forests are—

1. The Town Forest—Periavalaikka*tt*u to the east, Chinnavalaikka*tt*u to the north (14 sq. miles.)
2. Senkarai Forest (about 17 sq. miles.)
3. Pulvayal, Vayalókam and Parambukkádu Forest
4. Narttámalai Forest
5. Thiruvarankulam Forest
6. Váráppúr and Sakkiliankó*tt*ai Forest

(Items 3–6: Small areas.)

Forest lands are to be found also near Piránmalai, Ammankuricchi, Maravámadura, Lambalakkudi, Kannanúr, Kónáput, Irumbánádu, Vennávalkudi, Chóttuppálai, Ádanakkó*tt*ai, Killukó*tt*ai and Pérámbúr.

The jungles form a basin for the tanks in the adjoining villages, and as a fact most of the best villages in the State with large tanks are by the side of these jungles.

* Col. Fullarton's *View of the English Interests in India* (1788).

Detailed information on the administration of forests and on forest produce will be found later on.

Meteorology. **Climate.* This part of the plain of the Karnatic is land-locked, being bounded by the British districts of Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Ramnad. The boundary line of the State on the eastern side is about twelve miles from the Bay of Bengal at the nearest and about forty miles at the farthest. The surface is not altogether flat, but contains gentle undulations with hills and hillocks mostly on the west and south-west. The hills are generally of very low elevation and support but a scrubby growth of throny shrubs, while the hillocks and rocks are almost bare. The granite and laterite earths that compose the majority of the surface soil get baked in the hot sun that shines relentlessly for nearly nine months in the year, and the air that blows over the place is dry hot air, calculated to dry up the blood and sap the energies of the people.

Temperature. The thermometer in the shade in the hottest months of April and May rises as high as 106° F., and the effect of the intense heat on the general system and the working capacity of man is anything but salutary. In the cold and dewy months of January and February, the dry minimum readings range from a little over 60° F. to 70° F.; and though there is a clear range of variation of from 30° to 45° between the lowest and the highest reading in the year's course, yet such extreme cases pertain only to the second half of January and the first half of February. For the major portion of the year, the mean daily temperature is generally about its mean annual temperature.

The range of temperature during the course of a day varies very greatly during the different seasons of the year. The careful observations that have been made in the Pudukkóttai Observatory show that the maximum temperature is reached between 2 P. M. and 3 P. M. in certain seasons, and between 3 P. M. and 4 P. M. in other seasons, depending on the percentage

* The paragraphs on the Meteorology of the State have been kindly contributed by Mr. R. Chakrapani Aiyangar, B. A., the State Meteorological Superintendent. The statements contained therein are based mostly on the observations made in the Observatory at Pudukkottai.

of unclouded sky. It is shifted even beyond sunset should the sky be overcast in the afternoon and continue to remain cloudy after sunset. The range of daily variations is greatest in April or May and least in November or December.

It will be seen from the table given below that May is the hottest month of the year, that June (as also April) is almost equally hot, that the temperature begins to fall slowly in July, that the fall continues almost steadily up to December, and that the temperature continues to rise steadily from January to May.

The sun in May and June is unbearably hot and the day temperature rises more than 6° or 7° F. above that of blood heat, especially during the dog-star days (அக்கினிநட்சத்திர நாட்கள்), unless the sky should th n be overcast, which is generally not the rule.

I. *The Table of Mean Values of Meteorological Results, deduced from observations for the years from 1906–1910.*

Months.	Mean pressure.	Mean daily wind velocity in miles.	Mean temperature.	Mean vapour tension.	Mean humidity out of 100.	Mean cloud amount out of 10.	Mean rainfall in inches.	Mean of rainy days.	Days of one inch rain & more.
January ...	29·902	209·00	81·9	622	58	5·7	1·03	1·6	1
February ...	·865	182·00	85·7	620	52	4·7	0·66	1·2	1
March ...	·838	172·00	89·4	633	47	3·9	0·44	1·4	0
April ...	·750	191·00	92·7	722	48	4·3	1·60	2·4	2
May ...	·700	224·00	94·1	752	47	4·9	2·26	3·4	2
June ...	·673	245·00	93·5	707	51	7·2	1·16	2·8	1
July ...	·684	238·00	90·3	715	52	8·1	3·99	6·2	7
August ...	·709	210·00	88·7	720	55	7·3	6·77	9·6	12
September...	·718	210·00	89·0	675	51	6·9	3·83	6·8	6
October ...	·778	128·00	85·5	756	52	6·9	5·44	8·4	5
November...	·845	160·00	82·4	693	63	6·5	5·41	8·0	8
December ...	·888	211·00	81·4	622	59	5·8	1·23	2·2	1
Average ...	·779	198·33	87·9	720	53	6·0	2·82	4·5	4

Humidity. The month of March is marked by the lowest humidity and the lowest percentage of cloud, the amount of the latter for half the month being generally less than 30 *per cent.* The situation continues nearly the same all through April; and it is in May that a change comes on and dense lower clouds begin to appear and relieve the intensity of the heat with a few light showers. June presents analogous features, while July, August and September witness copious precipitations at times, and August has often been the month of the heaviest rainfall in the year. Then if September should show a decrease in the precipitation, October and November generally make up the average. December and January are marked by poor precipitations, unless sudden effects intervene of a spasmodic character.

The average humidity in the air during 1906–10 was never less than 47 *per cent.* and reached as high a percentage as 63. Generally following the course of the monsoons, the humidity attains an average maximum of 55 *per cent.* in August and a second average maximum of 63 *per cent.* in November, while it is in the hot months of March, April and May that the quantity reaches the minimum mentioned above.

Rainfall. The average annual rain-fall for the years 1906–1910, as calculated from the records of the Observatory, is 32·4 inches, and this agrees nearly with the average (33·5 inches) for the sixteen years before 1906. [See the third table.]

It may be noted as an important fact that after 1906, which was the first year of the working of the Pudukkóttai Observatory, the number of days in the year, in which the total quantity of rain collected exceeds one inch, has shown a steady increase. This may be taken to indicate that the annual distribution is tending in a way to become more and more uniform in character and less and less freakish.

Atmospheric pressure and winds. The barometer in the Pudukkóttai Observatory indicates a diurnal oscillation of pressure, so regular in its occurrence that it is not at all marked even by the irregular variations due to thunderstorms that occur now and then. With respect to the general character of this oscillation, it may be said that the pressure begins to rise every day in the early hours of the morning and attains its maximum at 8 A. M.

in the day sometimes, or at 10 A. M. at other times, the exact hour or time varying with the seasons in the year and the humidity in the sky. Though the pressure thus oscillates between a rise and a fall between 8 and 10 A. M., yet a fall uniformly occurs after 10 A. M., and this is steadily kept up till 4 P. M. during all the days of the year.

Besides this diurnal oscillation, there is an annual variation of pressure as the seasons advance and recede. Unlike the winds in continental India and the part of the Peninsula adjoining it, the winds that blow in our parts conform to the general laws of winds, and the months of mean high temperature are also the months of mean low pressure. Reductions made with, and corrections applied to, the anemometric readings recorded for the years 1906–10 lead to the conclusion that there are two maxima of velocities in the year, the one maximum occuring in the month of June or July, and the other in December or January, and that the summer monsoonic wind blows with 20 *per cent.* greater average velocity than the winter wind. But the variations in the mean temperature during the course of the year do not synchronise with the variations in wind velocity. If the wind motion is lowest in October, the velocity briskly rises in November and reaches a maximum in December. This velocity is kept up in January and then there is a steady fall till March. Again in the period from April to September, there is a brisk rise during its first half and a more or less brisk fall during its second half. Thus, whereas the mean temperature falls steadily from a maximum in May to a minimum in December and then as steadily rises till it returns to a maximum in May again, the variations in wind velocity do not follow a like simple law. They seem to obey more or less the variations of pressure, as may be seen from Table I. The velocity reaches a maximum in June when the pressure is at its minimum; then as the pressure continues to increase in the year's course, the velocity suffers a corresponding fall—with an oscillation in the months of November and December—so that it reaches its first minimum in October and a second maximum in December or January. A similar oscillation is also seen in February and March, but from April to June, corresponding to a fall in the pressure there is a rise in velocity.

Further, a calculation of the observations taken leads to the conclusion that, out of the cardinal points of the compass, the winds have blown in a year 118 times from the North-east, 59 times from the North-west, 22 times from the Sorth-east and 63 times from the South-west. This means that the North-east angle of the State has been more often and more steadily a high-pressure area, while the North-west and South-west angles have been less so, and the South-east angle comparatively a low pressure area generally.

Weather. An evaluation of the temperature readings during the quinquennium 1906–10 has given 88° F. to be the mean value of the mean annual temperatures; and if this figure is compared with the value of the mean of the daily readings, it will be found from Table II below that the number of days in the year, during which the latter *mean* is found to be greater than the former *mean*, has shown a steady though slow decrease. This feature in the weather is worth noting from a sanitary point of view.

II. *Table of the Number of Days in which the Mean Daily Temperature has been greater than the Mean Annual Temperature.*

MONTHS.	1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.
January	0	0	0	0	0
February	5	0	0	0	0
March	6	9	1	8	10
April	30	16	24	25	25
May	31	28	28	23	31
June	23	27	24	26	22
July	15	14	15	10	12
August	1	8	19	6	3
September	13	18	5	7	0
October	2	3	2	0	0
November	0	0	0	0	0
December	0	0	0	0	0
	126	123	118	105	103

III. *Table of Annual Rainfall in Inches throughout the State.*

Stations.		1906.	1907.	1908.	1909.	1910.
Pudukkóttai	...	36·76	22·78	28.20	36 24	36·16
Álangudi	...	41·22	28·95	40·36	41·06	33·45
Karambakkúdi	...	22·76	16·38	17·12	21·44	18·42
Tirumayyam	...	49 18	35·25	28·59	32·66	45·30
Kílánilai	...	44·09	39·26	29·27	25·43	32 02
Kolattúr	...	33·19	23·83	20·65	42 95	33·40
Virálimalai	...	26·74	36·56	23·47	37·16	30·87
Udayálippatti	...	42·52	30·90	23·22	30·88	32·26
Annavásal	...	33·58	23·59	26·38	44·79	30·13
Ponnamarávati	...	40 58	33·97	36·07	46.84	34·99
Ádanakkóttai	...	40·52	27·66	32 35	32.35	25·10

Cyclones and floods.—In the first half of the nineteenth century, there were two violent cyclones. "In 1809, excessive rains fell which proved very injurious to Tondiman's country. The banks of the tanks and large lakes gave way and a considerable portion of the most promising rice crop was entirely destroyed by the inundation. The fields were also greatly injured by the beds of sand which were left upon them, and it required many years to restore them to their former fertility". In May 1827, "there was a terrific hurricane attended with rain which lasted for two days, and caused great injury to the cattle, trees and houses." During the last thirty years three cyclones have visited Pudukkóttai, *namely* in December, 1884, October, 1890 and November, 1893. All of them occurred during the north-east monsoon. During the first two, the rainfall amounted to about 7½ inches.The flood of 1893 has been described as follows by Sir A. Sashiah Sastriar.

"There was such a heavy downpour as was never experienced within the memory of the oldest inhabitant, gauging at the several stations from 12 to 27 inches within 24 to 30 hours, against a normal average annual rainfall of 38 inches. It appeared as if the flood-gates of heaven were suddenly opened. They were not shut till a flood of unprecedented dimensions came down in torrents and swept over the whole State, breaching nearly all the tanks and cutting up every road and rendering them impassable for passenger and traffic. For full two days all

communications in every direction were cut off. Great damage was also caused to the crops, rendering the actual outturn indifferent and disappointing. The subsequent break in the weather facilitated the closing of the breaches in tank bunds. The cessation of rain in the subsequent months enabled communications to be restored."

Earthquakes.—Only one earthquake has been felt in the State. It occurred on the night of the 8th of February, 1900, and lasted for less than half a minute. It caused great fright to the people, who were suddenly awakened from their sleep, and, leaving their houses, assembled in the streets, but it did no damage worth mentioning.

Flora.—The well-known trees of the neighbouring British districts are found in this State. There are several varieties of good graft mango trees. The fruits are much appreciated, and we find that as early as 1760, the ruler of the State sent a consignment of these fruits as a present to the agent of the King of Travancore, "in whose country mangoes were scarce.*" Jack trees are found in large numbers in the State, especially in the Álangudi Taluk to the east of the Tanjore-Madura road. Of the other trees that are met with both in this State and the surrounding British districts, we may mention the following:—

1. அரசு.—*Ficus religiosa* (The sacred Pepul tree).
2. ஆலமரம்.—*Ficus Bengalensis* (The Banyan tree).
3. இச்சி.—*Ficus virens.*
4. இலந்தை.—*Zizyphus jujuba* (The Bhere-fruit tree).
5. இலுப்பை.—*Bassia longifolia* (The Mowa or Mahwa tree).
6. ஈச்சை.—*Phœnix sylvestris* (The Mysore Toddy Palm).
7. எட்டி.—*Strychnos nux vomica* (The Poison nut tree).
8. கருவை.—*Acacia Arabica* (The Babool tree).
9. கொன்னை.—*Cassia fistula* (The Indian Laburnam tree).
10. தென்னை.—*Cocos nucifera* (The Cocoanut Palm).
11. நாவல்.—*Eugenia jambolana* (The Black Plum tree).
12. பனை.—*Borassus flabellifer* (The Palmyra Palm).
13. புரசு.—*Butea frondosa* (The Pulas kino tree).

* See letter to the Madras Presidency from the Tondaimán, received on the 16th of September, 1760.

14. புங்கு.—*Pongamia glabua* (The Indian Beech tree).
15. புளி.—*Tamarindus Indica* (The Tamarind tree).
16. பூவரசு.—*Thespesia populnea* (The Portia tree).
17. மாதளை.—*Punica granatum* (The Pomegranate tree).
18. முருங்கை.—*Moringa pterygosperma* (The Drumstick or Horse-radish tree).
19. மூங்கில்.—*Bambusa arundinacea* (The Prickly Bamboo).
20. வாகை.—*Albizzia lebbek* (The Siris tree).
21. வா[illegible].—*Terminalia catappa* (The Indian Almond tree).
22. வில்வம்.—*Ægle marmelos* (The Bael-fruit tree).
23. விளா.—*Feronia elephantum* (The Elephant or wood-apple tree).
24. வேம்பு.—*Melia azadirachta* (The *Nim* or Margosa tree).

We must refer the reader to books on Indian botany for the uses of these trees, which are fairly well-known to those that use them.

About the trees in the forests of this State, Mr. E. D. M. Hooper, Conservator of Forests in the Central Circle of the Madras Presidency in 1904, who, at the request of the Pudukkóttai Darbár, inspected the forests for about a fortnight, has reported as follows :—

"On the level and low-lying portions there is a thick growth of *Memecylon* (காசா); which is hardly penetrable, and overhead are standards of *Mimusops* (பாலை), *Pterospermum* (செம்புலவு), *Albizzia Amara* (உசிலைமரம்), *Dalbergia paniculata* (பச்சிலைமரம்), with a lower growth of *Atalantia* (காட்டெலுமிச்சை), and *Ixora parviflora* (சுழுந்து); at higher levels there are *Wrightia* (வெப்பாலை), stunted *Satinwood* (வம்மரை or வன்மரம்), and *Nim* (வேம்பு), *Acacia caesia* (வேல மரம்), *Mimosa rubicaulis* (வெள்வேல மரம்), *Zizyphus* (இலந்தை), *Carissa* (களா), etc.

"In the open tracts the undergrowth consists largely of prickly pear and the standards *Acacia latronum* (உடைவேலா) and *Albizzia amara* (உசிலை மரம்). This is especially the case in Pulváyal.

"In the Sengirai forest, *Dodonæ* (விராலி) and lemongrass (விலாமிச்சை) are met with.

"There are few well-grown trees in the wastes, those present being the outcome of damaged saplings and have a rotten interior; but they are allowed to remain as seed-bearers, for which alone they are useful. Exception must be made of *Pterospermum*, which is represented by handsome healthy specimens, tall and slender, especially in Sengeerai and Narthamalai".

Speaking of bamboos, he says "Bamboos do not grow naturally in the State, stray clumps being found here and there, where planted by private effort, but as a rule the work is unsuccessful. In the State topes, similar attempts to grow bamboos have been made, but with the same result, though along a canal in Karambakkudi village there are about 350 clumps planted by the State about forty years ago. In consequence of its rarity, bamboo has to be imported in great quantities from adjoining British territory".

Many trees are found in the forests of this State, which are not met with in the adjoining British districts—at least so largely as in this State. Specimens of fifty trees of this State were sent to the Madras Industrial Exhibition of 1903, and for the collection of timbers the State was awarded a bronze medal. The names of some of the forest trees are given below:—

1. இத்தி.—*Dalbergia latifolia.*
2. உசிலே.—*Albizzia amara.*
3. உடைவெலா.—*Acacia latronum.*
4. கருங்காலி.—*Acacia catechu.*
5. காரை.—*Canthium parviflorum.*
6. காசா.—*Memecylon edule.*
7. களா.—*Carissa carandas.*
8. குருந்தை.—*Hiptage madablota.*
9. சூரை.—*Zizyphus Oenoplia.*
10. செம்புலவு.—*Pterospermum suberifolium.*
11. தாணி.—*Terminalia belerica.*
12. நரிக்கொன்றை.—*Cassia nodosa.*
13. நெய்க்கொட்டான்.—*Sapindus trifoliatus* (syn) *marginatum.*
14. பாலை.—*Mimusops hexandra.*
15. புலவு.—*Pterospermum heyneanum.*
16. மயிலை.—*Vitex altissima.*
17. மாம்பழக்கொன்றை.—*Cassia fistula.*

18. வம்மரை.—*Chloroxylon swietenia.*
19. வெப்பாலை.—*Wrightia tinctoria.*
20. வெள்வேலமரம்.—*Acacia leucophlœa.*

The State is very rich in medicinal plants, herbs and roots, and there are probably not many herbs mentioned in Ayurvedic *Materia Medica* which are not found in this State. The Nárttámalai hills are especially noted for such plants and roots, and it is known that many native physicians of the Tanjore and Trichinopoly Districts get from the hills some of the rarer herbs that they require. For a collection of medicinal plants, herbs and roots that was sent from the State to the Mysore Dussera Exhibition of 1908, a silver medal was awarded. The collection was valued so highly that the Exhibitor (Mr. P. V. Jagannátha Row) was requested to allow it to be placed in the Bangalore Museum.

The State is not wanting in trees and plants that yield dye-stuffs and fibres, and furnish tanning materials. There are other plants and grasses that serve as fodder for cattle and as manures for fields. For collections of fodder, plants and grasses and of green leaves used as manures, sent to the Mysore Dussera Exhibition, two bronze medals were awarded as prizes. An account of some of these as well as of the grains and oil-seeds of the State will be given in the Chapter on *Agriculture.*

Plantations. To keep up a proper supply of fuel without destroying the jungles, casuarina plantations were started by the State in February, 1884. There are now sixteen such plantations—six on the banks of the Vellár, four on the banks of the Pámbár, five on the banks of the Agnánavimochaniár and one at Rájagiri near the Kóraiyár. In six of these, some other trees such as the mango and the cocoanut have also been planted.

There are nine other Sircar plantations in the State—five of these being cashew plantations and the remaining four being plantations of graft-mango. Cashew is indigenous to the soil and the cashew plantations are in a flourishing condition. In the Sivagnánapuram graft mango *tope*, a little to the south-east of the town, in addition to the mango-trees, some other trees,—silver oak, mahogany and rubber trees—have been planted as a trial measure. Attempts to grow teak in the State have failed, except in one of the plantations on the banks of the Vellár.

Mr. E. D. M. Hooper, referred to already, has remarked that "the plantations cover an area of 1,356 acres and are calculated to contain 4,45,000 trees, the produce being in constant demand".

Fauna. *Cattle.* There is nothing remarkable about the cattle of the State, most of them being low-sized and of no well-defined breed. That the bulls of the State would reach a fair size if properly fed may be seen from the strong specimens known as "temple bulls", which are permitted to graze where they will. To improve the cattle, cattle shows were held annually for some years from 1903–04, and breeding bulls have been obtained by the Agricultural Association of the State.

Of the species of cattle that are imported, we may mention the Pulikkulam bulls and the bulls obtained from the parts near Vallam in the Tanjore district. These bulls are owned and trained by the Kallars in the northern part of the State for bull-baiting (மஞ்சுவிரட்டுதல்), of which an account will be given later on. The Pulikkulam bulls are intractable, and even the cows of this breed are fierce. These cows do not, for some months after the first calving, allow themselves to be milked, unless their attention is diverted by a man dancing at some distance before them with a stick in his hand covered by a *cumbly* and cries of "Ai, ai*". The bulls from the tract adjoining Vallam are known as "பசக்கிடைமாடு" from their being permitted to lie down together in open tracts for manuring purposes.

The wild cattle which are found in the forests of the State are not really a separate breed. They are country cattle which have "run wild for generations and are remarkable for their strength and endurance". They are occasionally caught and broken in.

Sheep and Goats. Two kinds of sheep are met with. The ordinary *Sembiliâdu* and the *Kurumbâdu* or Kurumbar's sheep. The latter are shaggy and are kept for the wool that they

* This has given rise to the proverb "ஆடிக்கறக்கிற மாட்டை ஆடிக்கறக்க வேண்டும்; பாடிக்கறக்கிற மாட்டைப் பாடிக்கறக்கவேண்டும்," *i.e.*, "Cows that must be danced to to give their milk must be danced to, and cows that must be sung to to give their milk must be sung to." The general application of the proverb is that, if you want to get anything from a man, you must humour his whims.

yield. Some of these yield white wool, which, with the black coloured wool obtained from the majority of such sheep, is used in producing striped *cumblis*.

Of goats there are two varieties—the ordinary *velládu*, which yields one kid a year, and sometimes two and even three kids at a time if it is well fed, and the *pallayattádu* which is shorter in size and yields four kids at a time once in six months.

Game. In the "Game Reserve Forests", which are specially protected for His Highness' shooting, are found wild pigs, spotted deer (புள்ளிமான்), antelopes (வெளிமான்), and hares. In the Nárttámalai forest, porcupines and wolves are met with as also hyænas occasionally.

Foxes and jackals are to be found almost everywhere. The civet cat (புனுகு பூனை) is met with in the Town forest but only rarely. Wild cattle are found in most of the forests, and wild cats and guana (உடும்பு) in some of them.

Among the game birds may be mentioned snipes (கோரைகுத்தி), jungle-fowls (காட்டுக்கோழி), quails (காடை), partridges (கவுதாரி) and several kinds of pigeons.

CHAPTER II.

GENERAL HISTORY.

TO THE TIME OF THE TONDAIMANS.

(Early Settlements, archæology, etc.)

The earliest references to the State. The earliest account that we find of any portion of this State is contained in a very ancient Tamil classic of the name of *Chilappadikáram,* which is believed to have been written "Eighteen Hundred Years Ago". The classic contains the name of a village, which has remained to this day almost unchanged, *Kodumbai* or *Kodumbálúr.* "The road from Uraiyúr (suburb of Trichinopoly) up to the great tank at Kodumbai lies through a desert full of rocks, mudhills, and thence there are three routes to Madura ....If you take the route * on the left hand (and this route must have passed through parts of the modern Pudukkóttai State) from Kodumbai, you will have to travel through fields and jungles and weary wastes to the mountain (Alagar's hill in Madura), whose summit is crowned with a temple to Vishnu".

This account shows that there were parts of the State that had big irrigation tanks and lands brought under cultivation as early as the first or the second century of the Christian era. But that most of the parts of the State were covered with forests and jungles goes without saying.

The Véduvars. These jungles and forests were originally the abode of the Véduvars (or hunters) and afterwards of the Kurumbars. The Véduvars (or Védars) were the most lawless of the Nága tribes. "Cattle-lifting and pillage and murder appear to have been the sole business of their life. They worshipped the dread

---

* See Chapter XI of *Chilappadikáram* and *Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai's "Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago"*, pp 149—150. *Akanánúru* and *Puranánúru* also, two other very ancient Tamil classics, contain references to portions of this State, such as Oliyamangalam and Idaiyarrúr.

Goddess Káli and slaughtered buffaloes at her shrine, to secure her favour in their plundering raids ".*

Panri Nádu. In the medieval division † of the Tamil land into twelve tracts, the portion between the Pándinádu with Madura as its capital and the Punal Nádu with the Káveri flowing through it is given a special name "Panri Nádu". The name "Panri Nádu" or "the land of pigs" has not been explained till now. There seems to be no doubt whatever that the name was given to these parts, after it had been peopled by the Kurumbars as shown below. A reference to chapters 58 and 59 of the Tamil classic *Vembattúrár Thiruvilaiyádal Puránam,* ‡ which is an account of the doings of the God Sundarésvarar of Madura, shows that, in this land of forests and jungles, there was a Vannia chief who had twelve sons, that these on account of their misdeeds were after their death born as pigs, that they were brought up on Panri Malai by Sundarésvara, the God of Madura, and that, when they grew up, they came to be known as "the twelve *Panri*-Kurumbars". The name *Panri Nádu* § may therefore be taken to mean 'the land of Kurumbars' and must have been given to these parts after the Kurumbars settled down here as shown below.

While the Punal Nádu to the north of the land of the Védars was under the Chóla rulers, and the Pándi Nádu to the south, under the Pándya rulers, the Panri Nádu does not seem to have had any special ruler. The land was afterwards brought under subjection partly by the Chólas and partly by the Pándyas, the river Vellár which flows four miles to the south of Pudukkóttai

---

* See "*Tamils Eighteen Centuries Ago*", p. 43. The account so far given is based on the classic *Chilappadikáram* and is correct. But Mr. Pillai's inference that the descendants of the Véduvars are now known by the appropriate title of *Kallar* or thieves seems to be unwarranted. There are such Vêduvars even now in the tracts near Piránmalai.

† Of the division of the Tamil land into twelve tracts, we find no mention in any ancient Tamil classic.

‡ This work, known also as the *old Thiruvilaiyádal Puránam*, has been recently edited and published by Pandit Mahámahópádhyàya M. R. Ry. Swàminátha Aiyar Avargal.

§ *Panrimalai* (= Varáha hills) is the name of the Palnis, and the Panrimalai origin may be taken to show that some of the Canarese-speaking Kurumbars came directly (crossing the Palnis) into these parts, from the Canarese country, just as they went to the Tondamandalam. 'Panri Nádu' may be taken also to mean the tract from the Palnis on the west to the Bay of Bengal on the east.

forming the boundary of the two kingdoms, as is mentioned below. Of these two portions, the tract to the north of the Vellár must have been first brought under subjection, as from the earliest times until recently this tract was known as "கோனாடு" or "the land of the king", while the land to the south of the river was known as "கானாடு" or "the forest land".

Sketch of South Indian History. It is outside the scope of this work to enter into a history of the early Chóla and Pándya kings, the Pallava kings, and the later Chóla and Pándya kings, who owned the whole or a portion of the tract of land now forming Pudukkóttai State. When the power of the Pallavas declined, in the eighth century, A. D, the northern and the western portion of the tract passed into the hands of the Chólas. The river Vellár* formed the traditional boundary of the Pándya and Chóla kingdoms, though the whole tract was often under the rule of the Chólas and occasionally under the sway of the Pándyas. The Mussulmans overran these parts in the early part of the fourteenth century; but from about the middle of the fifteenth century † we find Náyak generals holding sway in these parts. The Náyaks ultimately gave way about 1735 A. D., to the Mussulmans in Trichinopoly and Madura, and towards the close of the seventeenth century to the Marattas in Tanjore, and it was at the time that the Náyaks lost their power in Tanjore that the present line of Tondaimán rulers of Pudukkóttai first came into prominence.

Settlements of the Kurumbars. The earliest settlers in these parts may be taken to have been the Kurumbars, "the modern representatives of the ancient Pallavas who were once so powerful in Southern India". When they settled here cannot of course be definitely stated. They were found in Tondamandalam, the land of the Pallavas, in large numbers, and must have gradually drifted to these parts from that tract, or directly come over here from the Canarese country through the Palni hills.

---

* For example, *vide* the stanza beginning with "வெள்ளாறது வடக்காம்" where the Vellár is said to be the northern boundary of the Pándya kingdom.

† In 1438 we find one Lakshmana Danda Náyak called *Dakshinasamudrádhipati* or "Ruler of the Southern Sea" settled here, and his brother making a grant of land. [See Inscriptions at Piránmalai.]

Traces of Pallava rule are found in these parts in the sluice at Rásalippatti of the reign of *Nandi Pothan*, and the rock-cut cave-temples at Malayadippatti, Kunnandárkovil and Tirumayyam,* which may be assigned to the eighth century, A. D. It is therefore not unreasonable to surmise that the Kurumbars must have settled in these parts in the earlier centuries of the Christian era after driving out the Véduvars (or Védars), the original inhabitants.† Dr. Oppert cannot be wrong when he states that the Kurumbars must be regarded as the very old inhabitants of this land, who can contest with their Dravidian kinsmen the priority of occupation of the Indian soil.‡ The Kurumbars were a pastoral people, who owned large flocks of sheep. They have not disappeared from the State and are to be found now at places such as Sellukudi and Áranippatti, where they are engaged in making rough *cumblis* or woollen blankets.

The very large number of dolmens that are found scattered in various parts of the State may be taken by some to be another proof of the early settlement of the Kurumbars in these parts, though as a matter of fact these dolmens are found connected in Tamil literature with other classes of people. Mr. Cox, speaking in his *North Arcot Manual* of the temples of the Kurumbars, says that it seems impossible not to connect them with those structures called 'Pándava's temples', and that these are numerous where the Kurumbars are now found. It is also known that in the Bellary District a mound is raised over the grave of a Kurumba and three stones are set over the head, navel and feet.

Dolmens. We shall now give a short account of the curious monuments, known as dolmens. They are found either with stone-circles round them or without such circles.

Such of the dolmens as have been examined are rectangular in form (about 6′×4′×6′) and built with a number of stones forming the sides, with another slab laid over the top as a roof. In some cases two concentric circles of laterite boulders

* *Vide* the inscriptions at these places, and the Gazetteer.

† See Taylor's *Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts*, Vol. III, p. 409.

‡ *The Land of the Bharatas*, p. 158. See p. 443 of the *Christian College Magazine* for February, 1901, where the Kurumbars are shown to be distinctly Dravidian in type.

have been seen, the boulders of the outer circle being larger (about 12 to 18 inches in diameter), and in other cases a single circle alone has been noticed. The circles are not always complete, many boulders both of the inner and the outer circle being wanting. It is likely that they were originally in their places and have afterwards been removed.

It may be well to examine how these monuments came to exist. Various fanciful explanations* have been given of the origin of such structures, and we will refer to one or two of them. In some parts of Southern India, these are called *Pândavakkuli* or 'Pándava's pits', and the story is that "the five Pándavas dug them as a refuge from the persecution of Duryódhana". The beauty of this explanation is that the original correct name of the dolmen (*bhândakkuli*=a pit containing pots) was found unintelligible, *bhânaa* being a Sanskrit word not familiar to non-Brahmins, and the name was afterwards corrupted into a form which gave occasion for the creation of a story. The name was by others turned into *mândavar kuli* or 'the pit of the dead', which is in accordance with fact. The name for pits containing such pots in these parts is *mathamathakkathâli,* which is a corruption of *muthumakkaltâli* (pots for *old* people or pots in which *old* people were buried.) That persons of distinction were buried in pots in very early times will be found from a very ancient Tamil classic of the name of *Puranánúru,*† in the commentary on which the very name "Muthumakkaltâli", prevalent in these parts, is found. *Maniměkalai,*‡ another very ancient classic, refers also to this practice. The following facts mentioned in connection with the Kurumbars of North Arcot are quite in accordance with the explanation. "For each person of rank, § one of these monuments is constructed there periodically, and, always during the annual festivals, *puja* is made not only to the spirit

---

* See Rev. Taylor's *Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts*, Vol. III, p. 426.

† See Stanzas 228, 238 and 256.

‡ See Chapter VI, line 67.

§ See Mr. Cox's *Manual of the North Arcot District*, p. 223, where he adds "Though the Kurumbas bury, they do not *now* raise their monuments over the resting place of the corpse, nor can they build them upon anything approaching to the gigantic scale of the ancient kistvaen or dolmen."

of the deceased, but also to those of all who have died in the clan." *

There is another class of such pits in which no pots are found. These are known as "குரங்குப்பட்டடை" or "workshop of the monkeys". Mr. Taylor's explanation that "they were raised by certain men in the time of Rama, who had monkey's tails" is of the class of the Greek legend, which described Mount Etna in Sicily as the forge of Vulcan and the Cyclops with one eye. The local explanation that they were the camping stations of the monkeys that accompanied Ráma to Ceylon must also be taken to come under the same category. Mr. A. Rea, the Madras Government Archæologist, in an article in *the Journal of the Bengal Asiatic Society* † observes that "these were also burial places, and the males who had to be buried in a crouching or sitting posture were enclosed in receptacles, while the females who were placed in a horizontal posture required no such vessels."† Mr. H. O. D. Harding, M. C. S, in *the Madras Journal of Literature and Science for 1889–1894*, says "The pots were probably buried that they might be of service to the deceased in his happy hunting grounds—a practice and a belief which obtained, I believe, among the Maories of New Zealand........."

But a more probable explanation is that while burials in pits were given as a rule to *old* men of rank, burials in pots placed in sarcophagi were granted only to old men of exalted position that had done work deserving of special acknowledgment. This view is based on the 228th poem in *Puranánúru*, which, in the words of Dr. Pope, is "a perfect mine of information regarding the ancient customs and manners of the southern lands." In this poem a potter is addressed as follows :—"You are indeed to be pitied, as great indeed must be your difficulty. Now this Killi Valavan belongs to the line of Chólas,........whose glory, like the light of the sun, shines far and wide. He is a very powerful king with

* Mr. H. O. D. Harding in *the Madras Journal of Literature and Science for 1889–94* says that "the expense of making these structures must have been great, and it seems to me that they are probably the graves of the chiefs of some pre-historic people."

† See Vol. LVII, part I, No. 2,1888. The article is on "Some Pre-historic Burial Places in Southern India. (Megalithic and Earthenware Tombs at Pallavaram)".

elephants carrying banners that are never furled. He has now become a resident of the region of the Gods. If you desire to make a pot big enough to cover one of such eminence and glory, you must have the Earth as your wheel and the big Méru mountain itself as clay. Can you arrange for this? Certainly not."* From this poem it may be surmised that while the bodies of *old* men that had done meritorious work were enclosed in pots, the generality even of men of rank were not deemed worthy of this special honour.

In those times *sati* was practised, and, in another poem of the same book, a heroic woman appeals for burial with her husband, who may be taken to have been slain in the battlefield.

> "O potter, shaper of the urn,
> Like the little white lizard that sits
> In the garland of the axle † of the chariot,
> Over many a desert plain I've come with him;
> Make the funeral urn large enough for me too,
> Maker of the urns for the old town's burning ground". ‡

That what we have stated above is the only correct explanation of "structures without pots" and that other explanations such as that of Rev. Taylor that "pits without urns were places of worship by the votaries of some Goddess"§ are erroneous will appear from the Sixth Chapter of *Manimékalai,* the very ancient classic referred to already, which contains the description of a funeral ground and speaks of the following ways of disposing of dead bodies.

(1) Burning the bodies.

(2) Casting them away so that they might lie exposed, as is done by the Parsis on their "Towers of Silence".

(3) Burying the bodies in mud pits.

(4) Enclosing them in *low secure* places. The words தாழ் வயின் அடைப்போர் shows that kistvaens were meant by the writer.

---

* This stanza may be taken as showing that the practice had extended in those times to others than Kurumbars.

† "*In the garland of the axle*" is a misrendering for "on a spoke of the wheel."

‡ Dr. G. U. Pope's rendering of the 256th poem of the *Puranánúru.* About *sati* and worship paid to departed men, see the chapter on *Religion.*

§ See Taylor's *Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts,* Vol. III, page 426.

(5) Enclosing them in pots (தாழியில் அடைப்போர்). For the preservation of the pots, structures were raised.*

In such of the burial places as have been examined, no skeleton, or bone has been found, but "the absence of any traces of a skeleton is no wonder, as the body turns into earth, ashes and dust within fifty years, and as no attempt was made by bygone generations to preserve dead bodies from decay, decomposition and crumbling."†

Such burial places are found in large numbers in Áranipatti, Vaittikóvil, Perungulúr (Sirukaikkulam), Thennangudi, 5 miles to the north of the town where a field is called குராங்குப்பட்டடை வயல், Kâraiyúr, Kíranúr, Mánjanviduthi, Kalasamangalam (to the east of Pudukkóttai), *etc.*

It seems to have been the custom in later times to deposit in pots old feeble men, while living, so that they might easily be removed from place to place. It is usual with Hindu poets to speak of the land of a virtuous ruler as one in which men die only after reaching the full age of 100 years, and, as such people are likely to get feeble and helpless long before their death, the custom of depositing them in pots is said to have been introduced by a Chóla ruler. In *Vikrama Chólanulá* composed by the well-known poet O*tt*akkúttan in the twelfth century, we have

--மாறழிந்
தோடி மறலி யொளிப்ப முதுமக்கட்
சாடி வகுத்த தராபதியும் ;

that is, "the king, who, when the God of death, having lost his power (of inflicting death at his pleasure), ran away and concealed himself, devised the system of depositing old men in pots". The same idea occurs in *Sankara Chólanulá* also. Such people, when they died, must have been buried, without having been removed from the pots.

---

* Dr. Pope has taken some pains to prove that the statement of Dr. Caldwell in his chapter on "Sepulchral Urns," in his *History of Tinnevelly* that "when these urns were used, cremation must have been unknown and burial the universal practice" is incorrect. The passage quoted above from *Manimékalai* shows conclusively that at one and the same time there were several ways in which the corpses were disposed of.

† The *Madras Mail* for April 19, 1911.

Roman Coins at Karukkakkuricchi. It must have been in these early times that the Roman coins (*aurei*) of which a large number were found in 1898 at Karukkákkurcchi, ten miles to the east of Álangudi, must have been brought to the place and buried.

According to *Chilappadikaram*, the very ancient Tamil classic referred to above, which gives an interesting account of the Tamil land, there was a colony of the Romans at Kávérippattanam, the capital of the Chólas, and a number of Roman soldiers were employed to guard the gates of the fort of Madura. We also know that Roman ships touched at Korkai, once a flourishing port in the Tinnevelly District, at Muchiri on the Western Coast and several other ports in South India, and that Rome sent to India every year at least 55,000,000 sesterces (about £ 500,000), receiving from India articles which were sold for a hundred times their value.

Captain R. H. C. Tufnell, an authority on *numismatics* observes* "Though at first Egypt was the medium of trade between Rome and the Indies, we know that, after the subjugation of that country by the Imperial troops, a very considerable direct trade sprang up between the two countries and in consequence of this, the Roman issues found in Southern India......... are supposed to have been conveyed in Roman ships to be bartered for the ivory and ebony that adorned the boudoir of the fair maids of Imperial Rome and for the pepper and spices in which their hearts delighted. That such was the case with the large hordes of *aurei* that from time to time have been unearthed is more than probable, for from time immemorial the native of South India has loved to bury his riches in the ground, and the merchants who carried their goods from the interior for sale to the Roman ships......... doubtless on their return home made mother earth the banker. The perfect state of preservation, too, in which these coins have almost invariably been found precludes the possibility of their having been much in circulation." Mr. Thurston, the late Superintendent of the Madras Museum and another great authority on *numismatics*, is of a different opinion. In his "Roman, Indo-Portuguese and Ceylon Coins," he mentions that "the Roman coins were introduced into India so plentifully that they appear to have formed part of the ordinary

* In his "*Hints to Coin Collectors in South India.*"

currency of the country and even the name of the Roman '*denarius*' has survived to our own day in that of the Indian '*dinar*'. The beauty of the Roman coins, as compared with those of the Hindu princes, contributed to their diffusion throughout all parts of India and was perhaps the principal cause of their preservation........; money and valuables were concealed on emergencies of various kinds, but especially on the breaking out of war between two neighbouring princes. Only one or two persons would be acquainted with the place of concealment, and, if it happened that they were killed in the war or through the continuance of hostilities unable to return to the place, their secret died with them, and it was reserved for well-diggers or miners, for the action of rain or changes in the course of rivers, to bring the hidden wealth to light".

An account * may now be given of the coins that were unearthed in 1898 at Karukkákkuricchi.

"The hoard was discovered early in 1898, and to the energy of (the late) Mr. Crossley, His Highness' Private Secretary, we owe it, that the hoard was secured very nearly, if not altogether intact, though the native who discovered it made strenuous attempts to defeat the ends of *numismatics* and the law. His Highness has generously presented to the British Museum such varieties as were required for the national collection. They are unfortunately without exception in bad condition, having evidently been in circulation a long time before they were buried. In addition to this, more than 90 *per cent.* of them have been deliberately defaced with a file or chisel.

"The most curious feature of this find is the treatment to which nearly all the coins have been subjected. Various explanations suggest themselves. One, that the incisions were made to test the genuineness of the coins, is disproved; for without exception it is the head that is defaced, and, had the object been merely to test the metal, a stab in any other part of the coin would have served the purpose, and out of the heads on 461 coins some at least would have escaped........It only remains, therefore,

* The account is mostly quoted from "*Roman Aurei from Pudukota, Southern India*" by Mr. S. F. Hill, M. A., reprinted from the *Numismatic Chronicle*, Third Series, Vol. XVIII, pp. 304–320.

to suppose that the coins were defaced by political authority, as being too much worn for further circulation, and were awaiting the melting pot, when the secret of their concealment was lost".

Altogether 501 coins were discovered, and the following table will show when and by whom they were struck.

No.	Names of the Emperors, *etc.*	Mr. Hill's list. Number in the hoard.	Mr. Hill's list. Number defaced.	Mr. Robert Sewell's list.
1	Augustus Cæsar (B. C. 29 to A. D. 14).	40	38	40
2	Tiberius Cæsar (A. D. 14—37)	163	148	169
	Tiberius and Augustus	6	6	
3	Nero Drusus (B. C. 38—A. D. 9) (Drusus the Elder)	11	8	11
4	Antonia, wife of Drusus ...	15	15	15
5	Germanicus and Caligula ...	8	8	8
6	Agrippina, wife of Germanicus...	1	1	1
7	Caligula (A. D. 37-41) / Caligula and Augustus ...	5	5	5
8	T. Claudius (A. D. 41-54) ...	89	82	94
	Claudius and Nero ...	5	5	
9	Agrippina and Claudius ...	22	20	32
	Agrippina and Nero ...	10	10	
10	Nero (A. D. 54-68) ...	123	112	123
11	Vespasianus (A. D. 69-79) ...	3	3	3
		501	461	501

Inscriptions and Copper plates. As most of the facts to be found in several portions of this Chapter are based on inscriptions found all through the State and on copper-plates, it may be well to give at the outset a general idea of their contents.

I. *Inscriptions.* All the inscriptions in the State, of which there may be as many as 1,500, have not as yet been copied or examined. The Archæological Department of this State is now engaged in taking facsimile impressions of the inscriptions, and it will be several months before this work is completed, the facsimile copies are examined and their contents made available for

historical purposes. But nearly two-thirds of the inscriptions have been copied and the copies, it has been ascertained, may be depended upon for the accuracy of the facts that have been collected from them. The inscriptions in general deal with matters of various kinds, and refer among other affairs to

(1) grants of land for offerings to Gods at temples at stated times, for ever-burning lamps, for lamps to burn during specified periods, for distribution of food to people (travellers and others) who apply for it, for conducting festivals, for securing the services of dancing girls and drummers for temples, *etc.* [The services to be done by dancing girls are mentioned in some of them, சாக்கிக்கூத்து, the ancient dance referred to in *Chilappadikàram*, being specifically named in one of them.]

(2) sale and purchase of temple lands and private lands,

(3) asssignment of the order in which fields were to be watered,

(4) settlements of disputes by references to previous orders and inscriptions,

(5) proclamations remitting taxes, and other proclamations such as the curious one—that every body would be helped in keeping his things from others—very necessary in those troublous times,

(6) declarations that paddy might be paid instead of money as land tax, that a chieftain would be satisfied with such and such payments, *etc.*,

(7) agreements among people to live amicably and to tax themselves for certain common purposes, and among chieftains not to fight with one another,

(8) grants of land for the upkeep of watersheds, of gardens for growing flowers for temples, of drinking-water tanks (in one case for the Pallar caste),

(9) the charity of persons in erecting temples, *mantapams*, towers and pillars, in presenting images to temples, and in furnishing the money required for making such images, cars, *etc.*, for arranging for offerings, festivals and processions, *etc.*

The most ancient inscription is the inscription in Páli, found on what is known as 'எழுப்பட்டம்' (the flat reached by seven steps) at Sittannavásal,—a level space chipped out of the rock at

the place as a sleeping placc. The inscription in Páli,which is as old as the second century B. C., is in Bráhmí characters. To use the words of a Madras Government Epigraphical Report "the purport of the record is not quite intelligible, a clue to the right interpretation of these early records being yet to be discovered". Some other inscriptions at the place are in very old Tamil.

There are fragments of Pallava-grantha inscriptions at Tirugókarnam, Tirumayyam, Kudumiámalai and Malayakkóvil (Tamil and Grantha of the Pallava period) and there is a treatise on music in Pallava-grantha inscribed on a wall of the temple at Kudumiámalai (see the gazetteer). There is a Chola-grantha inscription (in the Múvarkóvil) as well as an old Canarese inscription at Kodumbálúr, the former containing the beginning of a genealogy and the latter mentioning Vikramakêsarin, a ruler of the place referred to in the genealogy. Inscriptions in old and archaic Tamil are found at about twenty places (see Appendix G) including Sittannavásal mentioned already, Nárttámalai, Kundrándàrkóvil, Malaiyadippatti, Rájálippatti, Tirumayyam and Ténímalai.

Caverns and Rock-cut Temples. As two of these places have cavelike portions of hills naturally or artificially adapted for human habitation—Tënimalai and Sittannavásal—and of the other places many have rock-cut temples, it may be well to insert a few paragraphs here from Dr. Fergusson's *Rock-cut Temples of India* and from the annual Reports of the Madras Epigraphical Department explaining the nature of these monuments and the uses to which they were put and referring to certain historical facts which may be deduced therefrom.

"Experts in ancient architecture believe that the Buddhists were the first to make use of permanent materials for building and sculptural purposes and that the followers of other creeds subsequently copied them. The idea of using natural caves for religious purposes must have been started by the Buddhists, whose creed makes it binding on the monks to resort to such out of the way places. The practice of making caverns fit for human habitation by slight alterations was probably an intermediate stage. To this period may be allotted the caverns which have

beds cut into them (like the cavern at Sittannavásal) .... It therefore seems that the caverns with beds and inscriptions ...... are Buddhist monuments and that the other structures connected with each of the caverns, which have consisted of less permanent materials (the small pit-like excavations in the lower boulder of the cavern at Sittannavásal intended for the planting of poles prove this) have since disappeared altogether.

"In connection with the beds are inscriptions, the alphabet of which resembles that of the Asoka edicts (Bráhmí characters) and may be assigned roughly to the end of the 3rd century and the beginning of the 2nd century B. C. .... The discovery of the Bráhmí records in Southern India will now be recognised by students of Indian history as a proof of the Aryan influence in this part of the peninsula in at least the third century B. C., in spite of the belief entertained by some that Southern India was entirely swayed by Dravidian thought and influence from prehistoric times down to a period later than that to which we could refer these ancient inscriptions.......It is not unreasonable to suppose that Asoka's Buddhist missionaries in Ceylon passed through the Tamil country and even attempted to propagate the Buddhist creed there in spite of the *Mahávamsa*, which says that they flew in the air and arrived in Ceylon .... The Chinese pilgrim Hiuen Tsiang says 'There are the ruins of many old convents .... ' The numerous Jain figures and beds together with Bráhmí records existing in one and the same cavern again raise the suspicion that these caverns, once occupied by the Buddhists, were in a subsequent period appropriated by the Jaina ascetics, whose religious institutions—particularly those relating to mendicancy—could not have been far different from those of the Buddhists".

"The rock-cut caves are of much later date than the caverns. They were in no case intended for the habitation of the ascetics as the Buddhist and Jaina caverns were. The rock-cut temples of the Pallava period came into existence during the reign of Mahendravarman I, in the first half of the seventh century A.D." In the Pudukkóttai State there are 15 rock-cut temples at Tirugókarnam, Tirumayyam (3), Kudumiámalai, Kundrándár-kóvil, Malaiyadippatti (2), Nárttámalai (3), Malayakkóvil,

Sittannavásal (2), and Kottaiyur and the rock-cut temple of Malaikkolundisvaramudaiyár. These must have come into existence between 600 A. D., and 800 A. D. It is explicitly stated in an inscription at Malaiyadippatti that the temple at the place was excavated in the reign of Nandippóttaraiyar *i. e.*, in the eigth century—by a chieftain of the name of Vidélvidugu Muttaraiyan.

Dr. Fergusson in his '*Rock-cut Temples of India*' says "Altogether it has been calculated that there may be in India 1,000 excavations, nine-tenths of which are Buddhist and the remaining 100 divided between the Brahminic and the Jaina religion. They thus form not only the most numerous, but the most interesting series of architectural remains in India before the Muhammadan conquest.

"As the Brahmins excavated caves only in order to signalise their triumph over their enemies, the Buddhists, they had no purpose to guide them and their excavations are more varied in character and not so easily classified. They are divided into two classes—*viharas* (with no cells or arrangements for residence as in Buddhist examples) and temples ...... The Brahminic temples are still more unlike the Buddhist examples, as there are invariably exteriors and (the temples) have consequently no meaning when cut in rock ...."

The cavern at Sittannavasal. The following note on the cavern at Sittannavásal has been very kindly furnished to me by Mr. H. Krishna Sastriar, B. A., Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Ootacamund.

"Half a mile to the east of the village Sittannavásai, there is a cavern in the rock, almost in the middle of a hill, which lies north to south. It is formed by a natural cleft, which divides the top portion from the bottom. The approach to it is very difficult, as one has to climb over the hill at its southern extremity, and after reaching the top, he has to get down a precipice nearly to a depth of nearly ten feet; and this, it may be remarked, has to be done by the help of seven square pits cut in the rock just enough for the foot to rest. [The cavern gets its name Éladippattam from these seven pits.] Then going nearly fifteen feet on a foot-path which is barely sufficient for one to walk on with care, he reaches a broader space; pursuing his course to a further distance of ten feet, he gets to the cavern itself. The height of the cavern is just enough to permit one to sit. Here, on the bottom boulder, there are 17 beds, some of which are damaged; but all of them are provided with a raised portion at one end to serve as a pillow

for the head. Like the beds found in other parts of the country, these allow sufficient space for a man to lie down comfortably.*

"The following Tamil and Bráhmi inscriptions are engraved on the pillow side of some of the beds. The former consist of a number of Tamil names written in early characters of about the ninth century and the latter cannot be interpreted.

The Tamil inscriptions.

1. தொழக்குன்றத்துக்
 கடவுளன் திருநீலன்.
2. திருப்பூரணன்.
3. திட்டைச்சாணன்.
4. திருச்சாத்தன்.
5. ஸ்ரீபூரணசந்திரன்
 நியத்தகரன்பட்ட
 க்காழி
6. ....த்துார்
 ....த்துார்க்கடவுளன்.

The Bràhmi inscription.

e u mi (?) ná *ta* ku mu *ttû* ú ra (?) pi jú na tá ká vu *ti* í te ná ku ci *tú* po ma (?) la í lu

Round the Corner.

Gha (?) ra ce tá a *ta* a ná ma."

Inscriptions continued. Facsimile copy of the Bráhmí inscription at Sittannavásal and facsimile copies of nine other old Tamil inscriptions with the same printed in the ordinary Tamil characters of these days and English renderings are given in Appendix H. In addition to the Bráhmí, old Tamil, Pallava-grantha, Chola-grantha and old Canarese inscriptions mentioned above, there is an inscription at Ponnamarávati dated 1449 A. D., which begins in Grantha and refers to the fact of a village having been set apart for the recitation of Nammálwár's திருவாய் மொழி in a Vishnu temple at the place, and another inscription in Grantha at Kudimiámalai mentioning a Kumbhábhishékam of the Síva temple at the place in the time of one Víra Pándya. Other inscriptions are in medieval or modern Tamil, if we except the single

* The following remarks applying to Tirupparankunram apply also to Sittannavàsal. "A few miles higher up the border of the sheltering rock and across its full breadth, the margin is chiselled off and cut into a narrow drain to carry off the water from the roof .... The existence of footholds leading into the cavern, the holes cut deep into the rock by their side meant perhaps to receive poles which once supported a railing ...., the beds with pillow lofts dressed smooth as if they were meant for some special use—all these indicate that in some remote time the cavern was the abode of one or more recluses either Buddhist or Jaina, whose wants were far below those of ordinary mortals".

Maratti inscription at Malaiyadippa*tti*, a fragment of a pretty old Telugu inscription at Vírakkudi and the very recent Telugu inscriptions at Kudumiámalai, Péraiyúr and Tiruvarankulam. A tabular statement of the inscriptions in the State with their number and the places where they are engraved will be found in Appendix G. to this volume. The number of inscriptions that have been brought to account so far is 1030, * of which 219 are found in the Álangudi Taluk, 387 in the Tirumayyam Taluk and 424 in the Kulattúr Taluk. To get an idea of the value of the inscriptions in the State, it will be enough to know that "while in the Madras Presidency about 120 inscriptions have been found for the Pàndyas of the 13th century, in Pudukkottai State alone there are eighty additional inscriptions of the same class and period".

That these inscriptions were referred to in cases of dispute will be evident from an inscription at Tirukkulákkudi, Tirumayyam Taluk, from which we find that a piece of land was claimed and intended to be sold by one Vijaya Tévan and some others but that the temple authorities at the place objected to this, claiming the land as temple property, that an inscription was pointed out from which it was seen that the land did not belong to the temple, and that the temple authorities ultimately paid for the land and purchased it for the temple.

As these inscriptions were considered to be so many documents of value, we find from an inscription at Kudimiyámalai that when, in repairing the temple, a portion of an old inscription had to be removed from its place, and what remained could not by itself give any sense, the whole inscription was again engraved in another portion of the temple, the circumstance in which this was done being carefully explained. It is rather curious that at Tirumayyam, after the settlement of a dispute between the temples of Siva and Vishnu at the place, Appanna, (son of a general Ravidéva of the Hoysala King Vírasôméswarayya,) who settled the dispute about 1250 A. D., ordered the destruction of an old inscription, containing instructions that probably differed from the terms that were then agreed upon, as the inscription was said to be in an unknown tongue. Thus what was perhaps a valuable inscription from a historical point of view is found mutilated at the place.

II. *Copper plates.* These are of two classes.

* In addition to these inscriptions, the State Archæologist says that there are about 200 inscriptions, which, in his opinion, are of little importance. Facsimile copies might have been taken of these inscriptions also.

1. Those that relate to grants made by the Tondaimáns in the eighteenth and nineteenth centuries. These are quite reliable and will be used in writing the history of the Tondaimán line of rulers.

2. Plates referring to the earlier centuries. Many of these relate to the grants made by the Kárála Vellálars and the strifes that led to the settlements in these parts of the Kallars and the Maravars. While the precise dates of these grants cannot be depended upon, there does not seem to be any valid ground for disputing their general authenticity. These, with a valuable manuscript Geography of Kánádu, will be used in writing the history of the settlements of the Kárála Vellálars, the Kallars and the Maravars.

Settlements of the Karala Vellalars in the Tamil land. The Vellálars are found settled in the Chóla land long before the first century of the Christian era. There are references to these in the oldest classics. *Chilappadikàram** speaks of 'the old flourishing villages peopled by men, who by their tillage relieved the wants of beggars and produced the prosperity of their rulers". And *Puranánúru* contains many poems relating to tillers, in one of which † agricultural operation is especially extolled, a Chóla king being informed that even his victories in wars should be attributed to the agricultural operations that were carried on in his land, and that his enemies would worship him, if he would protect the people who were in charge of the plough, and by this act afford protection to the rest of the people in his land. Another poem ‡ in this old classic refers to a Vellála ruler with fertile fields in the tract of land in and to the south-east of the modern Pudukkóttai State. The accounts that are given in *Puranánùru* and in the commentary on *Tolkàppiyam*, the oldest and the best Tamil Grammar composed before the second century A. D., are to the effect that Agastya, who was the first Brahmin to settle in these parts, brought with him Vellálars of eighteen sections, and that in the first or second century of the Christian era, the Vèl or Vellála chieftains had lived in the Tamil land for forty-nine generations. § We may infer from this that the Vellálars began to settle in the Tamil country very long before the commencement of the Christian era, and that there were chieftains or rulers of the Vellála class subject to the Pándyas, the Chólas and the Chéras.

* See Chapter X, 148—150 and Chapter V.

† See 35th poem.

‡ See 24th poem.

§ See *Puranànúru*, 201st poem, and the commentary on the 32nd stanza of *Tolkàppiyam Poruladikàram.*

Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai, in his "Tamils Eighteen Hundred Years Ago" * speaks of the Vellálars of the first and second centuries of the the Christian era as follows:—"Of the men living in society, the *ulavar* or the farmers occupied the highest position. They formed the nobility or the landed aristocracy of the country. They were also called Vellálar "lords of the flood" or Kárálar "lords of the clouds", titles expressive of their skill in controlling floods and in storing water for agricultural purposes. The Chéra, Chóla and Pándya kings and most of the petty chiefs of Tamilakam belonged to the tribe of Vellálars. The poor families of Vellálars, who owned small estates, were generally spoken of as the *veelkudi ulavar* or "the fallen Vellálars", implying thereby that the rest of the Vellálars were wealthy landholders. When Karikál the Great defeated the Aruválas and annexed their territory to his kingdom, he distributed the conquered lands (comprising Tondamandalam with Conjeveram as its chief town) amongst Vellálar chiefs. The Vellálars were also called the Gangakula or the Gangavamsa, because they derived their descent from the great and powerful tribe named Gangaridæ, which inhabited the valley of the Ganges, as mentioned by Pliny and Ptolemy". Mr. Pillai mentions also that the Vellálars founded the Bellál dynasty of the Canarese country, the Gangavamsa dynasty of Orissa and the lines of the Vélema chiefs in the Telugu country.

Some of the statements contained in the foregoing extract are not generally accepted and we may here quote the following extract from Mr. Nelson's *Madura Country* relating to the Vellálars in these parts.

"Tradition uniformly declares them to be the descendants of foreign immigrants, who were introduced by the Pándyas; and it appears to be extremely probable that they are, and that an extensive Vellála immigration took place at a rather remote period, perhaps a little before or after the colonisation of the Tondamandala by Adondai Chakravarti† .... With regard to the assertion so commonly made that the Pándyas belonged to

---

* See pp. 113—114.

† "About the eighth or ninth century". See Mr. Stuart's *Edition of the North Arcot Manual*, p. 39.

the Vellála caste, it is observable that tradition is at issue with it and declares that the Pándyas proper were Kshatriyas; but they were accustomed to marry wives of inferior castes as well as and in addition to wives of their own caste. This, however, is a question, the settlement of which requires great antiquarian learning, and it must be settled hereafter".

Settlements of the Vellalàrs in the State. It is clear from *Chilappadikáram* and *Puranánúru* that Vellálars were found in the Pudukkóttai State—at Kodumbálúr and the parts near Kalaváippa*tt*ichatram—as early as the first or second century, A. D. But that there were altogether only a limited number of Vellála settlements in those early days goes without saying. The Vellálars must have emigrated to and occupied these parts in large numbers in the seventh or eighth century, as the Kárálars are found to have settled in Malabar, according to Mr. Thurston, * "*at the latest* in the 9th century A. D."

The following account of the settlements of the Vellálars within the limits of the State is based upon a palmleaf manuscript †filed as a record in the Pudukkóttai Chief Court: "Ádondai Chakravarti brought these Vellálars with him (from Conjevaram) into the tracts subject to the Chólas, and Ugra Peru Valuthi, the Pàndya king, selected 48,000 good families and imported them from east Conjevaram and settled them in Pándya land. The Chólanádu tract occupied by the Vellálars was called Kónádu or the land of the king, and the Pàndya tract was known as Kánádu or forest land. The former extended from Uraiyúr near Trichinopoly to Sólavandán in the Madura district, and included Piránmalai Ponnamarávati, Káraiyúr, Oliamangalam, Annavásal and Vayalókam. It comprised five-eighths of the land occupied by the Vellálars, the other three-eighths forming Kánádu. The latter tract lay to the south and east of Kónádu, extended as far south as Tondi and Kálaiyárkóvil and included the whole of the present Álangudi Taluk and the eastern portion of the Tirumayyam Taluk from Virácchalai".

* See Article on Nanchinàd Vellálars in Mr. Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*.

† The book is very interesting as it gives copious information relating to the ancient Geography of Kánádu. It belongs to Tékka*tt*úr Subrahmanya Vélàr, a member of a Kârâla Vellâlar family.

The Vellálars must have subdued the Kurumbars, driven them out to parts considered by the Vellálars as useless for their purposes, and made themselves lords of the land. In almost all the documents relating to them, we find than calling themselves "Nilattarasu" or "rulers of the soil", as opposed to "Mudiarasu" or "crowned kings," namely, the Chóla and the Pándya kings. This would mean that they were practically the lords of the land, subject only in a general way to the Pándya and the Chóla kings. That this inference is not incorrect will be seen from what is stated in the commentary on *Tolkáppiyam.* In the commentary on *Tolkàppiyam*, III, 30, it is mentioned that the Véls (Vellála chieftains) gave their daughters in marriage to the crowned kings. This shows that these were generally considered to be men of high rank and position, and were treated as such by the Pándya and the Chóla rulers. They are also said to have enjoyed the right of crowning the kings.

The origin of the name Kàràla. The following account is given of the origin of the name Kárála Vellálars and is based on a story in *Madura Sthalapurànam*, a work already referred to.

"In old times a quarrel happened between the Raja of Pándyadésa and the god Dévéndra, and things went to such lengths that the angry god commanded the clouds not to send down any rain on Pándyadésa, so that the inhabitants were sorely distressed by severe drought, and laid their complaints before the Raja, who flew into a rage, marched his army against Dévendra, defeated him in battle, seized on the clouds and put them in prison, in consequence of which not a drop of rain fell on any part of the Bhúloka or earthly world, which threw the people into a great consternation, and the whole with one accord addressed their prayers to Dévéndra, the god of the firmament and beseeched him to relieve them from their present distress. Dévéndra sent an ambassador to the Raja of Pándyadésa and requested that he would release the clouds, but he refused to do it, unless they gave security for their future good behaviour and would likewise promise that they would never again withhold the rain from falling in due season in his kingdom. At this juncture the Vellál caste of Pándyadésa became security for the clouds and from that circumstance were surnamed Kára Káva Vellál Wáru (or in Tamil Kárkátta Vellálars) or redeemers of the clouds".

For the service that the Vellálars thus rendered to Indra, they are said to have received from the God the white elephant,* the white umbrella, plough-flag, red-lily garland, and the designation "பூமிபாலர்" or "protectors of the soil".

The Kárálars, good agriculturists. The Kárála Vellálars were very skilful agriculturists. Their work must have consisted in clearing the forests and jungles and rendering the land fit for cultivation, building dams and anicuts for the rivers in the State, excavating irrigation tanks as also canals to connect the rivers with these tanks, and digging a lrge number of wells in suitably selected places for irrigation in seasons of drought.

The Kárála Vellálars seem to have possessed the faculty amounting to instinct of finding out underground springs. They were thus able to dig wells giving an unfailing supply of water for agricultural purposes. The peculiarity of these wells is that they are not deeper than twenty feet and that they always tap underground currents, giving the wells a copious supply of water. The large number of wells that are shown as "Kárálars' wells" are mostly circular in form and built of brick and mortar, water being baled out by lifts. But some of the wells in Kodumbálúr, where these Vellálars flourished, are built of granite stone and are rectangular in form. With reference to the methods of agriculture that they adopted, there is a body of literature in Tamil that deals with this subject and which might have come into existence during the days of the Kárála Vellálars. Much of the literature is connected with astrology, and deals with such subjects as the soil, the seasons, rain, winds, cattle, ploughing and sowing.

The name *Kàrkàtta (*or *rain-awaiting)* which is applied to them may therefore be taken to mean *those that waited for rain.* Mr. Thurston in his article on *Vellàlars*† is of opinion that, notwithstanding the legends about their origin, they are probably a territorial subdivision named from a place called Káraikkádu. This opinion is not supported by any record or tradition, and there is nothing to prevent us from supposing that the name *Kárkátta Vellálar* was given to them, as they, being an agricultural people, were *waiters for rain*, and that the name *Kàràlar*

* Models of white elephants are used by some Vellálars on marriage occasions.

† See Mr. Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VII, p. 375.

(or rulers of clouds) came to be applied to them very probably as they were very successful agriculturists that could raise crops without depending on rain, and were taken therefore by men that did not understand their processes to be powerful enough to control the clouds.

It will be found from the copper plates now in existence that the Kárála Vellálars were found scattered all over the State. We find them settled, for example, in Tékká*tt*úr, Káraiyúr, Virácchalai, Ponnamarávati, Oliamangalam, Idayá*rr*úr, Péraiyúr, Arimalam and Válaramánikkam in Tirumayyam Taluk, Annavásal, Kíranúr. Vayalókam, Kunnandárkovil and Vísengináḍu in Kulattúr Taluk, Perungulúr, Mullúr, Tiruvarankulam, Kulaváippa*tt*i, Anbilnádu and Kattakkurucchi in Álangudi Taluk. Traces of a ruined fort, said to have been built by Vellálars, are found at Kodumbálúr.

The villages and the forts in which the Vellálars lived must also have been brought into existence by them. They seem to have been a religious and charitable people, and most of them are said to have been staunch Saivaites. They are known to have granted rent-free lands to Brahmins and endowed many temples including those at Tiruvarankulam, Kudumiámalai, Kunnandárkoil, Vadaválam and Kalasamangalam. Some of the temples in the State must have been built by them ; but the Kárálars cannot be compared in any way as temple builders with the Chóla kings.

Settlements of "the eighteen castes". When the Vellálars settled in the Pudukkóttai tract, "the eighteen castes" that are associated with them in Tamil classics and looked up to them for support, must have been brought by them into these parts. These castes must have existed from very early times, as may be evident from the stanza in the very ancient well-known classic *Tirukkural*, which says "It is only those that live by ploughing that live (independent of others); all others live by respectfully following the farmers." The eighteen sections of people that are stated to have worked *expressly* for the Kárála Vellálars and got their subsistence from them were

1. The Barbers.
2. The Potters.

3. The Washermen.
4. The *Occhans*, or scribes and accountants who wrote down what was dictated to them. *
5. The Blacksmiths.
6. The Goldsmiths.
7. The Braziers.
8. The Carpenters.
9. The Masons.

(5–9: The five classes of *Kammàlars*.)

10. The *Orrai Sekkân* (oil-pressers using single bullocks).
11. The *Irattai Sekkân* (oil-pressers using two bullocks).
12. The *Ilai Vâniyans*, or Betel-leaf growers. [*Ilai*=leaf.]

(10–12: Three classes of *Vàniyans*.)

13. The Garland-makers (flower-sellers) for temples, *etc.*
14. The Tailors.
15. The *Pallis* or Watchmen.
16. The *Valaiyars* or Fishermen.
17. The Shepherds.
18. The Bards.

தொண்டைமண்டலவரிசை மூவாறுகுடிமக்கள்
சுருதிநாள் முதலாகவே
துங்கமிகுநாவிதன் குயவன் வண்ணானோலை
சொன்னபடி யெழுதுமோச்சன்
கண்டகம்மாளர்வகையைவர் வாணியர் மூவர்
கந்தமலர்மாலைகாரர்
கலைமீதுசரடோட்டு பாணன் தலைக்கடைக்
காவல்புரிபள்ளிவலையன்
பண்டுமுதலூரான் மறிக்குமிடையன்விருது
பலகூறுவீரமுடையான்
பதினெண்மர் குடிமக்களனைவருங்காராளர்
பணிசெய்து பலமுறைமையுங்
கொண்டுபெரிவட்டமுங்கட்டி யேவருவரிக்
குவலயமதிக்கவேதான்
கூறரியகச்சிவாமேழகம்பராலயக்
குமுதத்திலிட்டலிபியே.

These workmen seem to have got their means of subsistence in various ways. In some cases, workmen were paid directly for the work that they did, like the smiths and the washermen. These and others like the potters had ears of corn set apart for them in the paddy fields, from which they were to gather the produce. The smiths, the potters and others had also annual assignments of paddy to them, which they received soon after the harvest. The barbers, the potters and the washermen received also

* See p. 16 of *Vélànmarapiyal.*

களப்பிச்சை or paddy that was offered to them as a free gift in the paddy fields soon after the harvest, and அகத்தன்னம் or cooked rice offered to them in the houses of the Vellálars.*

During the most prosperous days of the Vellálars, we find the Kónádu divided into three Kúrrams, (Uraiyúr division, Oliyúr division, and Urattúr division), which were subdivided into 64 Nádus, containing 756 villages. Assignments of lands had been made to 212 temples and of 21 villages to Brahmins. The portion of Kánádu with which we are concerned formed portions of two divisions called Kána Kúrram or Athali Kúrram and Milalai Kúrram. Of these the former division is known to have been divided into 24 Nádus, containing 108 villages, the total number of assignments to temples and Brahmins having been only 16.

Disputes among the Vellálars. The Kárála Vellálars seem to have lived for a long time in peace, plenty and prosperity. But the enjoyment of power by the Kónádu Vellálars led to a desire for more, and we find that these Vellálars, not satisfied with the lands and power they had, tried to advance themselves by weakening the Kárála Vellálars. About this time we find Kónádu or the portions of the Uraiyúr and Oliyúr divisions lying within the Pudukkóttai State limits under the following seven chieftains—

Sammatiráyar; Konguráyar;
Kadambaráyar; Kálingaráyar;
Máluvaráyar; Achyutaráyar and
Kumataráyar.

The tract of Kánádu land in connection with which disputes arose was under a single chieftain of the line of Vánádiráyars.† This family seems to have lived at Vándrákóttai (a corruption of Vánádiráyankóttai) six miles east of Pudukkóttai, and a brother of a Vànàdiráyar, Kundradiráyar, has given his name to Kundrápettai, eight miles east of Pudukkóttai. The brothers seem to have exercised considerable power and Vánàdiráyar made grants of several villages. Even after the Vellálars lost their power, as

* This account is based on a commentary by one *Agastyappa Mudaliàr* on *Tondamandala Satakam*, a poem written in praise of the Vellálars. See Vellore edition, pp. 279—281, where some of the castes given above are left out and other castes, such as dancing girls, slaves, *etc.*, are inserted.

† The Tekkattur manuscript mentions Vànàdiràyar, Dharmaràyar, Kàlingaràyar and Villuva Ráyar as the four chieftains (or big families) that settled in Kánàdu.

will be shewn presently, the Vánádiràyars together with the Kálingaráyars and the Kadambaráyars do not disappear altogether from history, but are found as subordinate chieftains of limited power.

The main object of the Kónádu Vellálars seems to have been to seize from the Kánádu Vellálars all the lands to the north of the *Vellàr* and to drive Vánádiráyar to the south of the river. The points in dispute are said to have been in connection with lands, temples, tanks, temple honours and the right to the use of the water of the Vellár. The fights that resulted between the two sections of the Vellálars not only weakened the Vellálars themselves, but led to the settlement in their tracts of the Maravars and Kallars.

Settlements of the Maravars. The Maravars are a fierce, warlike people who lived from the most ancient times in the forest tracts mostly to the south of the modern Pudukkóttai territory. "Of strong limbs and hardy frames, and fierce-looking as tigers, wearing long and curled locks of hair, the blood-thirsty Maravars, armed with the bow bound with leather, ever ready to injure others, shoot their arrows at poor and helpless travellers.........The wrathful and furious Maravar, whose curled beards resemble the twisted horns of the stag, the loud twang of whose powerful bowstrings and the strong sound of whose double-headed drums, compel even kings at the head of large armies to turn back and fly..."* The settlement of the Maravars within the limits of the Pudukkóttai State was due, however, not to any incursions of the Maravars themselves, nor to any of the causes of variance between the Kónádu and Kânádu Vellálars referred to above, but to the general feeling of animosity that existed between the two sections. An account of the settlement of the Maravars is found in an interesting palmleaf manuscript and it is as follows:—

"All the Vellálars of the seven big divisions † (that is, all the Kónádu and the Kánádu Vellálars) and the Vellálars of the

* Quoted from the ancient classic *Kalittokai* by Mr. Kanakasabhai Pillai in his "*Tamil Eighteen Hundred Years Ago.*" See pp. 42 and 43.

† Uraiyúr division, Oliyúr division and Urattúr division formed Kónàdu; Athali or (Kâna) and Milalai divisions formed the northern portion of Kánàdu. Only a very little portion west of the modern Pudukkóttai State seems to have formed part of the Uraiyúr division.

twenty-four Nádus (Kottams?) of Tondamandalam listened to the exposition by Kamban, the well-known poet, of his poem *Erelu-pathu* (ஏரெழுபது—seventy stanzas in praise of agriculture and the Vellálars), and rewarded him with a palanquin to ride in and the right of collecting every year one *paraippanam* from every Vellála family. Kamban went on collecting the tax till he came to Kónádu of three divisions. He easily collected the money from the 350 villages in Uraiyúr division and the 242 villages in Oliyúr division, and got from the men in Oliyúr division letters to Kánanádu of 108 villages to make similar payments. The people of Kánanádu refused to pay, saying that they were in no way subject to the Vellálars of Oliyúr and that the Oliyúr division men had no business to write to them, but that as they had promised payment before the Tondamandalam Náttars they would pay one-fourth of a panam for a *thadi* (a measure) of land. When the Oliyúr division Vellálars heard of the disparaging words of the Kananádu Vellálars, they assembled in a body and attacked the Kánanádárs. These finding that they could not resist the Oliyúr men without help, marched southwards and imported five hundred families of Maravars from Rájéndramangala Nádu (in Ramnad Zemindári), settled them in Virácchalai and four other villages and had them as their protectors. The Kánanádu Vellálars and the Maravars then set about plundering the 242 villages of Oliyúr division. The Oliyúr Vellálars thereupon decided on themselves calling other Maravars for their help. The Vellálars of Anna-vásal and Vayalókam invited 300 families of Unjanúr and Sembumárinádu Maravars and settled them at Mángudi, Maru-tántalai and Puduvayal; and the Vellálars of Válaikkuricchi, Neivéli, Kímanúr, Gúdalúr and Rárápuram imported 200 families of Mangalanádu Maravars and settled them at Panaiyúr and Kulamangalam.

Again Nétirája Pándyan * with Tipparasu Náyak, Chinnapeddu Náyak and Periapeddu Náyak, and 200 families of Mánámadura Maravars marched with a small force against Ponnamaran (founder and ruler) of Ponnamarávati, defeated him and granted lands in

* This Pàndyan is also referred to in a poem in praise of the Goddess *Alagia Nàchiamman* of Ponnamaràvati. But instead of one ruler of this place, Ponnamaran, we find mentioned in this poem two rulers, *viz.*, Ponnan and Amaran. See the *Gazetteer*.

those parts to his Marava followers. He next built a fort which he called Maravar Madura. The people of Idaiyá*rr*úr, Káraiyúr and four other villages near this fort, finding that the Maravars would prove useful protectors, granted one hundred of the two hundred Marava families that had followed the Pándyan chief, lands at Marava Madura, Álangudi and Mukilpa*tt*anam and settled them there.

Nétirája Pándyan had four wives, of whom one was a Marava. Her son got as his share seven villages such as Ponnamarávati and Malairáyapuram. He must have imported some Marava families into these villages.

Further, the Vellálars of Sevalúr who had to pay 500 *pon* to the authorities found that they could not raise the sum. They therefore sold all their rights to Madura Tévan and other Maravars * who had followed Nétirájan and had settled in those parts as mentioned already and who paid the sum of 500 *pon* for the Vellálars. The Vellálars of Sevalúr left the village with four Marava families, and, going towards Manappárai, settled down near Mínavelli, building three groups of houses (or villages) of which the first two were given the name of Sevalúr and the last was called Maravanpa*tt*i.

This was how the Maravars settled down in these parts. *

Deeds of other grants of land to the Maravars by Kárála Vellálars, such as the grant of Kudimiámalai, have also been met with. The Maravars seem to have lived in great comfort in the lands in which they settled, as many of them are found described in inscriptions as *Mara Mudalis*. The Marava settlers have also been found to be a law-abiding and peaceful class, in contrast to the fierce and violent Maravars of the Ramnad and Tinnevelly districts. They are also known to have endowed temples with lands, built temples, *etc.* These settlements must have been made in the 12th century, when Kamban lived.

* The account is based on a manuscript got from Poichollà Tèvan Ambalakâran of Ponnamarâvati. In another manuscript, the Maravars of Sevalùr are said to have come from Srivillipùttùr, helped the Vellâlars and got the place from them.

Settlements of the Kallars. We may next show how the Kallars settled within the Pudukkóttai limits. It will be found that they were not, like the Maravars, invited from outside for help, but that they were an aggressive people who often fought for their own hand and were glad to help the Vellálars against one another for remuneration. The Kallars are mentioned in the very ancient classic *Akanánúru** as a fearless and uncivilised people that lived originally in the mountains about Tiruvenkatam or Tirupati, capturing elephants in these mountains with great skill and exchanging their white tusks indirectly through other mountaineers for grain. Their leader is said to have been one Pulli who was very dexterous in taming violent and uncontrollable elephants. They seem to have been originally invited to these parts by a Pándya called in the same anthology "கள்வர் பெரு மகன் தென்னன்", which might be interpreted as "the Pándya that was the leader of the Kallars".

The Kallars are first heard of in connection with the north-eastern portion of the State. An important section of the tribe seems to have moved southwards from a town of the name of Tirumangalam in Valliappanádu of North Kónádu and was permitted to settle down at Udayálimangalam† (now called Udayálippa*tt*i) near Kunnándárkóvil, ten miles to the east of Kíranúr. In course of time the Kallars seem to have made themselves masters of Vísengi-nádu in the north-east of the State. They must have been a very violent people, who paid no heed to the rights of others and made themselves very troublesome to the people among whom they settled. From an inscription at Kunnándárkóvil, it is seen that the people of the place—the workmen, the agriculturists and others—assembled the leading men of the Nádu and of the neighbouring parts, and, having invited learned and influential men from such distant places as Srírangam and Tiruvánaikká, probably for consultation, explained to them the loss of life and property that the Kallars were causing and obtained a guarantee for their safety subject to the condition that they should make an annual payment to the God of a *Vettu* coin and present to the temple at

* See poems Nos. 62, 83, 209, 311, 359, 393, 342. These references and some others were kindly supplied to me by Mr. R. Raghava Aiyangar, State Vidvàn, Ramnad. The work has not as yet been printed and published.

† There is a palmleaf document supporting this grant.

Kunnándárkóvil, a ring and a panam whenever a marriage was celebrated. Similar disturbances occurred at Sóttuppálai * in Álangudi Taluk, where the condition laid down for the promised protection was an annual payment and a ring alone to the temple for every marriage. The tradition that the Vellálars of Álangudippa*tt*i near Puliyúr left the village in a body, instead of degrading themselves by giving one of their girls † to a Kallan who demanded her in marriage, is quite in keeping with what we learn of the Kallars from other sources. There is no doubt whatever that the lands in the north-east of the State belonged to the Kárála Vellálars, an inscription at Killukudi expressly stating that the proprietorship of the whole of Kílsengili Nádu belonged to a Vélán.

Many of the Kallars that settled in these parts seem to have been connected with some minor chieftain as they are called "Náráyanappér Arasu Makkal" or "people related to a chieftain of the name of Náráyana". Some others are called *Padaittalaivar* or "military chieftains" or as *Tantrimár* or politicians ("men of stratagems"). They are occasionally spoken of as men that came as *Kartars* or governors of such and such places.

These gradually spread in the north-eastern portion of the State, and, when it was found how powerful they were, they were given lands and required to watch the temples in which probably the wealth of the temples and of private men also was deposited for safety. It was thus that they were settled in Kalasamangalam, the eastern portion of the modern Pudukkóttai town, and at Vadaválam, five miles to the north-east of the town. The men of Vennával Nádu near Kulaváippa*tt*i, 10 miles from Pudukkóttai on the road from Pudukkóttai to Arantângi, having been harassed by Kallars, are stated to have brought in other Kallars from places such as Váráppúr, Párppanappa*tt*i and Pílimalai for their protection and assigned to them lands in the tract.

We have referred before to the enmity that existed between the Kónádu and the Kánádu Vellálars. It was only rarely that disputes were amicably settled. In one case we find arrangements made by two chieftains--Ku*l*andai Pallavaráyar and

* See inscriptions at Sóttuppálai.

† See the Gazetteer under *Puliyúr*.

Vanangámudi Pallavaráyar—for getting dams built for the supply of water from the Vellár to the Valnád tank and the Pálaiyanádu tank, and Vánádiráyar paying "a fine" of 120 *pon* and 100 kalams of paddy to the chieftains for their services. But on most occasions violence was resorted to. The Kallars were found in Kánádu, and Vánádiráyar, the Kánádu chieftain, finding them very powerful, often employed them to help him against the Kónádu Vellálars. The two sides seem to have had a number of encounters in the south-west portion of this territory,—at Kannimalai, Orukkombumalai and Tirukkalakkudi. On one of these occasions, the Kallars lost 50 men and obtained some tracts in Pálaiyanádu as பழிக்காணி, or lands granted in return for men killed. On another occasion they lost 53 men and got several villages. A copper plate in the Kíranúr Taluk Cutcherry states that for losing 80 men in a strife between Kónádu and Kánâdu, the Kallars received Marudântapuram *alias* Kíranallúr. On some other occasion they lost many men, it is said, and got settled in Panamkádu land near Perungulúr. For helping the Kánádu chief on another occasion, they were granted lands in Kaikkuricchi, to the east of Pudukkóttai, which is always referred to in inscriptions as *Kallapparru* Kaikkuricchi or Kaikkuricchi of the Kallars.

The following detailed account of the services that they rendered to Vánádiráyar in his struggle with Kónádu Vellálars may be found interesting and may indicate what happened on other similar occasions.

"Vánádiráyar of Vándrákóttai and his brother Kundrádiráyar of Vallattirakóttai, having quarrelled with the Kárkâtta Vellálars of Kónádu about lands, temples, tanks, temple honours and the right to the use of the water of the *Vellár* river and on account of some Kallars also, the Kónádu Vellálars of Kannimalai, Orukkombumalai, Thirukkalakkudi, Várâppúr, Piránmalai, Káraiyúr, Nerinjikkudi and Kudumiámalai to the north of the river as also of lands to the south assembled 10,500 men to take possession from the Kánádu chiefs of the following lands to the north of the river.—*viz.* Valnád, Pálaiyanádu, Senká*tt*unádu, Perungulúrnádu, Ambunádu, Tánavanádu, Káyánádu, and Kilvanganádu (?), stating that the land to the south of the river was Pándya land and the tract to the north of the river Chóla

land, and that they wanted the whole of the Chóla Vellála land for themselves. They first sent for Vánádiráyar, who, without heeding their invitation, assembled the men of the eight Nádus mentioned above, and, finding that they numbered only 4,500 men, sent for 1,000 Kallars of Vísenginádu, with a promise that he would grant them lands and the right of watching some nádus. The Kallars, 575 * in number, joined him. At first he stationed half of his men at Tiruvarankulam and the other half at Mani-ambalam, and placed the Kallars between the two wings. But thinking probably that he could with more success resist the Kónádu men from the south decided upon crossing the Vellár and occupying the Póram fort to the south of the river. The Kónádu men breached the big irrigation tanks of Kavinádu, Perumánádu and of Peraiyúr so as to render the Vellár unfordable. But Vânádiráyar succeeded in taking his men and the Kallars to the south of the river, and concealed for a time his men in the bushes and trees of the jungles in the adjoining parts.

There were free fights between the men of the two parties at Tékká*tt*úr, Munaisandai, Perungudi, Kulakkudi, Miratnilai. Five or six hundred of Vânàdiràyar's men were wounded. Vísenginàdu Kallars thereupon fiercely attacked the Kónádu men, and, defeating them, drove them as far south as Súraikkudi twenty miles to the south of Pudukkóttai and as far south-west as Piránmalai, seized the seven chiefs of Kónádu and brought them before Vânàdiráyar and his brother Kundràdiráyar. Four hundred and ten men were killed in all in these fights, of whom seventy-five are said to have been Kallars. The seven chiefs were taken before Seventhe*l*untha Pallavaráyar, † who, in the presence of all the Vellála chieftains, advised the Kánádu chiefs to live amicably with the Kallars "like fathers-in-law and sons-in-law" and arranged for the Kallars receiving 550 *pon* (gold coins) and 530 kalams of paddy (as measured by Pallavanpadi.) ‡

* In another account, the numbers are given as 12,755, 3,200 and 335 respectively.

† Who this Pallavarâyar was cannot be ascertained. The earlier of the two Pallavarâyars of this name of the Va*l*uttúr line that have been identified lived about 1539.

‡ This is used even now during the Dussera festival. It is at least as old as the sixteenth century.

The money was obtained from the bankers of Nambukuli (Ukantharasu Chettiyár and others) by the grant to them of the villages Kundradiráyanpéttai, Kuppavákuricchi, Picchankuricchi and Mélakkulam. *

Settlements of money-lending Chettis. The mention of Nambukuli bankers in the last paragraph reminds us that it is time for us to close our narrative of the settlements of the Kallars and to proceed to give a short account of the wealthy Chettis that had settled in these places in those early times and of the dealings that Vânádiráyar, the Kánádu Vellála chieftain, had with them. Three places are frequently found mentioned as towns in which there were monied men and Chettis. These are Kalasamangalam, Valnád and Nambukuli. We shall give a short account of each of these places.

1. *Kalasamangalam* was the eastern portion of the modern town of Pudukkóttai, the western portion having been known as Singamangalam. The following story is related in connection with the origin of this town.

"Muchukunda Chakravarti"—evidently the Chóla king,† who had his capital at Tiruvàrúr in the Tanjore district—in one of his tours through his dominions was so struck with the beauty of the tract to the north of the Vellár that he thought of building a town there. The Rishi Parásara fixed an auspicious hour for commencing operations, and Kalasamangalam, consisting of "nine cities" (blocks ‡), was brought into existence. The King Muchukunda applied for inhabitants to the God Kubéra (Plutus of Hindu mythology), who sent him 1,500 families. The story was probably invented after the town had become rich and its merchants were found to be very wealthy. In the days of the Kárálars, the Pallavaráya Pálayakàr family had this town as their capital.

* The account is based on a document referring to the grant of these villages. The copy that has been used is old and is in the handwriting of Subbaraya Pillai, Karnam of Atavísvarankóvil Vattam.

† See *the Tanjore Gazetteer*, p. 248 and Mr. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar's *Chòla Empire in South India*.

‡ The names of the nine blocks were (1) South Kalasamangalam; (2) Gold Kalasamangalam; (3) North Kalasamangalam or Arunaicchèri; (4) West Kalasamangalam or Sirupirambiyùr; (5) Arulmolimangalam; (6) Kalasappa*l*anagaram (or the old Kalasappa*tt*anam); (7) Siddhàrtimangalam; (8) East Kalasamangalam or Múttúrudaiyàrmangalam; and (9) Sivapuram.

Valnàd was a town noted for its Chettis from very early times. It was one of these Chettis that bought the fruits of gold of the Porpanai tree (gold-palm tree)* which is said to have stood in the neighbouring forests, and afterwards built and endowed the temple at Tiruvarankulam with the gold. The name of this merchant is given in copper plates as Kubéra Kón, and he is often referred to as "a friend of Karikála Chóla.† In the town of Valnád, there were 1,000 families belonging to 32 *gótras* or sections. Seven of these *gótras* were known as kóns (or kings), seven others, pálars (or protectors), and seven others, kudais (or umbrella-wearers). The other eleven *gótras* had various names. The Dhanapàlar *gôtra* has been considered the most important of all the thiry-two *gótras.* It is said that it was in this family that the Goddess of Tiruvarankulam was born, a belief that has led to the practice of Valnàd Chetti women appearing in the temple before the God, their son-in-law, very respectfully, with even their heads covered by cloth. It appears from old records that Vânàdiràyar held at first the whole of the Valnàd tract and that, in what is called "the distribution of lands", he assigned portions of this tract to the temple at Tiruvarankulam, to the Valnàd Chettis that were connected with the temple, and to a shepherd of the name of Nandagópálan, probably a descendant of the man who first got a sight of the Tiruvarankulam God (*lingam*). The Chettis often helped Vânàdiráyar with money in his frays with Kónádu Vellálars and got other assignments of land. Nandagópálan is said to have not simply lent money to the Vellála chieftain, but as having helped him also with men. Two of these were killed on one occasion, for which he got a separate grant of land. As all these, Vânádiráyar, the Chettis and the shepherds, had common interests, all of them are mentioned in some of the documents as having granted lands in common to the Kallars that helped Vânádirâyar.‡

---

* See the article *Tiruvarankulam* in the Gazetteer.

† This refers very probably to Kulòttunga Chóla I, who was sometimes styled *Karikàla*.

‡ "Valnàd Chetti" is literally "a Chetti that came from Vallamnàdu"—*i. e.*, the tract of Vallam. We have now a separate section of the Chetti community called "Vallam Chettis".

Numbukuli. This was another town which contained a large number of wealthy Chettis. Numbukuli was originally a Vellála town, which Vânádiráyar sold to the Chettis that had come from Vallam near Tanjore. Vânádiráyar had often to raise money to maintain his position against the Kónádu chieftains, and he seems to have borrowed money at first from Vallam.* The Vallam Chettis, thinking probably that they could do more profitable business by settling near Vânádiráyar's residence near Tiruvarankulam, purchased Nambukuli from him, paying a ready sum, and agreeing to pay taxes to Seventhe*l*untha Pallavaráyar, palayakár of Kalasamangalam, for protection to be afforded to them. Púvattakudi, Tántóni and Maramadakki are mentioned in several documents as three other towns containing also money-lending Chettis.

Nambukuli contains now only about four or five huts. The circumstances which led to the depopulation of the town may be found interesting. The Nambukuli Chetti women were never permitted to stir out of their houses. The *Idaiyars* brought them the necessary water and supplied them with the milk, ghee and buttermilk they required. The *Valaiyars* supplied the necessary fuel. There were female servants (of *angi* caste) in every house to do all menial work. Of the workmen, none but a single barber, a single carpenter, a single blacksmith and a single washerman selected by the villagers could enter the city. The merchants must have had their shops outside the town, as no males could have ingress into the city except those mentioned above. Such were the arrangements that had been made by the Nambukuli Chettis to preserve the chastity of their women.

But female curiosity is proverbial and it was this which led to the destruction of the city. Seventhe*l*untha Pallavaráyar, the ruler of these parts, used to go out for shooting to Vennávalkudi jungles from Kalasamangalam. The Chetti women were curious to get a glimpse of the ruler, and, some of them climbing up the

* Nambukuli is said to have been one of the seven rich Chetti towns of those days (ஏழு நகரம்)- -*viz.* Tanjore, Vallam near Tanjore, Tàntòni, Púvattakudi, Pinnakudi, Maramadakki, Nambukuli. In one of the documents it is said that Vânàdiráyar and Kundrádiràyar, Kànàdu chieftains, assigned lands to these seven towns in common for money that they got from them for their frays with the Kònàdu chieftains.

Murunga trees in their compounds, saw him passing. This was observed by one of the servants of the Pallavaráyar, who, when informed of the fact, passed on, it is said, without looking at the women. But the Chettis, whom the news of this reached, not satisfied with the explanation of the servant-women that it was only the servant-women that climbed up the trees for gathering *Murunga* leaves for cooking, thought that they had been disgraced by their women, threw all of them into fire-pits prepared for the purpose, and, ashamed to show their faces again at the place, ran away to Benáres and Râmésvaram. This is the account given in an old manuscript of the circumstances under which the town became depopulated.

Púvattakudi, Tàntóni and Maramadakki containing other money-lending Chettis are also said to have been deserted (எடுபட்டு மறுசீமைக்குப்போகிறபடியால்) at this time, and the property of all these assigned to the temple at Palankarai. Another, and what may be taken to be a more reliable, account states that these parts were plundered in succession by a Mughal army, by the army of Ánanda Ráyar and of Mânójiappa (of Tanjore), and that the people deserted the villages, leaving many images and much treasure concealed in the vaults of the Atavisvaran temple at Kulaváippa*tt*i and Palankarai temple, which were the common temples for "the four cities". As Maramadakki is mentioned in an inscription dated A. D., 1472, as a place containing many wealthy and charitable men, the accounts given above of "the four cities" should not be regarded as baseless.

The Nàttukkóttai Chettis. The Nattukkóttai Chettis are said to have come over to these parts from Kâvérippa*tt*anam, a village at the mouth of the Kâveri. They are said* to have been patronised by the Chóla kings and to have enjoyed the honour of placing the crown on the head of every Chóla king at the time of his installation. The story that is given to account for their emigration is that a Chóla king wanted to commit an outrage on a Chetti woman and that the Chettis therefore left the Chóla land in a body and settled to the south of the Vellár, the southern boundary of the Chóla kingdom, vowing never to permit their women to cross the Vellár and get into Chóla land again. A different account is given however by Mr. Thurston,

* See *Nakarattâr Kuluvai Nátakam.*

according to whom, "a Pandya king, named Sundara Pandya, is said to have asked the Chola king to induce some of the Vaisyas in his land to settle down in the Pandya territory and allowed them to settle in the tract of country north of the river Vaigai, east of the Piranmalai and south of the Vellar".

Settlements of the Jains. That there were settlements of Jains (and also of Buddhists) in very early times within the limits of the State is conclusively proved by the inscriptions, the Jain images, the Jain temples, *etc.*, in the State. Images of Buddha have been found at Che*tt*ipa*tt*i and Álangudippa*tt*i in the Kulattúr Taluk. The former image is 3ft. 9 inches high and the latter 3ft 6 inches. Mutilated images of Jain Gods have been met with at Vellanúr, Tiruppúr, Ammáchatram, Kí*l*a*t*tàniyam, Ténímalai, Nàrttàmalai, Sittannavàsal, *etc.** This may shew that the Jains were found scattered in various parts of the State. Of the places mentioned above, we know that the last three had monasteries and temples erected for the Jains. At Ténimalai, a natural cave-like portion of the hill was turned into a cave residence, on the walls of which the figure of Arhat, the Jain God, with three umbrellas over his head, is found with the figures of two other Gods. At Nárttámalai there were two Jain monasteries which were endowed by the Chóla kings. At Sittannavásal, there is a well-known Jain temple to which Jain pilgrims from the Tanjore District are said to resort even now for worship. On a hill near this village is எழடிப்பட்டம் or "a flat of (reached by) seven steps," chipped out of the rock as sleeping places with pillows for Jain ascetics. According to an inscription on a stone near what is called சமணர்குண்டு or "the Jains' mound" at Che*tt*ipa*tt*i, in the Kulattúr Taluk, there was a big monastery at the place for 500 ascetics (ஐந்நூற்றுவப்பெரும்பள்ளி). These show that there were colonies of Jains in those days in different parts of this State. It will be idle to attempt to fix the exact dates of the several colonies. It may be surmised that when the Jains were subjected to persecution by the Pándyan king at the instance of Sambandhar, the Saiva hymnologist, in the seventh century A. D., many of them fled to these parts that were covered by forests, hoping to live unmolested in their new settlements. The

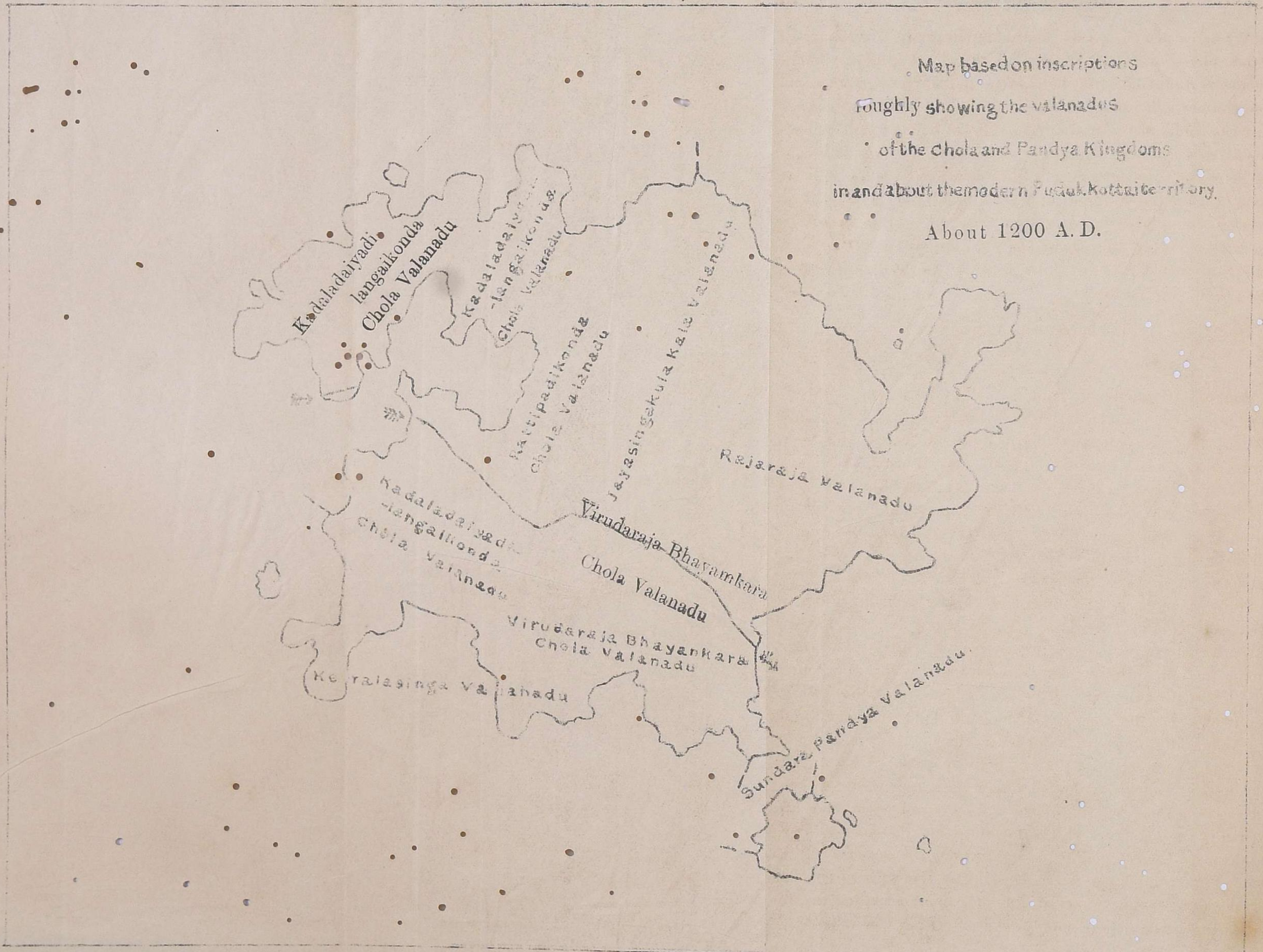
* See accounts of these places in the *Gazetteer* at the end.

Chóla kings, to judge from the grants to the Nârttámalai monasteries, seem to have been not simply tolerant but kind to them. The Jain population must have gradually decreased, till at last at present we find that there is no Jain population at all in the State.

Settlements of the Brahmins. We may next refer to the colonisation of Brahmins in those early times. Most, if not all, of the Brahmin families now in the State are found to be not more than two hundred years old. Large numbers of Brahmin families settled here about 1800, when Rájà Vijaya Raghunàtha Ràya Tondaimàn, known as Bhója Rájâ (or the munificent king), granted many villages as Sarvamányam or rent-free to Brahmins, who were imported into the State from the surrounding districts. Such Sarvamânyam grants are found from as early a date as 1711, and there is no doubt that a number of Brahmin families settled in these parts between 1700 and 1800. After 1807 when Captain Blackburne, the Resident of Tanjore, was also made the Political Officer of this State, a number of Maratta Brahmin families came over from Tanjore to settle in the State. As the accounts were then kept in Maratti, not only were the higher officers Maratta Brahmins, but also many of the members of the clerical staff. After 1875, when the State became better known in the surrounding districts and when means of communication were rendered easier, other Brahmin families came to settle in these parts. It is in this way that we have to account for the Brahmin population that we now find in this State.

These are recent settlements with which we are not concerned here. There were a large number of Brahmin families in the State before the fifteenth century, of whom all traces appear to have been lost, not one family in the State seeming to claim to be more than about two-hundred years old.* That there were in those times in the State a number of Brahmin settlements and that learned Brahmins were often brought from various important places both in the Chóla and the Pândya land will be clear to anybody that will examine a fraction of the inscriptions in the State. The Kárâla Vellalárs must have brought with them a number of Brahmins or at least permitted many Brahmins to settle

* It may be that there are a few families of temple priests, village accountants and palace *purohits* that are more than two hundred years old.


Map based on inscriptions
roughly showing the valanadus
of the Chola and Pandya Kingdoms
in and about the modern Puduk.kottai territory.
About 1200 A. D.
Kadaladaiyadi langaikonda Chola Valanadu
Kadaladaiyadi-langaikonda Chola Valanadu
Rattipadikonda Chola Valanadu
Jayasingakula Kala Valanadu
Rajaraja Valanadu
Virudaraja Bhayamkara Chola Valanadu
Kadaladaiyadi-langaikonda Chola Valanadu
Virudaraja Bhayankara Chola Valanadu
Sundara Pandya Valanadu

here. We know that they were very kind to Brahmins and that they granted many rent-free villages to them (see p. 61). There were also several Chóla and Pándya kings that were great temple builders, and we find that there were about one hundred temples within the limits of the State that were well endowed. In connection with these temples, temple priests both of the Saiva and Vaishnava caste and other Brahmins are mentioned, showing that as soon as a temple was built at a place, Brahmin families were, if necessary, imported into the State to settle at the place. In these ways it is clear that there was a fair proportion of Brahmins in the State before the fifteenth century, especially in places where there were temples.

How these families came to disappear will be explained a little later on.

Ancient divisions of land and administration. We find from inscriptions and the documents relating to Kárála Vellálars that these parts were divided into Kú*rr*ams (கூற்றம்) or divisions as also into Valanádus (divisions) and Nádus (sub-divisions). The division into Kú*rr*ams must have been made when these parts formed portion of the Pallava dominion. The Kónádu portion of the State was divided into three Kú*rr*ams—Uraiyúr division in the north, the Oliyúr division in the south-west and Urattúr division in the north-west; and the Kánádu portion of the State which lay to the south and east of Kónadu seems to have consisted of two divisions, *viz.* (1) Mi*l*alai kú*rr*am forming the south-eastern portion of the State and (2) Atali kúrram forming the remaining portion of the Kánâdu within the Pudukkóttai limits. In the days of the later Chólas and Pândyas (say after 1000 A. D.), the tract was divided into Valanádus and Nàdus, each Nádu containing a numbr of *Ur* or villages. Many of theNádus seem to have been occupied almost wholly by special tribes or rather clans, having a common temple, where their representatives met to discuss questions relating to the clans. A rough sketch of the division of the modern Pudukkóttai State into Valanàdus, based on information contained in the inscriptions, is attached to the book. But it must be remembered that the same tract had occasionally different names at different times, according as the tract was under Chóla or Pàndya rulers, or the Chólas (and the

Pàndyas) ordered the old names to be changed into new names expressive of their victories over their enemies. It is in this way that we find Irumbànádu stated at one time as having formed part of Pándya Mandalam (Sundara Pándya Valanâdu), and at another time mentioned to have been a portion of Rájarâja Pândya Valanâdu or Rájéndra Chóla Valanâdu. Similarly Kudumiâmalai is mentioned in one inscription as lying in Pàndikulâsani (a thunderbolt to the Pàndya line) Valanâdu and in other inscriptions stated as situated in Rattaipâdi Konda Chóla Valanâdu.

The names of the Valanádus into which the State was divided are given below :—

1. Rajarâja Valanâdu.
2. Jayasingakula Kàla Valanâdu.
3. Rattaipádikonda Chóla Valanâdu.
4. Kadaladaiyádilangaikonda Chóla Valanàdu.
5. Virudarája Bhayankara* Chóla Valanâdu.
6. Kéralasinga Valanádu.
7. Sundara Pàndya Valanàdu (Irumbánádu tract).

The names of the divisions show that almost the whole of the tract comprising the State was under the Chólas †

Ancient Administration. The following account of the administration of a Nádu is taken from Mr. T. A. Gópinátha Row's *History of the Chólas.* ‡

"The head of a Nàdu was called an Adhikàri. He should attend to the collection of taxes in the Nàdu, to the administration of justice in the Nádu and to other matters. It appears that the villages were not subject to him. These villages had each a separate *Sabha* or assembly of the men, who were given the authority of dealing with the affairs relating to the village. The king directly dealt with the *Sabhas* (and the Adhikàri had no control over them). There were also *Sabhas* in smaller hamlets. Though the *Sabhas* of the hamlets dealt with their affairs, it may be presumed that they were subject to the Adhikàris of the Nádu in which the hamlets were situated".

* See *Kalingattupparani.*

† The statement in Mr. Krishnaswámi Aiyangàr's *Ancient India* (p. 174) that the whole of the Chòla country proper, so far as could be made out, was divided into eight such divisions (or Valanâdus) seems to us to require revision, when it is considered that the small tract of land forming the the modern Pudukkòttai State (with some adjoining tracts) was divided into six Valanâdus.

‡ See சோழவம்ச சரித்திரம், p. 50.

Araiyars. This might have been the way in which the administration of these parts was conducted originally under the later Chólas and the Pandyas. But the information found in the inscriptions shows that after the tenth or eleventh century, parts to the north of the Vellàr fell into the hands of a large number of chieftains, who were called "அரையர்" (Araiyars) and who seem to have exercised considerable power. Similar chieftains are found to the south of the Vellàr, but their number is not so great. And as some of them are called நாடாழ்வார் (நாடாள்வார்) or rulers of Nàdus, it may be supposed that the system described by Mr. Gópinátha Row continued to exist here and there. The word Araiyar is only another form of the word "அரசு", *king*, a word actually found in some of the inscriptions. The name must therefore be taken as having been given to chieftains in these parts, as they exercised several powers of the king. These seem to have been no other than *Arasu* mentioned in the commentary on *Tolkàppiyam*,* which must have been written about the time when these Araiyars were coming or had come into prominence. They are described as having been employed by the kings in marching against enemies, in defending lands, in arranging negotiations and in collecting money.

These are duties connected with lands in which there is war or which have to be settled soon after conquest and subjugation. In times of peace their duties must have been to collect the royal taxes and to remit them to the royal treasury, and to look to the preservation of order and peace within their jurisdiction. That this was the case is not a mere matter of surmise. It is supported by a proclamation inscribed on the walls of an old temple at Pálaiyúr near Álangudi. The proclamation is dated *Saka* 1348 (or 1426 A. D.) and is to the effect that the *Arasu* would, in addition to the royal taxes, be satisfied with 60 kalams of paddy to be paid yearly for the lands the people of Pálaiyúr enjoyed and 10 panams for deciding each criminal complaint, that he would not demand from them more under the pretext that they were wealthy, and that the proclamation should be in force as long as the sun and the moon should endure. It may be

* See the commentary on Sútra 30, Part III of the book. Powerful Ariyars seem to have called themselves *Arasu*.

inferred from the proclamation that all Araiyars were not satisfied with what might be considered due to them, and that many of them were rapacious and oppressive.

In some cases Nádus and in the generality of cases important villages seem to have had an Araiyan. There were in some villages two Araiyars, as at Kalasamangalam, which stood about half a mile to the east of the town of Pudukkóttai.

We may select at random and give the names of a few places where Araiyars exercised power.

1. Karukkákkuricchi Araiyan.
2. Vânâdirâyankóttai Araiyars.
3. Kadambaráyan, Arasan of Pulvayal.
4. Araiyars of the two sections of Álangudi Nâdu (ஆலங்குடி நாட்டு இரண்டுவகையில் அரையர்கள்).
5. Araiyars of the five families at Ambukkóvil. Probably the most worthy of the members of the five families became the Araiyan of the place.
6. Kidárattaraiyan, Arasu of Irumbàli.
7. Kulóttungachólattaraiyan, described as the Rájâ of Kunriyúr.

It may be well supposed that where there were Araiyars the village assemblies were practically powerless. As a matter of fact, we find that the inhabitants of several villages finding that they were unable to protect themselves from the aggressions of their neighbours, at first surrendered the பாடிகாவல் (Pâdi-kával) of the villages or the right of protecting the people, their property and crops, to some influential chieftains in the neighbourhood and afterwards gradually lost all their power. *Pâdikâval* means literally "the watchmanship of a village", but in deeds relating to the *pádikával* of a *number* of villages, the functions and duties are said to be those of an Arasu, the right of levying fees, *etc.*, being called *Arasuswatantiram.* * Whether a man was satisfied with simply discharging the duties and exercising the powers mentioned in the *Pâdikâval* deed or whether he gradually

* The Fifth Report of the Affairs of the East India Company (1837) says that "the *deshakàval* (*i.e.* Arasukâval) was bestowed sometimes by the prince, either through favour or to conciliate an individual whose power and influence were formidable, but more frequently by the liberality of the villagers, whose inability to protect themselves would also appear to have been one cause of their being rendered to such contributions".

made himself all powerful depended upon the nature of the person to whom the deed was granted. That the deed was not a dangerous document in itself may be seen from the contents of one of them, whichwe transcribe * below:—

"In the 47th year Arppasi month of the reign of Kómárapadma Tríbhuvana Chakravarti Srí Víra Pándya Déva, to Vijayâlaya Tévan, Araiyan and the great lord (leader) of Súraikkudi in the land watered by Ténár in Adanaiyúr Nádu is sold on oath as shown below the village watchmanship of Ádanur in Kánanádu otherwise called Virudarâja Bhayankara Nádu by us, all the people comprising the inhabitants of the village.

On account of the disturbances of the Mussulmans, as our village has become ruined and we have ourselves become reduced to very straitened circumstances, and as we find no other course open to us and are without seedgrain,—we, agreeing to sell the village watchmanship, have fixed the price of the same at 300 Kulisaippanam of Válál Vali Tirantân † and receiving this amount we, the inhabitants of the village, have sold the village watchmanship to Vijayálaya Tévan on oath. We will give him

(1) —(evidently stands for *paddy*) for one தடி (a measure) of land, a head-load of sheaves;

(2) For lands growing திணை (on wet land) for one *tadi* of land, two *marakkáls*, measured by the *marakkál* of Ádanúr; ‡

(3) For lands growing sesamum, for one *tadi* 4 *nàlis* of Ádanur;

(4) For lands growing sugarcane, for one *tadi* 20 palams of sugar;

(5) For lands growing turmeric, ginger, karanai (*dracontium*) and betels also, he is to receive his share—the usual share it may be supposed;

(6) Of cocoanuts, jack, plantain, mango growing in the village, he is to receive his due;

---

* The translation is believed to be correct. There are a few lines in the inscription which are not quite intelligible.

† The name (one who opened the way with his sword) is probably that of Vâlâl Valitirakkum Perumâl Parâkrama Pàndya Déva (1324 A. D. See *Sentamil*) who must have kept the roads in his kingdom in order, attacking the robbers who infested them and killing them.

‡ There were various measures of capacity and length (kól)in those days. Hence we are of opinion that Mr. Krishnaswami Aiyangar's statements (*Ancient India*, p. 183) that a véli was "six and two-third acres" and a kalam "about three maunds" seem to require revision.

(7) For the grains *varagu* and *sámai* growing on dry lands, for one punjai land one head-load of sheaves;

(8) For sesamum growing on dry land, for one punjai land 4 *nàlis* (or measures of the gingelly seed);

(9) For horsegram growing on dry land, for one punjai land one *marakkál* of grain by Ádanúr measure;

(10) For cotton growing on dry land, for one punjai land ten pods;

(11) For the money paid he is to receive the pieces of land .... * and treat this as the sale deed (*ólai*) ;

(12) For other lands, he is to receive his share as shown above;

(13) We are not bound to show any other deed of sale or receipt;

(14) No errors should be pleaded including those relating to writing, words, *etc.* ;

(15) In these terms we, the inhabitants of Ádanúr, have given on oath the deed of watchmanship of the village to Vijayâlaya Tévan, Araiyan and great lord of Súraik-kudi".

It is to be presumed that in the days of the Araiyars, the central authority of the Chólas and the Pándyas was not much felt in these parts, but that the Araiyars with the people managed things just as they pleased. The Araiyars seem to have been often fighting with one another and the people. From an inscription at Kóvilúr near Alangudi, we find that in the town of Singamangalam, which stood on the site of the modern Pudukkóttai town, in the year 1341 A. D. (or 1401 A. D.) there were two Araiyars—one for the northern division and the other for the southern division. The sporting materials (nets, *etc.*) of the latter were seized by the former, who was thereupon killed by the Araiyar of the southern division. The enmity grew and it is stated that a number of other persons were killed. Ultimately the people came to an amicable understanding, according to which, if a man killed another, all the murderer's lands were to be confiscated to the temple at Kóvilúr, and if there was to be a general riot, for every person that should be killed in the riot, a fine of 1000 panams was to be paid to the temple (evidently at Kóvilúr) and another fine was to be paid to the king.

* The lands are specified in the deed. The money for which certain lands were assigned to the chieftain as his own must have been got for purchasing seed grain.

An inscription at Idaiyáṛṛúr on the south-western border of the State, Tirumayyam Taluk, mentions that one Séman of Pérâmbúr attacked the men of Idaiyáṛṛúr with a large collection of men, seized the men and the cattle of the place, but that he was afterwards defeated by another chieftain to whom special honours and emoluments were granted.

The same story is heard from the north-eastern portion of the State, in which the Kallars were settled. An inscription at Kunnandárkóvil states that the Araiyars of the two Malainádus in Panankâdunádu— of the northern hill tract and of the southern hill tract—undertook before the temple authorities of Kunnandàrkóvil not to inflict any injury on the villages under their control and the people therein, and to pay a fine of 100 or 500 panams respectively according as a man or a village was subjected to injury. This agreement shows that the two Araiyars had been originally hostile and that they afterwards agreed to live in peace.

One more instance may be given from the south-eastern part of the State to show that *might* was *right*, and that a chieftain could continue to exercise his power only if he was powerful and had a large number of supporters. An inscription at Nedungudi states that the people of five villages assembled and *restored* one Gàngéyan to his rights (of chieftainship), that on this being done four other chieftains of the neighbouring parts joined together, attacked Gàngéyan and his party, and killed twenty men, but that these chieftains were however afterwards defeated and required to pay each of them a fine in the shape of one *ma* of land to the God at Kuranthanpirai.

Of the Araiyars that exercised power in these parts, we have no full information. Nor would it be possible—even if we had sufficient materials—to deal with all the Araiyars who were found within the limits of the State till the Tondaimàns came to prominence. We shall briefly refer to some of the more important rulers that held sway in these parts, give an account of the Araiyar line of Pallavaráyars that afterwards came to style themselves *kings*, and show how their power passed into the hands of the Tondaimàn line, which had made itself prominent during the later days of the Pallavaráyars.

Chiefs with whom the Tondaiman line had no connection. There were occasionally single chiefs, who exercised considerable power, but do not appear to have bequeathed their power to their descendants. Of such chiefs Kadambaráyan * of Mínavalli (in the Kulattúr Taluk), who called himself "the dread of chieftains" seems to have been one. One Nishadan Râjan, who had his seat at Piránmalai, just outside the south-western limits of the State, seems to have had everything in his own way. But whether he established a dynasty, and, if so, how long the line was in power, cannot be ascertained now. We find several chiefs of the name of Vânâdiràyar, and some of them are called Màbali Vânádiráyar, as they are said to have been of Mahabali *Gótra*. We find a very powerful chieftain of the name of Màvali Vânádiráyar, (1468 A.D), who is said to have had his seat at Ponnamaràvati, and another chieftain, Sundarattóludaiya Màvali Vânádiráyar (1544 A. D.), described as Màvali Vânàdiràyar's son, exercising sway in the south-west of the State, while other Vânádiràyars, like Kulasékhara Vânàdiràyar, are found as chieftains in the south-east portion of the State. † Another (Vellála) line of rulers of influence was that of Gángéyan of Niyamam,‡ a village near modern Káraikkudi, and of Pillamangalam. At Súraikkudi, twenty miles to the south of Pudukkóttai, there lived a different line of rulers, as also at Arantángi, 22 miles to the east of Pudukkóttai. The following accounts of the last two lines are based on the inscriptions of the State that have been examined.

(*a*) *The line of Tévans that ruled at Súraikkudi.* The line of Tévans that ruled at Súraikkudi continued for at least two hundred and thirty years. Súraikkudi is generally known as Vanniyan Súraikkudi, and must have originally contained a large number of Vanniyars with a Vanniya chief.§ The first of the line of Tévans must have driven them out of the place and

* Probably this ruler was a descendant of Kadambaráyar, one of the seven Kóuádu chieftains. See p. 61.

† See inscriptions at Kalanivâipa*tti*, Neikkunram, Válaramánickam, *etc.* It is not clear how these were connected with the Vànádiràyars mentioned on pp. 61 and 67. See Mr. Gópinàtha Row's article on the subject in *Sendamil*, Vol. III.

‡ See inscriptions at Nelvásal, Nedungudi, Pillamangalam. Probably it was a member of this line that patronised O*tt*akkúttan, the well-known poet.

§ See the Tamil classic Tiruvilaiyádalpurânam or the Sthalapurânam of Madura, where Vanniyars are said to have ruled as chiefs.

made himself the ruler. One of them describes himself as a terror to horsemen (probably Mussalmans) and as one that saw the backs of the 18 Vanniyars. We have about twenty inscriptions in the State relating to these chiefs, of which the earliest is dated 1378 A. D. and the latest 1608 A. D. These seem to have exercised considerable power in the southern portions of the State. They are known to have maintained an army, granted rent-free lands to generals and made many grants to temples in the Tirumayyam Taluk and to the temple at Maniambalam, a village near the Pudukkóttai town. From the inscriptions that have been examined it is found that for a time they considered themselves vassals first af the Pándyas and afterwards of the Vijayanagar kings, but that they afterwards regarded themselves as independent, the later inscriptions containing references neither to Pándyas nor to Vijayanagar kings but only to themselves. The names of such of the rulers of the line as are known with the dates as found in the inscriptions are given below. We find that Súraikkudi was ultimately destroyed by the Mussalmans (by Asam Khan? and Rájatti Khan?)*

1378 A. D. Chokkanàràyana Vijayàlaya Tévan granted concessions in the payment of taxes by the people of Virácchalai and Kottiyúr for their having put to death one of the Va*l*uttúr Pallavaràyars who marched with a force against him. These villages must have formed part of his dominion.

1411 A. D. Tiruméni Alagia Vijayàlaya Tévan and Sembaka Ráya Vijayálaya Tévan.

1416 A. D. Ponnâyan Vijayálaya Tévan, son of Tiruméni Alagia Vijayálaya Tévan.

1434 A. D. Ponnáyanár Vijayálaya Tévan and Vairava Vijayálaya Pandárattár.

1452 A. D. Sembaka Ponnâyanàr Parákrama Pándya Vijayálaya Tévan.

1456 and 1458 A. D. Tiruméni Alagia Víra Pándya Vijayálaya Tévan.

1461 A. D. Avaiyándár Sundara Pàndya Vijayálaya Tévan.

1485 and 1486 A. D. Pallikonda (Perumál Vijayálaya) Náyanar, son of Vairava Vijayálaya Tévan.

1497 A. D. Pallikonda Perumál Vijayálaya Tévan, grand-son of Tiruméni Vijayálaya Tévan.

* The date is not clear. The last two figures are 61 and the year may be taken to be *Saka*.

1502 A. D. Nádumaditta Vijayálayan.

1511 A. D. Adaikkalam Kátta Nádumatitta Vijayálaya Tévan.

1512 A. D. Vairava Náyanar Vijayálaya Tévan, son of Pallikonda Vijayálaya Tévan. He is described as a terror to horsemen and as one that saw the backs of (defeated) the 18 Vanniyars.

1519 A. D. Venkasóma Araiyar Tévar of Súraikkudi, son of Sevvappa Araiyar. The name Vijayálaya is not found.

1526 A. D. Pallikonda Vijayálaya Tévan.

1547 A. D. Achyutappa Vijayálaya Tévan, son of Sevvappa Vijayálaya Tévan.

1575 A. D. Ráyappar, son of Kúttar Vijayálaya Tévar.

1578 A. D. Achyutappa Vijayálaya Tévan.

1608 A. D. Sevvappa Vijayálaya Tévan, son of Vairava Vijayálaya Tévan.

The line of Tondaimàns that ruled at Arantángi. The Tondaimáns that ruled at Arantángi do not seem to have been in any way connected with the line of the Tondaimáns into whose hands fell Pudukkóttai in the seventeenth century. The Tondaimans of Arantángi are heard of for the first time in 1426 A. D., and, so far as is now known, there is no inscription of a later date than 1569 that refers to them. They seem to have first made themselves masters of the Pàlaiyúr tract, 10 miles to the east of Pudukkóttai, and to have afterwards extended their power to the west of the place. They are known to have endowed temples at Péraiyúr, six miles west of Pudukkóttai and even at Ponnamarávati, near the south-western border of the State. One of these especially, Ponnambalanátha Tondaimán, who ruled from at least 1514 to 1569, seems to have been a powerful and charitable ruler. He describes himself as one that knew no fear, as the hero that subdued Ceylon in seven days, and as one that presented an elephant in return for a lamb that he received. It may be inferred that, as is mentioned in certain copper plates, these rulers were pressed by the Kallars, and that they had to give away to them a good portion of their territory. It is believed that the Zemindar of Pálayavanam belongs to the line.

The following is a tabular statement of the information that available about the line.

1426 A. D. One Kulasékhara Tondaimán mentions that, acting under the commands of his father, he would not levy from the people of Pálaiyúr in addition to the taxes that should be paid to the king more than 60 kalams of paddy for the lands that they enjoyed and 13 panams for deciding each criminal complaint.

1453 A. D. Alagia Manaválapperumál Tondaimán, Arasu of Arantángi, grants rent-free lands to his son Ilakkanattennáyaka Tondaimán.

1488 A. D. (Éka) Perumál Tondaimán, Arasu of Arantángi, grants the right of ownership of three villages in Válaramánikkam tract, Tirumayyam Taluk, to one Acchamariyátha Tévar.

1497 A. D. Ékapperumál Tondaimán, Arasu of Arantángi, grants to his son Tíruvinaitírtan lands in Válaramánikkam tract.

1499 A. D. Ékapperumál Tondaimán, Arasu of Arantángi, grants lands in Válaramánikkam tract to his son Ávudaiya Náyanar.

1514 A. D. Ponnambalanátha Tondaimán, son of Ékapperumál Tondaimán, grants to the God at Tiruvarankulam lands in the Pálaiyúr tract for daily service to the God to be called after him. He describes himself as one that knew no fear and that never got the least perplexed in times of difficulties. The service was called "அலைவில் அஞ்சாதான் சந்தி" or "the service established by one that knew no fear during difficulties".

1515 A. D. Ponnambalanátha Tondaimán grants lands to the God at Péraiyúr.

1523 A. D.* Ponnambalanátha Tondaimán, son of Ékapperumál Tondaimán of Arantángi, grants lands at Pudukkuricchivayal in Tenkónádu, to the God at Kulamangalam.

1527 A. D. Ponnambalanátha Tondaimán grants to the Vishnu temple at Ponnamarávati as "Víra Narasinga Ráyar's charity," lands at Teppanúr in a division of Ponnamarávati tract. The Tondaimán was a Saivite and devout worshipper of the God at Ávadayárkóvil, and the grant must have been made to conciliate Víra Narasinga Ráyar.

* The cyclic year *Subhánu* alone is mentioned. But there is no doubt that the inscription refers to Ponnambalanátha Tondaimán, son of Ékapperumál Tondaimán, and he could not have lived sixty years *before* or *after* 1523 A. D.

1536 A. D. Ponnambalanátha Tondaimán grants to his son, Varavinótha Tondaimán, lands in the south-east of the modern Pudukkóttai State.

1569 A. D. Ponnambalanátha Tondaimán grants to the temple at Tánjúr of Tirumayyam Taluk, lands at Tánjúr.*

The Rulers with whom the Pudukkottai Tondaimans were connected. Of the Râjás and chiefs with whom the Tondaimán of Pudukkóttai had any connection we may mention the following :—

1. The Nàyak kings of Madura.
2. The Ràjás of Tanjore.
3. The Sétupatis of Ramnad and the rulers of Sivaganga.
4. Péràmbúr and Kattalúr Chiefs.
5. Váráppúr Chiefs.
6. Iluppúr Chiefs.
7. Kumàravàdi Chiefs.
8. Marungàpuri Chiefs and Karisalpa*tt*u and Vàráppúr Chiefs.
9. Pàlaiyavanam Zemindars.
10. Nagaram Zemindars.
11. Kanduván Chiefs.

We shall first show how the pàlayams of which there were so many in the Southern Tamil districts came into existence and what powers were exercised by the pàlayakàrs, and then give short accounts of the lines of the kings and chiefs mentioned above. A rough sketch map is added to show how the tract comprising the modern Pudukkóttai State was distributed among these rulers.

* One Achyutappa Tondaimán is mentioned in some documents as having lived in the days of Kârkâtta Vellálars. A copper plate to be found in the Inam Settlement Office, Pudukkòttai, contains a reference to this Tondaimán or another of the same name and his five sons. These enter into a contract that the title to rule (பட்டம்) must go first to the eldest son, after him to his brothers in order and then to the sons of the eldest son. In this copper-plate, extensive lands in and to the south-east of the Pudukkòttai State as well as Kíranùr, Vellanùr and Unaiyùr near Tirumayyam are mentioned. Who this Achyuta Tondaimàn was is not very clear. It is very likely that he was a descendant of a Pallava or Chóla Viceroy of these parts of the name of Tondaimàn and that the Arantàngi Tondaimáns were of his family. The name of another line of rulers, called the line of Pandârattars, said to be of the Solar race, is also found in connection with the tracts to the west of Arantángi (Pàlaiyanâdu). This was very probably an offshoot of the Arantángi Tondaimàn family, from which the Pandârattar Zemindars of Pàlaiyavanam are descended.

On Palayams and Palayakars. The following paragraphs on the origin of the pàlayams to be found in the Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevelly districts and the methods employed by the Pàlayakàrs to enhance their position and power are taken from the well-known Fifth Report of the Select Committee appointed to report on the Affairs of the East India Company (1813).*

"The Poligars are military chieftains, of different degrees of power and consequence, who bear a strong affinity to the Zemindars of the Northern Circars. Their origin may also be traced to similar events and causes. Those whose Pollams are situated in jungly and frontier parts of the country are represented to have been for the most part, leaders of banditti of free-booters, who, for the preservation of internal order in the country, had been either expressly entrusted with the charge of the Police, or had been suffered to take upon themselves, that kind of service. Some of them derived their descent from the ancient Rajahs, or from those who had held high offices of trust under the Hindoo Governments; whose ancestors had received certain villages in *enaum*, either as a personal allowance from the State, for the support of their rank, or the reward of their services; or partly for those objects, and partly on the feudal principle of supporting a body of horse and foot, which were to be at the call of the sovereign, whenever they might be required. Others had been renters of districts or revenue officers who had revolted in times of public disturbance, and had succeeded in usurping possession of lands, to which they were constantly adding by further encroachments on the territorial rights of Government or of individuals, during those conjunctures of public affairs, which rendered the ruling authority weak and inefficient. Even *potails* of villages had by these means, attained the footing of poligar chieftains, though on a smaller scale. In some districts, which were favoured by the natural strength of the country, it appears that this description of the people had generally assumed the character and name of Poligars; and though in some cases, their incomes did not exceed a few hundred pagodas, yet they kept up their military retainers, and their nominal officers of State, and were regularly installed with all the forms and ceremonies of a prince of an extensive territory, assuming and exercising, in this

* See Messrs. Higginbotham & Co's. Edition of the Report, Vol. II, pp. 88-91.

contracted sphere, many of the essential powers of sovereignty. It does not appear that any of the Poligars, except those of the ancient aboriginal stock, had ever been regarded by the different sovereigns, who had governed the country, as holding any independent authority; most of them therefore, whose military services were not required by the kings of Bíjapúr and Gólcondah, and afterwards by those at Delhi, were assessed at the full value of their districts, instead of yielding only a small tribute. If they were Police officers, and derived advantage from that employment, a proportional addition was made to their rent; and if the profits of it did not defray the charges, a suitable reduction of it was allowed.

"The Police duties exercised by the Poligars were not confined to their own villages, but extended to the protection of the property of the inhabitants and travellers, in the adjoining villages and roads. This extension of authority had gradually risen in encroachment and was converted into a pretext for the most severe oppressions on the people, in the form of fees and ready money collections. Of these perquisites, there appear to have been two kinds, which passed under the general designation of *Cavelly*, with a certain allowance on the land revenues and customs, from villages not included within their own Pollams, of from 5 to 10 *per cent* and received chiefly by the greater Poligars. The proportion which fell on the land was generally collected in one payment at the harvest season. If on sending peons to the villages to realize these dues, excuses were made by the inhabitants, some of the Poligar's followers were despatched to commit depredations on the villages; and if this did not end in the acquittance of his demand, the practice was frequently resorted to of carrying off the Potail and Curnam, beating them, and putting them into confinement, until they paid him from their own pocket what he demanded, and such a fine as he chose to impose. The other official perquisites which he drew from the customs were either rented by him to those who leased the land of Government, or by stationing his own people at the *chokies* or toll-houses to receive them. Though he did not regularly enjoy any *enaum*, he had succeeded by violence and other methods, in obtaining a considerable portion of land, which was entered in the village accounts, as being held under this tenure, or as being waste or uncultivated.

"In the lands thus possessed by him, were often included gardens and other desirable spots belonging to individuals, which he had obliged them to make over to him. His power and influence enabled him to take the lead in the adjustment of differences and disputes, particularly in questions of property and boundaries of land; for though it was the custom to appoint arbitrators to assist in the determination of the question, the dread of displeasing the Poligar, deterred them from expressing an opinion contrary to his own.

"Similar perquisites to those above mentioned were also collected by the inferior or petty Poligars, whose jurisdictions did not extend beyond the limits of their respective villages and in the same arbitrary and unjust manner. They were regularly possessed of *enaums* in the Circar villages; but to these they had added by undue alienations.

"The Poligars entrusted, as has been described, with the charge of Police, were responsible for the loss of all property stolen within their jurisdiction. The allowances which they received were in part intended to furnish them with the means of making good losses of that nature; but this was rarely done by them; while the contributions they levied, though much more than adequate to that purpose, were principally applied to the maintenance of a larger force than they could otherwise have kept up from the resources of their own lands. So imperfectly in fact did they perform the duties of Police, that in those districts which were immediately under their authority, they and their peons were not only themselves chiefly concerned, but the further a village was distant from the scene of their influence and operations, the more secure were the properties and persons of its inhabitants from plunder and violence; for there, the ancient institution of the potail, directing and enforcing the vigilance and local knowledge of the hereditary *talliar*, had its full effect.

"But where the influence of the Poligar predominated, the most skilful and experienced offenders were to be found; and though suspicion immediately fixed itself on them whenever an act of robbery was committed, it was difficult to bring it home to the individual, from the dexterity employed by the gang to

which he belonged, including a discovery, and from the reluctance which the inhabitants felt in giving information against the party, on account of the severe retaliation to which it was sure to expose them. The numerous petty Poligars exercising the duty of cavilgars, appear to have risen in comparatively modern times. They were in fact, for the most part, no other than Potails or head men of villages in which capacity it was left to them, under the ancient system of the Hindoos, to conduct the general affairs of the Police within their local boundaries; but the fees and collections which they made in that capacity were innovations; for the only contributions sanctioned by that system, were such as were applied to the support of the *talliars* or watchmen, of which there were several in each village municipality. They like all other public servants on the village establishment were entitled to their customary *russooms* and allotments of rent-free lands. But whenever their means of subsistence were wholly or chiefly usurped from them by the Poligars or by any superior cavilgars, the ancient *talliar* became himself, from want, a plunderer, and a plunderer of the most formidable character, in consequence of the minuteness of his local knowledge, and the nature of his office which had made nocturnal tours and vigilance the habit of his life."

The Central Authority. The Nayaks of Madura and afterwards the Mussalmans:—The Náyaka dynasty of Madura was founded in 1559 and they held the country until the Mussalmans took it in 1736. The first ruler was Visvanâtha Náyaka, who was sent by the king of Vijayanagar to help the Pándya ruler Vi*tt*hal Rájá against the Chólas, but "sound policy and his own interests alike deterred him from handing over the entire government of the country to the old feeble dynasty, and he set out to rule on his own account. This was in 1559. Doubtless he had a wide commission as Governor from the Vijayanagar court, and perhaps there was little difference between the powers he exercised and those wielded, for example, by Vi*tt*hal Rájá. But the peculiar characteristic of the new *regime* was that, whether by accident or design, it developed first into a governorship which became hereditary, and then into what was practically an hereditary monarchy. The Pàndyas disappear in effect henceforth from history. In his administrative improvements, he was ably

seconded by his prime minister Árya Náyaka Mudali (or as he is still commonly called Árya Nátha) a man born of peasant Vellàlar parents who had won his way by sheer ability to a high position in the Vijayanagar court. This officer is supposed to have been the founder of "the poligar system", under which the Madura country was apportioned among 72 chieftains—some of them local men and others leaders of the detachments which had accompanied Visvanátha from Vijayanagar—who were each placed in charge of one of the 72 bastions of the new Madura fortifications, were responsible for the immediate control of their estates, paid a fixed tribute to the Nàyaka and kept up a certain quota of troops ready for immediate service."*

It may be mentioned that, from the time of Visvanátha, Trichinopoly was a portion of the Madura country, and that the Marungápuri chiefs, Iluppúr chiefs and Kumáravádi chiefs, of whom short accounts are given below, must have accompanied Visvanátha from Vijayanagar.

It will be enough for our purposes if we know the names and dates of the following Náyak rulers.

1. Tirumala Náyaka ... ... 1623—1659.
2. Muttu Alakádri or Muttu Vírappa (Illegitimate son)..... ... 1659—1660.
3. Chokkanátha or Chokkappa (son) 1660—1682. [His brother Muttulinga was king in 1667].
4. Ranga Krishna Muttu Vírappa (son) 1682—1689.
5. Mangammál, Queen-Regent (His father's widow) ... ... 1689—1704.
6. Vijaya Ranga Chokkanâtha (grandson) ... 1704—1731.
7. Mínákshi (His widow) ... 1731—1736.

The Náyaka rule came to an end in 1736, and the Mussalmans under Chanda Sahib ruled the country from 1736 to 1740. The Maráttás under Rághúji captured Trichinopoly and ruled there till 1743, when the army of the Nizam marched against the Maráttás and defeated them. In 1744 Anwar-ud-din was appointed Nawab of Arcot, and the whole of the Madura kingdom fell under his rule.

* From the *Madura Gazetteer.*

The Rajas of Tanjore.* From 1549 A. D., the Tanjore country was under the rule of Náyaka governors from Vijayanagaram, who, like the Nâyaka rulers of Madura, made themselves independent. The last of these was Vijaya Rághava, who was defeated about 1674 by Chokkanàtha Náyak of Madura. A general of the name of Alagiri Nâyak, foster brother of Chokkanàtha, was left in charge of Tanjore. A son of the last Náyaka ruler of Tanjore, Senkamaldás by name, however, applied for help to the Maráttâs at Bíjapúr, and orders were issued to Venkáji otherwise called Ékóji to drive out Alagiri and place Senkamaldás on the throne. Venkâji seized the throne for himself and thus founded, *circa* 1674, the Maráttá dynasty of Tanjore. The names of the rulers of this dynasty with their dates are given below.†

1.	Ékóji or Venkáji ...	1674 (or 6175)—1684.
2.	Shàji	1684—1711.
3.	Sarfóji	1711—1729.
4.	Tukáji	1729—1736.
5.	Bâbà Sahib	1736—1737.
6.	Síjan Bhài, Regent ...	1737—1740.
7.	Sáhuji, or Syáji	1740—1749.
8.	Pratápa Simha	1749—1765.
9.	Tuljáji	1765—1788.
10.	Amara Simha	1788—1798.
11.	Sarfóji (adopted)	1798—1833.

[In 1799 Sarfóji handed over the country to the English, receiving a pension. Sivàji was the last ruler of the line.]

The Setupatis. The name *Sétupati*, by which the rulers of Ramnad were called, means "the Lord of the Bridge" *i. e.*, of the causeway connecting Rámésvaram with the island of Ceylon, and is said to have been conferred in the time of Ràma himself during his exploits to Lanká or Ceylon related in the Rámáyana. At the beginning of the sixteenth century, there was no Sétupati in existence. The roads to Rámésvaram were infested with gangs of robbers, and Muttukrishna Vírappa, the Náyak king of Madura, was exhorted to appoint a ruler, whose authority could conduce to the safe travel of the pilgrims to and from Rámésvaram.

* See Mr. Kuppuswàmi Sástriàr's *Short History of the Tanjore Nàik Princes.*

† Taken from Mr. Sewell's *Dynasties of Southern India.*

Accordingly Sadiakka Tévar, a descendant of the ancient Sétupati, was crowned as Sétupati in 1604. It is from this period that we have some authentic history of the Sétupatis.*

There were constant wars between the Sétupatis and the Rájás of Tanjore, and the towns from Hanumantakudi to Mannárgudi, including Kílânilai and Pattukkóttai were sometimes under the Sétupatis and sometimes under the Rájás of Tanjore. The southern portion of the modern Pudukkóttai State was for a time subject to the Sétupatis and the forts of Tirumayyam and Kílanilai are said to have been built by the Maravars of Ramnad.

The names of the Sétupatis that held sway from 1645 A. D. are given below :—

1. Raghunátha Tévar *alias* Tirumalai Sétupati 1645–1670 A.D.
2. Súrya Tévar ... ... 1670.
3. Raghunátha Tévan Kilavan Sétupati ... 1673–1708.
4. Vijaya Raghunátha Tévar *alias* Tiruvudaiya Sétupati (adopted) ... ... 1709–1723.
5. Tandar Tévar ... ... 1723–1724.
6. Bhaváni Sankar Sétupati ... ... 1724–1728.
7. Kútta Tévar *alias* Kumára Muttu Vijaya Raghunátha Sétupati ... ... 1728–1734.
8. Muttu Kumára Raghunátha Sétupati ... 1734–1747.
9. Rákka Tévar Sétupati ... ... 1747–1748.
10. Sella Tévar *alias* Vijaya Raghunâtha Sétupati ... ... 1748–1760.
11. Mutturámalinga Sétupati ... 1760–1772 & 1780–1794. (Prisoner from 1772 to 1780 and deposed in 1794).

Sivaganga Zamindars. Sivaganga Zamindari dates from about 1730 A. D. Kútta Tévar, Sétupati of Ramnad, having been helped by Sasivarna Periya Udaiya Tévan of Nálukóttai, one of his relatives, in defeating his predecessor, Bhaváni Sankara Tévar, and becoming the ruler of Ramnad, assigned to him two-fifths of the Ramnad territory and conferred on him the title of *Rájá* Muttu Vijaya Raghunátha Periya Udaiya Tévar, who thus became the first ruler of Sivaganga. After this partition we find Ramnad referred to as "the Greater Marava" and Sivaganga as "the Lesser Marava" or "Nálukóttai".

* See Mr. Sewell's *Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 89.

The names of the rulers of Sivaganga from 1730—1801 are given below. Most of the dates are only approximate.*

1. Sasivarna Periya Udaiya Tévar ... 1730—1750.
2. Muttuvadukanâtha Periya Udaiya Tévar (son) ... ... 1750—1772.
3. Under the Nawab ... ... 1772—1780.
4. Vélu Nácchiyàr, widow of No. 2 ... 1780—1790.
5. Vellácchi (daughter) ... ... 1790—1793.
6. Vangam Periya Udaiya Tévar (husband) 1793—1801.

The last three were rulers only in name, all the power having fallen into the hands of two upstarts known as "Marudus." Details will be found later on.

Perambur and Kattalur Chieftains. From inscriptions † it is found that one Narasimha Tévan was ruling at Pérámbúr in 1391 A. D. and that about twenty years later his son Námi Tévan was exercising sway at Péràmbúr. One of these inscriptions is at Virâlur, near Virâlimalai, showing that Viràlimalai was originally within the dominion of these chiefs. A ruler of this line ‡ Alagia Manavâla Tévan, is said to have built the temple at Virálimalai, where laudatory songs in honour of this line are sung to this day. As is mentioned in the *Gazetteer*, Virálimalai seems to have passed later on into the hands of Lakkaya Náyaks of Kumáravádi, from whom the Tondaimán rulers secured the place in the eighteenth century. In an old Tamil book on geography, the chief of Pérámbúr and Kattalúr is mentioned § as one of the seventy-two Pàlayakárs that guarded the bastions of Madura in the time of Tirumal Náyak of Madura (1623–1659). These chiefs are mentioned in a cadjan leaf document in the Pudukkóttai Sirkar office as having granted the historic mission station of Ávúr to the Roman Catholics and given them their support during the early days of the Mission. The Jesuit records speak of them as the chiefs of Kandalúr, from Kandalúr, a village which is just outside of Pudukkóttai limits, and which must have formed portion of the territory of the Pérámbúr and Kattalúr

* See Mr. K. Annaswâmi Aiyar's *Sivaganga Zamindari*.

† See inscriptions in the temple of Siva to the east of the irrigation tank at Pulvayal in Kattalùr Vattam and in the Siva temple at Viràlúr.

‡ See Virâlimalai in the *Gazetteer*.

§ See Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, pp. 161—3.

chiefs. In 1708 the pálayam came to an end. " Avur and many other villages extending from Trichinopoly in the direction of the king of the Marava (Ramnad) were made over to the Tondaman as a favour of the Raja of Trichinopoly, whose favourite the Tondaman had become in 1707".*

Varappur Chiefs. Towards the close of the 17th century and the beginning of the 18th century, the tract of land about Váráppúr was under a line of chiefs of the Ayyangar Brahmin caste. It is reported that the lands were granted to one Jagannátha Ayyangar—when it is not known—for some services that he rendered to a Rájá of Tanjore. The Zamindari of Váráppúr came to an end when it was annexed to Pudukóttai by Vijaya Raghunâtha Râya Tondaimán, as will be related later on.

Iluppur Chiefs. The Iluppúr chiefs belonged to the Thottiyar caste and were known as the Kámákshi Náyaks of Iluppúr. The first of these chiefs is said to have been granted 14 villages that constituted his *Zamín* by some Muhammadan ruler who had received special help from him. The story about the last of the rulers is that he shot at a pot carried by a woman belonging to some trooper, but that it killed her and that the sepoys in anger destroyed his fort. The chief is said to have escaped and is supposed by some people to be still alive. It may be mentioned that the Iluppúr chief was one of the petty pálayakárs that were appointed to guard the bastions of the Madura Fort. The *pàlayam* must therefore have existed in the time of Tirumala Náyak (1623–1659 A. D.)

There is a story in the Pudukkóttai State that the pálayam of Iluppúr fell into the hands of Vijaya Raghunátha Ràya Tondaimán and that he afterwards gave it away to the Nawab of Trichinopoly as a marriage present for betel-leaves for his wife (*i. e.*, as a sort of pin-money).

Kumaravadi Chiefs. The *pàlayam* of these chiefs known as Lakki Náyaks was more extensive than that of the Iluppúr chiefs. That the Pálayam existed in the time of Tirumala Náyak (1623–1659 A. D.) is clear from Lakkayya Náyak of the time having been appointed as one of the 72 pálayakárs that were

* Annual letter of the Madura Mission to Rome, 1710.

to guard the bastions of the Madura Fort. Their territory seems to have extended as far as Virálimalai, portions of the temple at which place are said to have been built by them. They seem to have conquered the tract about Virálimalai from the chiefs of Pérámbúr. But this tract was afterwards taken from them by the Tondaimán. There were frequent strifes relating to certain tracts between these chiefs and the Tondaimáns. Finally the matter was considered and disposed of by the Madras Government in favour of the Tondaimán and boundary stones were laid down at Rásálippatti by the Honourable Company's servants in 1804.

Marungapuri Chiefs (and Karisalpattu—Varappur Chiefs). These were more powerful than the chiefs either of Iluppúr or Kumâravádi, and one of the seventy-two pálayakârs appointed to watch the bastions of Madura was Púchi Náyak * of Marungápuri. From a copper-plate relating to this pàlayam, it appears that the pàlayam existed in the days of the Kárála Vellâlars and that the pálayakár was the *Arasu Kávalkár* of Trichinopoly. The *pàlayam* extended as far as Kudumiâmalai and Virácchalai to the east, and the Tondaimàns took from its rulers the portion of the State to the west of these places. Ammankuricchi, now forming portion of Pudukkóttai, was originally the capital of the Púchi Náyaks, and an inscription in the temple at this place shows that the temple was built by the Marungápuri chiefs. There was a long dispute between the Marungápuri chiefs and the Tondaimáns in connection with the tract of land mentioned above, and the question, which ultimately went before the Madras Government, was carefully inquired into and considered, and decided in favour of the Tondaimán, with the remark that, though the lands originally belonged to Marungápuri, they had so long remained with the Tondaimán that it would be wrong to take them away from him. It may be mentioned that a member of the Marungápuri Zemindar family is said to have separated himself from the rest and formed out of this *pàlayam* a separate Zamindari known as Karisalpattu—Vàráppúr to the south-west of this State. These chiefs were known as Boma Náyaks, who, according to Rev. W. Taylor † were independent chieftains descended from an

* One of these was Tirumala Púchi Nâyak. His son was Ovala Púchi Nàyak and his son in 1691 A. D. was Víra Púchi Nàyak. [See inscription at Ammankuricchi.]

† See Taylor's *Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts*, Vol. III, p. 59.

attendant of Visvanàtha Náyak, the founder of the Náyak line of Madura kings. We learn from a palm-leaf document that Ponnamarávati was under these chieftains in the seventeenth century, but that they were being driven out of that tract by Kilavan Sétupati of Ramnad (1673–1708).

Palayavanam Zamindars. Pálayavanam is a Zamindari in the Tanjore District. The Zamindars are very probably the descendants of the famous line of Arantângi Tondaimáns, of whom a pretty detailed account has been given already.

Nagaram Zamindars. These, like the Váráppúr chiefs, must have got their Zamindari for services that they rendered the kings at Tanjore. They are *Valaiyars*, and, not to be confounded with the oridinary men of that caste, style themselves *Valuvàdis.* A portion of this Zamindari was added to the Pudukkóttai State by the Tondaimáns.

Kanduvan Chiefs. From a document got down from Munaisandai, it appears that there was towards the close of the seventeenth century a chief of the name of Kanduván. " Sengirai and the adjoining villages formed the territory of a minor chief styled Kandiván (more correctly Kandu pokkan)". Mr. Venkat Row's Manual.

The Pallavarayars of Vaittur. The Pallavaráyars are found as Araiyars in these parts as early as 1378, if not earlier. These were at first chieftains of Va*l*uttúr (Vaittúr or Vyttikóvil) in the Kulattúr Taluk, and were for a long time known as Va*l*uttúr and Perungulúr Pallavaràyars. From an inscription at Virácchalai dated 1378 A D., it is found that a Pallavaráyar of Va*l*uttúr who proceeded with a force against Chokka Náráyana Vijayálaya Tévan, a chief of Súraikkudi, was slain by the Viràcchalai people, and that these people were therefore granted certain concessions by the Súraikkudi chief. We may therefore suppose that the Pallavaráyars must have settled in these parts about the middle of the fourteenth century, if not earlier.

The settlements of the Pallavaráyars have been accounted for as follows.* When the rule of the Pallavas came to an end on account of the conquest of Tondamandalam by the Chólas,

* See the article on the *Pallavas* by Rao Bahadur M. R. Ry. V. Venkayya in the *Indian Review.*

the kinsmen of the Pallava family took service under the Chólas and accepted even subordinate places. Some of them became commanders of forces, and one of them was Karunákara Tondaimán, a general referred to in the Tamil classic *Kalingattupparani*. The Pallavaráyar that settled down at Vaittúr may be taken to have been a distant relative of the rulers of Pallava family, as is surmised by Rao Bahadur M. R. Ry. V. Venkayya, the Epigraphist for India. If he was not actually a kinsman, he or one of his ancestors might have been in some way connected with the Pallavas and might have taken the name of Pallavaráyar to show this connection.* There is a tradition that the first Pallaváráyar came from Vaittúr, a village about 10 miles to the east of Tanjore on the Tanjore-Kumbakonam Road, and that he called the place where he settled down after the place from which he marched southwards. One of the chiefs of this line, Seventhe*l*untha Tirumalaráya Pallavaráyar, is found in an inscription at Tiruvarankulam dated 1539 A. D. describing himself as "the saviour of the Pándyas" and it is very likely that a Pallavaráyar chieftain helped the Pándya king againt his enemies.†

It may be mentioned here that references are made in documents relating to the times of Kárkátta Vellálars to three or four rulers called Pallavaráyars. A Pallavaráyar of the name of Venkatàchalam is mentioned in a rather unintelligible copper-plate grant of land in the Inam Settlement Office, in which it is said that the Pándya king, Ugra Víra Pándya Râjá, waited for seven years in Tondamandalam, got down Venkatáchala Pallaváráyar, had the Sétupati Nondi Maravan seized, and was so pleased with the Pallavaráyar that he assigned to him large tracts of land near Ponnamarávati, and, giving him the title of "Son-in law of the Royal Family," presented him with a palace, horses, *etc*. Probably the reference is to an able Pallavaráya who was sent to these

---

* See the poem on *Name Giving* (stanzas 351-360) in the Vaishnava hymnologist Periàlvàr's *Thirumoli*, written before 800 A. D., wherein it is stated that the names of the God Vishnu were not given in those days to children, but the names of men (of position) with the view of getting from them money, cloths, jewels, *etc*.

† "It is stated that the Pallavarâyars rescued the Pândyas from defeat and shame, and were regarded by the Pàndya rulers in the light of affectionate sons."

parts by the Pallavas or Chólas, to whom these parts were then subject A Tondaimán, to whom the grand name of "Tondaimán Chakravarti" is given, is said to have followed the Pallavaráya and to have been granted lands near Ambukkóvil. This statement may be taken to mean that a Tondaimán of the present ruling family of Pudukkóttai followed the Viceroy Venkatáchala Pallavaráya and settled down at Ambukkóvil. Three other Pallavaráyars of the Kárála days are mentioned in old documents, *viz.* Seventhe*l*untha Pallavaráyar, Ku*l*andai Pallavaráyar and Vanangámudi Pallavaráyar. Seventhe*l*untha Pallavaráyar, whose name agrees with that of two of the Vaittúr line of chiefs, seems to have been a ruler who exercised great influence and power. We find him styled a Pálayakár of Kalasamangalam and Tirukka*tt*alai (a little to the east of the Pudukkottai town). It was he that was appointed to watch, in return for taxes to be collected by him, the town of Nambukuli, when it was transferred to the Chettis of Vallam by Vánàdiráyar, and it was he that arranged to get loans for this Kárála chief from the same Chettis and decided a dispute with reference to the remuneration that the Kalla chieftains were to receive from Vánádiráyar whom they had helped against the seven Kónádu chieftains (see pp. 71 and 68). He is said to have had his residence at Kalasamangalam. Possibly Seventhe*l*untha Pallavaráyar of the Kárálar days was, if not the well-known ruler of the name who is known from inscriptions to have lived in 1539, another ruler of the line who lived in the 14th or 15th century. We find a benefaction of the Va*l*uttúr Pallavaráyars at Tirugókarnam as early as 1387 A. D., and we find that Tirukka*tt*alai had passed into the hands of this family before 1492 A. D. Ku*l*andai Pallavaráyar and Vanangàmudi Pallavaráyar, who decided a Kárâlar dispute relating to the use of the Vellár water (see p. 66), must have been other members of this line.

The names of several rulers of this line are known as also the approximate time in which they lived. They are given in the statement to be found below. The Pallavaràyars seem to have gradually extended their territory and power till at last it is found that they had made themselves masters of all the land from Áthankkó*tt*ai on the Tanjore road to Kavinád, a few miles to the south of the Pudukkóttai town, and from Kulavâippa*tt*i, 10 miles to the east of Pudukkótai, to Kudumiámalai, 12 miles to the west

of the town.* The last two members of this line considered themselves so powerful that they called themselves *kings*, the words used in inscriptions being "இராஜ்யம் பண்ணி அருளு கையில்". From *Araiyars* the chiefs rose to the position of *Arasu*, and ultimately they styled themselves *Rájás*.

1312 A. D. (The second year of Tribhuvana Chakravarti Sundara Pándya Déva).† One Thennattiraiyan Pillai Pallavaráyan grants lands purchased at Árananallúr (Áranippat*t*i) for a Pallava *sandhi* service to the God at Va*l*uttúr.

1378 A. D. A Pallavaráyar of Vaittúr is said to have been slain by the people of Virácchalai. [Inscription at Virácchalai].

1387 A. D. Vi*l*itturangum Pallavaráyar grants to the Tirugókarnam temple lands near Vilâkkudi. This shows that the temple at Tirugókarnam was then in existence. The Pallavaràyars seem to have extended their territory as far as Pudukkóttai in the fourteenth century. [Inscription at Tirugókarnam.]

1462 A. D. Sríranga Pallavaráyar of Perungulúr grants for a daily service (to be called Pallavan *sandhi*) to the God at Tirukka*tt*alai, three miles to the east of Pudukkottai, a share (one-half or one-fifth) of the taxes, fines, *etc.*, to be paid by the people of Tirukka*tt*alai to him. This shows that the lands to the east of the Pudukkóttai town had come in 1462 under the rule of the Pallavaráyars. [Inscription at Tiruvarankulam.]

1466 A. D. Mi (Vi) *l*icchar Pillai Pallavaráyar of Perungulúr having expressed a desire that a daily service should be instituted in his name in the Siva temple at Kulattúr, the people of the village arrange for the same. [Inscription at Kulattúr.]

1481 A. D. Vi*l*itturangum Pallavaráyar of Perungulúr grants lands at Áttankudi (near Pudukkóttai town) for a daily service to be conducted in his name to the God at Thirukka*tt*alai. [Inscription at Tiruvarankulam.]

---

* The revenue was 20,000 pons, that is to say Rs. 25,000, The country is said to have been divided into ten districts or Nâdus." Mr. Venkat Row's Manual.

† See Mr. Sewell's *Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 82.

1526 A. D. Kaduga Nalla Perumàl Pallavaráyar. [Inscription at Mullúr. The whole of the inscription has not been found.]

1539 A. D. Seventhe*l*unthán Tirumalairâjà Pallavaráyar, son of Kónéri Rájá Pallavaráyar, grants lands in the Valnád tract for a daily service to be performed in his name in the temple at Tiruvarankulam. The details of the expenditure are given as follows:—Rice,— ; three vegetables; pepper, $\frac{1}{8}$ (palam); oil, $\frac{3}{4}$ (padi); ripe cocoanut, 1; fruits, 5; jaggery, one palam; ten lights.

The information is based on an inscription in the temple at Tiruvarankulam which contains some other interesting details. The Pallavaráyar describes himself as the sun-like protector of kings, the represser of mischievous rulers, the victor at *Kalabam*, the chastiser of the eighteen Vanniya (chiefs), the saviour of the Pàndya king, the upholder of the dignity of the Salúva (rulers), the disregarder of his foes, the enchainer of his opposers, *etc*. This may show that the Pallavarâyars had come to regard themselves as pretty powerful rulers. The tract containing the land that is assigned to the God is described as having been secured by him for services that he rendered to one Írappa Náyak Ayyan, probably the representative in these parts at the time of the Vijayanagar kings and a relative of Visvanátha Náyakan Ayyan, Viceroy of Madura from 1535–1544.*

1588 A. D. Lord Achyuta Pallavaràyar. [The place where he ruled is not mentioned. The inscription is incomplete.]

1600 A. D.† Jayamnádina (or Jayanábha) Pallavaráyar of Perungalúr purchases the village of Sirusunai, four miles to the west of the Pudukkóttai town, from the people who were unable to pay the taxes. [In the village of Sirusunai.]

---

* See Mr. Sewell's *Dynasties of Southern India*. The *Madura Gazetteer* (p. 40) states that "Achyuta, king of Vijayanagar from 1530 to 1542, organised a great expedition to the extreme south of India" and that "thenceforth the Pândya country was held more firmly and directly by the representatives of the Vijayanagar empire.

† The year is given as the 35th year of Vala Dèvà's reign and Vallabha Déva reigned from 1565 at least for forty years. See Mr. Sewell's *Dynasties of South India*, p. 84.

1615 A. D. Achyuta Pallavarâyar, Arasu of Va*l*uttúr, and Mallappa Pallavaráyar grant to Brahmins free house-sites at Kudumiâmalai, purchased from the people of the place. The latter of the two Pallavaráyars was the son of the former.

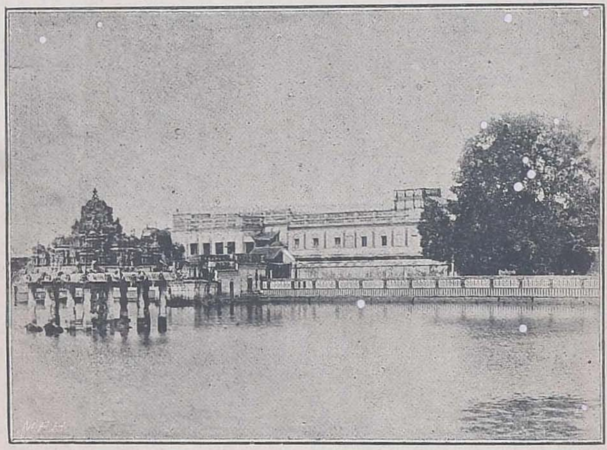
Malla Palláváráyar, son of Achyuta Pallavaráyar, describes himself as *reigning* in these parts ("இராஜ்யம் பண்ணி அருளுகையில்"), grants lands to a dancing girl of the Kudumiâmalai temple, calling her "Pallavaráya Mánickattál "or" the dancing girl that was to take the leading part in the honours to be done by the temple authorities to the Pallavaráyar, such as receiving him at the temple, taking him back to his residence, *etc.*"

1681 (or 1621) A. D.* In the cyclic year *Raudri*, when Mallappa Náyaka Pallavaráyar and Seventhe*l*untha Pallavarâyar were "reigning," two men of Trichinopoly, Sivánanda Chettiyàr and Javantilinga Chettiyàr are mentioned in an inscription at Kudumiámalai as having dug at the place the well-known well called "Thambikkinaru" and, furnishing it with stone walls and eighteen steps, made it available to the public as the charity of one Udaiappan.

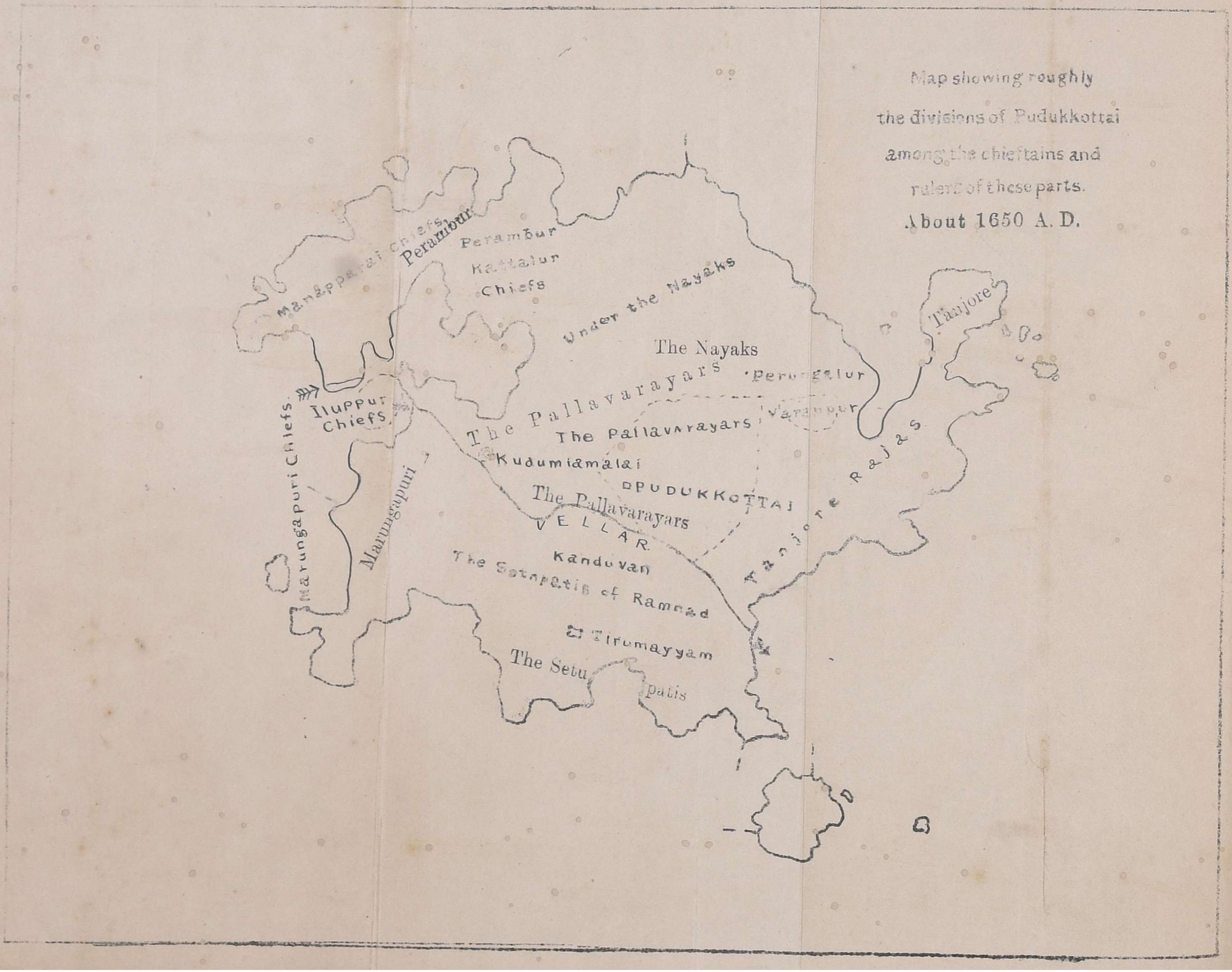
This is an inscription engraved by private men and in this inscription we find the Pallavaráyars mentioned as *reigning* at the time. This may be taken to show that the chiefs considered themselves and acted as independent rulers.† The last ruler of this line is known to have been Seventhe*l*untha Pallavaráyar. How and when his power passed into the hands of the Tondaimán line will be mentioned a little later on when we speak of the Tondaimáns. The last ruler is said to have been a devout worshipper of

* The year of the inscription is merely *Raudri*. We may be pretty sure that both the Pallavarâyars could not have lived in 1681 or in 1621 if Mallappa is the same as Malla mentioned in the grant of 1615 and Seventhe*l*untha was no other than the Pallavaráyar of the same name whose power became transferred to the Tondaimân line in 1686.

† There are references in inscriptions to some other Pallavarâyars, but their dates are not known. One Kónèri Ràjá Pallavaràyar of Perungulúr and some others are mentioned in one of them as granting lands in the cycle year *Pingala*, to the God at Kunnândàrkóvil. In an incomplete inscription at Thiruvéngavàsal, one Avudaiya Pallavaráyar is mentioned (*Pingala* year). He is not shown as a ruler or as connected with Vaittùr or Perungulùr. One Avudaiya Nàyanar Pallavaràyar of Perungulúr is mentioned as granting to Kílakkudi temple (Kòvilúr temple inscription) lands in his *pannai* at Vaittúr, in the cycle year *Rákshasa*. The word *pannai* shows that the lands at the place were treated as his personal property.



View of Pallavan Tank.


Map showing roughly
the divisions of Pudukkottai
among the chieftains and
rulers of these parts.
About 1650 A. D.
Manapparai Chiefs
Perambur
Perambur
Kattalur
Chiefs
Under the Nayaks
The Nayaks
The Pallavarayars
Perungalur
Varappur
Tanjore
Iluppur
Chiefs
Marungapuri Chiefs
Marungapuri
The Pallavarayars
Kudumiamalai
PUDUKKOTTAI
Tanjore Rajas
The Pallavarayars
VELLAR
Kanduvan
The Setupatis of Ramnad
Tirumayyam
The Setu patis

Siva and a charitable ruler. Séndamangalam, a village five miles to the west of Pudukkóttai, is said to have been granted by him rent-free to Brahmins, the place itself being said to be a corruption of Seventhe*l*unthamangalam. But the name is found in inscriptions earlier than 1600, and the name Seventhe*l*untha must be taken as referring to an earlier ruler of the line of the same name. Pâppánvayal near Perungulúr, otherwise known as Seventhe*l*unthapuram, is also said to have been a village granted by the last ruler of the line to Brahmins. Palinji is said in Mr. Venkat Row's Manual to have been granted as *Sarvamányam* by Mallappa Pallavarâyar and Sivapuram, by another member of the family.

The Pallavaráyars of Vaittúr have left their traces according to popular belief in the name of the tank in the middle of Pudukkóttai town, well-known for a very long time as Pallavan tank*, and a measure of capacity known as *Pallavanpadi*, which was in use in Kârálar days (see p. 68) and which is used even now in the distribution of rice during the annual Dussera Festival. Traces of their ruined fortress at Vaittúr exist, and there is also a tank called "Pallavan tank" at Péraiyúr, five miles to the south-west of Pudukkóttai, and another tank of the same name at Vilattuppa*tt*i, six miles from Kíranúr.

The following additional information relating to the Pallavarâya line may be found interesting.

"The exact date of the origin of the dynasty is not ascertainable. The year 1600 may be fixed as an approximate date, since we find the second prince of the dynasty described as a contemporary of Tirumala Rájá (Tirumalai Nâyak) of Madura, who, we are aware, reigned from 1623 to 1659 Most of the information available regarding this line of princes is contained in a poetical work (ulâ) of local celebrity, which purports to have been composed in the time of Seventhe*l*untha Pallavaráyar, the last of the line, by a poet whose name is given as Padikâsu Pandâram.

* In 1883 A. Seshiah Sastriâr, Dewan of Pudukkóttai, changed the name rather improperly—without paying any attention to the antiquity and historic value of the name—into 'Sivaganga tank'.

"The following is a list of the princes of the line as gathered from the fragments of palm-leaves on which the copy of the work now available is found written.

1. Kónéri Pallavarâyar.
2. Mânchólai Pallavarâyar.
3. Achyutappa Pallavarâyar.
4. Mallappa Pallavarâyar.*
5. Ilaiya Perumâl Pallavarâyar.
6. Ávudayyan Pallavarâyar.
7. Kandappa Pallavarâyar.
8. Mallappa Pallavarâyar.
9. Sivanthe*l*untha Pallavarâyar.

"The asterisks (*sic*) indicate that names are wanting to fill up the list.

"According to another manuscript, the following is the list of the Pallavarâya chiefs of Pudukkóttai.

1. Periyudaiyán Pallavaràyar.
2. Tiruméni Pallavan.
3. Perumâl Pallavan.
4. Mâlaiyi*tt*án Pallavan.
5. Ayyanan Pallavan.
6. Adaikkalam Káttan Pallavan.
7. Mudikâttan Pallavan.
8. Villiputtâr Pallavan.
9. Ávudaiyan Pallavan.
10. Sriranga Pallavan.
11. Siventhe*l*untha Pallavan.

We may offer a few remarks on these lists before we make further quotations. The second list seems to us to be thoroughly untrustworthy. There are about five names that are common to the list that has been made out from the inscriptions and the first list, which may therefore be supposed to have some historic value. But the inference in the quotation that the dynasty began to rule about 1600 seems unwarranted. Seventhe*l*untha Pallavaráyar lost his territory in 1686 A. D., and it cannot be that more than eight Pallavaráyars were rulers within the short space of 90 years. It would be wrong to expect a poet to know or to care for correct genealogy.

"The ensigns of royalty adopted by the chiefs were :—

1. A flag bearing the figure of a tiger. (The tiger flag was the flag of the ancient Pallava rulers).
2. A flag bearing the figure of a fish.
3. A white umbrella.
4. A throne supported on six legs.

"Their peculiar garlands were garlands of Nim leaves and *Agatti* leaves.

"The Pallavaraya princes were devoted followers of the Saiva faith and are said to have been benevolent rulers of the country. The favourite Gods worshipped by them were Kudumi Náthar (of Kudumiamalai), Gokarnaswami (of Tirugokarnam), Vedar (of Peraiyúr) and Meyya Perumal (of Tirumayyam)".

If the tiger flag showed their connection with the Pallava rulers of Conjevaram, the fish flag and the garland of Nim leaves, which were the peculiar well-known ensigns of the Pàndyas, should have been adopted by them after they "rescued the Páṇdya king from defeat and shame", and the garland of *Agatti* leaves (so frequently referred to in Tamil poetry as the peculiar ensign of the Chóla kings) may be taken to show that they were patronised by the Chóla kings. The services instituted by the Pallavarâyars in the temples of Vaittúr, Tiruvarankulam, Tirukka*tt*alai and Kulattúr may show that they were worshippers at temples other than those shown in the quotation.

General remarks on the Kallar classes and chieftains. The relations of the chiefs in these parts to the central authority.— The following general remarks on the Kallar classes have been supplied by Rev. Father Castets of Trichinopoly. They explain

(1) how the heads of clans became gradually rulers,

(2) how rulers were sometimes elected,

(3) and how the Náyak kings of Madura and Trichinopoly to whom most of the rulers in these parts were subject exercised their suzerainty.

"The favour granted to these chiefs (heads of clans) by the paramount Lords on whom they happened to depend always ended in creating a line of separation between them and their clansmen and converting their situation as heads of clans into true Lordships. We observe this in the case of the Pudukkottai State almost in the making, and we have all sorts of reasons to interpret in that way similar creations such as those of Gandharvakottai and Kallakottai Zamindaris attributed to grants made to some ancestors of those Zamindars. The personal estate of the head of the clan was perfectly distinct from any sort of public revenue, if any such existed at all. For example, the chief of Kunampatti is reported to have foolishly squandered away the wealth left to him by his immediate ancestors and to have been apparently the sole sufferer for it. But the various chieftains' families seem to have constituted distinct classes much related by blood and intermarriages with one another. The chiefs were the military leaders of their clansmen as well as their acknowledged ruler. They formed a sort of independent and self-governed confederation, knit together by community of caste, common avocation and common interest.*

†"The decadence of the Kaller confederacy is said to be due to the continual wars and changes of Governors and Maniagárs and, above all, to the continued feuds of the Kallers themselves, in which each party vied with the others to have the Nâyakker's army on its side; but it was partly also due to the pursuance of some settled policy on the part of the Madura Rajah or of his officers. The Missionary remarks, that though people in general admitted that it was good policy thus to have curbed down that race, in view of the insolence of their conduct and of their robberies, yet many deemed it inopportune, under the present circumstances of incessant wars, in which the help of the united Kaller bands could not easily be spared, as they had indeed proved of the greatest utility, in the past, to the fortress of Trichinopoly. For it was

* This must have been the case when the chieftains were more or less equally powerful.

† Annual Letter of the Madura Mission for 1659.

well known to every one that the Mussulman besiegers of Trichinopoly dreaded much more the sudden night attacks of the Kallers than the broad daylight sorties of the garrison.*

"Election had a part to play in the order of succession. For example, when Meicondan, the famous chief of Nandavanampatti had to fly for his life, his younger brother and a party of his retainers following him in his exile, we have it stated that Meicondan's aunt was chosen to govern the clan, owing to her superior sense of justice and capacity. †

"The suzerain of the confederation mentioned above was mostly the Raja of Madura or more immediately the Governor of Trichinopoly, whose duty it was to gather the yearly tribute to be paid for vassalage to the Raja. But of course the wars between surrounding potentates and the Raja of Madura occasionally modified this more or less normal state of things. The Maravan (Setupati) on his side made, according to the chances of the time, or had to give way to, similar encroachments in the direction of Pudukottah, Tirumayyam and Pattukotta. But so long as the Kallers remained united among themselves, these changes affected only the recipient of the tribute, but left all other matters pretty much the same.

"The way in which this suzerainty was exercised and the tribute paid may be surmised from the following incidents. In 1656, a maniagar, who had the superintendence of all the Kallar country came to Nandavanampatti to levy the tribute in the name of the Governor of Trichinopoly, and, thanks to the tact of the chief Meicondan, the visit passed off without fight. The same official, during his passage at Kandalur on another occasion, felt himself strong enough to have the missionary who resided at that place under Kallar protection seized and brought before him for an intimidation trial. ‡ But a long war arose between all the Kallars and their Durai, the Nayakka Governor of Trichinopoly, Kuppei Andi".

* Annual Letter of the Madura Mission for 1663–66.

† Annual Letter of the Madura Mission for 1683.

‡ Annual Letter of the Madura Mission for 1656.

The Kallar land. The ways of the Kallars. General insecurity of person and property. Depopulation and its causes. This is how I. Peter Martin describes the state of the Kallar country about 1709. "These Kallars are the absolute masters of all the country. They pay neither tax nor tribute to the king (evidently of Madura). They issue from their woods every night, sometimes five or six hundred in number, and go to plunder the territories under the king's dependence. In vain till now has he tried to reduce them. Some five years ago, he led his troops against them,* penetrated into their woods, and, killing a great number of the rebels, erected a fortress amidst them and left in it a good garrison. But they soon shook off his yoke, and, having banded together one year after that expedition, they surprised the fortress, massacred the garrison and razed the fortifications to the ground".

The following extract from the *Madras Journal of Literature and Science* † will be found to contain valuable observations on the state of affairs in these parts about 1650 A. D.

"Besides Ramnad and Tinnevelly, a variety of petty chiefs assumed independence. Of these petty chiefs living by plunder and violence, the native lists enumerate seventy-two in the Tinnevelli and Trichinapali Districts. Their number must have been subject to perpetual fluctuation and increased or diminished with the absence or existence of any one preponderating power amongst them. The nature of their habitation, in the bosom of unhealthy and almost inaccessible wilds, gave, however, a certain security to their existence, and the efficiency of native Government was never such as to accomplish their supression. Through a period of three centuries therefore the southern portion of the peninsula was parcelled out amongst a number of petty chiefs, scarcely dignified even as commanders of banditti, ‡

---

* Rev. Fr. J. Castets who has contributed this para mentions that this must have been during the energetic rule of Queen Mangammal's minister.

† See Vol. VI, 1837.

‡ From W. Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts* (pp. 161–3), it will be found that the Raja of Travancore, the Setupati of Ramnad, the Tevar ruler of Sivaganga and the Tondaiman of Pudukkottai were not included under the Poligars. These three last "are like the adopted children of the Madura Government".

their predatory followers preferring a system of invidious pilfering to open plunder and rarely venturing without decided superiorty of number or position to face an enemy in the field. Too indolent to till the soil, too insecure to deserve fixed property, they lived by hunting and robbery, and were therefore little disposed to check the luxuriance of rank vegetation which yielded them at once subsistence and shelter. It is not surprising therefore that the countries which the Poligars occupied should have been overrun with inhospitable or noxious forests; and it may be concluded that, had not a wise and powerful policy interfered to enforce the habits of social life, the five * districts to the south of the Kaveri, most admirably fitted by nature to support an industrious population, would have reverted to the State, in which tradition describes them long anterior to Christianity, and would once more have become a suitable domicile for none but the goblins of Ravana or the apes of Hanuman".

It will be clear from what has been said above that there was very little security of person or property in these parts. Many villages which appear to have been once very populous and flourishing have become hamlets with very few inhabitants. For example, Kudumiâmalai with its big temple which had countless endowments must have been once a very prosperous place. It is now a hamlet containing only 1,088 inhabitants. The Madattukkóvil and the temple of Vishnu at Sirusunai, which enjoyed grants of land for daily services, have been deserted. A number of other places can be mentioned which were once prosperous and populous, but which are now either mere hamlets with a few inhabitants or are altogether uninhabited. How is this to be accounted for?

The accounts given above of the violence of the Kallars cannot be held to apply to these parts, as the Pallavaràyars at first and after them the Tondaimáns were powerful rulers who protected their people, established charities, and invited † people

---

* Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Ramnad, Tennevelly (and Coimbatore?).

† See inscriptions at Kóvilúr, Tiruvarankulam, Tirukkattalai, Kudumiàmalai, *etc.*, and the copper plate grants relating to Ammâchatram, Chandanattàkuricchi, *etc.*

from the neighbouring parts to settle here. There is abundant evidence to show that the depopulation had occurred before 1710 or 1720 A. D. An attempt will be made to briefly set forth the causes.

(1) The central government in those days exercised little power and every man's hand was against his neighbour. There are many inscriptions that support this view. In an inscription in the temple at Panaiyúr, Tirumayyam Taluk, there is a reference to a free fight between the people of the village and those of Kulamangalam, in which many men are said to have been slain and others are stated to have fled in various directions, leading to the ruin of the villages.

That such fights were common may be gathered from what happened at Virácchalai, Púválaikkudi and Kíranúr.

The people of Virácchalai, evidently, after a number of deeds of violence came to an understanding among themselves, whereby, if a man was killed by the throwing of a stone or boomerang, the slayer was to be caught hold of and put to death, and that, if people of two different castes began to fight with each other, the villagers were to assemble, the cause of the dispute was to be inquired into, and a fine of twelve *panams* was to be levied from those that were deemed the aggressors and paid into the common treasury.

An inscription at Tiruppúválaikkudi states that the people of a village called Thwárápati (to the south-west of the State) attacked the people of Púválaikkudi with a force that they had collected, killed the men, plundered the village and otherwise ruined it. The people of Púválaikkudi thereupon collected the inhabitants of eight neighbouring villages, laid the case before them and chose them as their guardians, agreeing to grant a plot of ground to the temple and Pâdikàval fees to those that undertook to watch the village.

The people of Kíranúr, after having lived in enmity with one another and committed many deeds of violence, entered into an agreement whereby, if a dam, well or a tank was destroyed, one-

fortieth of a *ma* of land was to be forfeited to the God at Kíranúr, and that, if a tree was cut down, $\frac{1}{80}$ or $\frac{1}{160}$ of a *ma* of land was to be surrendered, according as the fruit of the tree was to be obtained by climbing or gathered without such trouble. The terms were to apply to Araiyars to whom tribute was paid.

(2) Another important cause was the devastation caused by the inroads of the Mussalmans in the fourteenth century. An inscription at Rángyam states that, on account of disturbances from the Mussalmans, the people ran away from the village. Inscriptions at Áthanúr and other places refer to troubles from Mussalmans, on account of which the villages are said to have been ruined.

(3) It is found from inscriptions that inability to pay the taxes, which were in those days numerous and excessive, was another reason for the depopulation of the villages. An inscription at Sevalúr states that the people, unable to pay the taxes, fled from the village in a body. The same thing occurred at Madiáni in 1512 A. D. From other inscriptions we find that those who were unable to pay the taxes sold their lands to such as could improve them and get a profit out of them. An inscription at Gúdalúr, for example, states that the Hindus, who were unable to pay the taxes, were required to get their heads shaved like Mussalmans, and that the people, refusing to subject themselves to this indignity and irreligious act, sold their lands. The people of Mélattàniyam are similarly found to have sold their lands to one Pândya Vânàdiráyan from their inability to pay the taxes.

(4) Another reason for the depopulation of the villages was the visit of severe famines. In an inscription at Irumbánàdu, it is stated that the lands had become waste (on account of a drought) and that the people, finding it impossible to live in the village, abandoned it in a body and went to other places to find means of subsistence. More than any other famine, it must have been the famine of the year 1708–09 that led to the depopulation of most of the prosperous villages. The following is an extract from a very vivid account of the famine, which will be found quoted in full later on.

"A famine* ...., the like of which the oldest among the living has never witnessed. The poor inhabitants being reduced to the last extremity, we see parents selling their children for a petty price and likewise husbands bargaining away their wives. Many villages are fully deserted without even one inhabitant left in them; everywhere along the roads and in the fields heaped-up corpses or rather bleached bones are left unburied. .... Southwards to the Marava country, *not more than one-thirtieth of the population seems to have been left alive*".

* Annual Letter to Rome from the Madura Mission, 1709.

CHAPTER III.

THE RISE AND GROWTH OF THE POWER OF THE TONDAIMANS.

The earliest reference to the name Tondaiman. The land of which the modern Pudukkóttai State forms the major portion has been known for at least six centuries as the country of the Tondaimàns. The Madras Government Epigraphist's Report for 1898–1899 * mentions that the earliest reference to the name Tondaimàn is perhaps to be found in the account given in the Singhalese annals of the war of the Pàndya succession in the twelfth century A. D., where it is said that the Pàndyan king Kulasékhara, on being defeated by the Singhalese troops of Ceylon, who supported his rival, fled to the mountains of Tondaimàna, that Kulasékhara then attacked the Singhalese force at Ponnamara-rávati, the well-known village in the south-west of the State and was again defeated, and that, with the help of the ruler of Tondai-màna and some other chieftains, Kulasékhara once more opposed the forces from Ceylon and was once again defeated. It will be wrong however to conclude from this that there is any reference in these statements to any member of the present ruling line of the Tondaimàns. With reference to the first of the statements, we have to observe that the earliest reference to the name Tondaimán seems to be the mention of the name not in the Singhalese Chronicles, but in an inscription dated A. D. 1116 (the 5th year of Ràjéndra Chóla) on the Narttâmalai hills. It is mentioned there that certain lands that were granted by the people of the town on the hills were measured under the superintendence of Median Múvéndra Vélár of Kunraiyúr Nádu " agent of Tondai-mán of our city." † Very probably this Tondaimán was a viceroy or agent of the Chóla king, and he was followed

* See from para 27.

† எங்கள் நகரத்து தொண்டைமாணர்க்கு காரியம் பார்க்கிற மெடியன் குன்றையூர் நாட்டு மூவேந்திர வேளான் நிலமளப்பிக்க. Probably Tondai-mán merely means *lord* or *chief*. But, so far as we know, the word is not found used in this sense in any other inscription.

by other rulers that bore the same title. The country must therefore have come to be called "the Tondaimán Nâdu", and the hills in which Kulasékhara Pándya is said in the Singhalese Chronicles to have concealed himself towards the close of the twelfth century were very probably the Nárttámalai hills. Possibly the line of the Arantángi Tondaimáns, of whom an account has already been given, was in some way connected with these Tondaimáns. It is significant that one of the later Tondaimáns of the Arantángi line describes himself in inscriptions * as the "lord that subdued the Singhalese in seven days". This may be taken to indicate that the Tondaimáns of this line helped Kulóttunga Chóla III in driving back the Singhalese to Ceylon. It is found from a Tamil poem of the name of *Kappal Kóvai* † that there was at Kappal near Ponnamarávati a ruler of the name of Karumànicka Tondaimàn. Possibly this ruler was also in some way connected with the Tondaimàn line of chiefs of Arantàngi.

The origin of the Pudukkottai Tondaimans. The Tondaimáns of the present ruling line are said to have come like the Pallavaràyars from Tondamandalam, comprising the present Chingleput and North Arcot Districts. They are Kallars, and Kallars, as already stated, were in early times residents of the mountains near Tirupati, engaged in catching elephants and bartering their tusks for grain. In later times when Tondamandalam was divided into Kó*tt*ams and Nádus (or divisions and districts), Tirupati was one of the divisions containing three districts named Kúdakarai, Tondaimân fort and Pérkuppi. According to tradition, the Tondaimàns of Pudukkóttai came over to these parts from Tondamandalam, and we may suppose that these Tondaimàns were originally living in the Tondaiman fort district, that as they were skilful catchers of elephants, they were engaged by the Pallava kings of Conjeveram as *mahouts* or leaders of the Palace elephants, and that, as mentioned before, (see p. 65) one of these, with his people, followed Venkatàchala Pallavaráyar from Conjeveram and had lands at Ambukkóvil and

* See inscriptions of Ponnambalanáta Tondaimân dated *Saka* 1449 at Ponnamaràvati.

† See the article on *Kappal Kóvai* contributed to the Madura Sangam Journal *Sen Tamil* by its editor, Mr. Ràghava Ayyangar.

some other villages assigned to him. That the Tondaimâns came from Tondamandalam may also be inferred from the first of the Tondaimán rulers of whom any account is available being mentioned in a Tamil poem * as having used "the tiger flag"—the flag of the Pallava kings. When these people settled in Pudukkóttai, they would naturally have been known as the *Tondaimàns*†—that is, people that came from Tondamandalam.

At what time the Tondaimáns settled at Ambukkóvil, we have no records to show. We have come across only two early inscriptions relating to Tondaimáns connected with the Pudukkóttai State. The earlier of these relates to a Tondaimán of Vísenginádu, with whom the members of the ruling line of Pudukkóttai are in no way connected. The inscription mentions that in 1201 A. D., a service was instituted in the temple of Kunnandarkóvil by one Valarttu Vá*l*vitta Perumàl Tondaimán, and that for the upkeep of this a tract of land was set apart out of the lands which had been assigned to the Kallars by the Kánâdu Vellálars. The later inscription dated 1582 A. D., found at Ambukkóvil and containing the name of one Ánai Tondaimàn, may be taken to be connected with the Tondaimán family, of which a member became the ruler of Pudukkóttai about one hundred years after the date of the inscription.

Legendary origin of the Tondaiman line of rulers. The account that the earlier Tondaimâns gave of their origin is found in a Telugu poem called "the Tondaimán Vamsâvali", which was written by a Court poet of the name of Venkanna about 1750 A.D., ‡ and a summary of the same may now be given.

---

* Other derivations of the word *Tondaimán* have been offered. The most curious derivation, however, is the one given in Hamilton's *East India Gazetteer*, where it is said that the word which is many hundreds of years old has been got by adding the modern English word *man* as a termination to *Tondi*, a sea-coast town to the south-east of the State!

† *Ráya Tondaimán Anurágamálai.*

‡ It was one of the books collected by Col. Mackenzie about 1800 A. D. It was written in the time of Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimân, who died in 1769 A. D., and was addressed to his son. See Wilson's *Catalogue of Mackenzie's Manuscripts*, p. 277, where a curious list of the earlier Tondaimán rulers is found, and Rev. W. Taylor's *Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts*, Vol. III, p. 174. The information given about the earlier Tondaimân rulers in Prinsep's *Essays on India Antiquities*, Vol II, p. 282, has been taken from and contains the errors in Wilson's *Catalogue*.

"When Dévéndra, King of Heaven, was once touring on the earth, he met a maiden whom he married. The woman gave birth to many sons, one of whom became a ruler. From him was descended the famous

1. Tiruma; and after him came

2. Namana,	9. Namana,
3. Pacchai,	10. Pacchai,
4. Dandaka,	11. Kinkini,
5. Namana,	12. Dandaka,
6. Tiruma,	13. Tiruma,
7. Namana,	14. Pacchai,
8. Pacchai,	15. Ràya Tondaimán.

It appears that the illustrious house of Tondaimán, claiming its origin from Indra, sprang up in Tondamandalam, near Tirupati, and founded a settlement in this part of the country, on a certain occasion when emigration was resorted to by a member of the family." *

"The Tondaimáns are said to have for a time halted at Anbil, a village to the east of Trichinopoly, before they settled down at Ambukkóvil. Anbilnàdu formed originally one of the twelve independent small communities known as *Tannarasunâdu*, that is, a district which has its own kings, forming thus a sort of confederation (see p. 106)......... This Nàdu was situated to the east of Trichinopoly, south of Tanjore and north of Ramnad."†

The account of the origin of the Tondaimán family is only a variant of the story relating to the origin of the Kallar caste as a whole, which is mythologically traced to Indra and Ahalyá, wife of Gautama Rishi. ‡ And the way in which the Tondaimàns of Pudukkóttai are said to have settled in Anbilnádu does not differ from the account that is generally given of the settlements of the Kallars in these parts. "The original home of the Kallars appears

* From the Introductory Note to the official publication of "the Letters of the Tondaimáns to and from the officers of the East India Company and the Nabob of Arcot."

† Dr. Oppert's *Bháratavarsha*, p. 258. The information was supplied to Dr. Oppert by Sir A. Seshayya Sâstriar, for a long time Dewan and Dewan-Regent of Pudukkóttai.

‡ See Mr. Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Vol. III, pp. 62–63.

to have been Tondamandalam or the Pallava country, the head of the class, the Raja of Pudukkottai, being to this day called Tondaman."*

Settlements of other Kallar classes related to the Tondaimans. We may now give a few extracts from Mr. Venkat Row's *Manual of Pudukköttai* relating to the settlements of some other Kallar classes within the limits of the modern Pudukkóttai State.

"Along with the Tondamâns, nine other tribes settled in Anbilnàdu. The distinguishing titles of the ten tribes are respectively the following :—

1. *Manikkirán.*
2. *Panrikondrán.*
3. *Pirppanri kondràn*, lit. later Panrikondrán.
4. *Kàduvetti.*
5. *Menattaraiyan.*

These five were called the *North Street men.*

6. *Pallavarâyan.*
7. *Tondamán.*
8. *Rángiyan.*
9. *Pórpanri Kondràn* or Panrikondrán, the warrior.
10. *Kaliyiràn.*

These five were called the *South Street men.*

"These ten tribes were known as *arasu* or lords as distinguished from *kudi*, subject or serving people. The ten *arasu* are said to have brought with them five *kudis* to their new colony. These five *kudis* were

1. *Kurukkal*—priests.
2. *Picchar*—[men in charge of the store-rooms of the temples]
3. *Kandiyar*—[garland-stringers for the temples.]
4. *Mélakàran*--[pipers and drummers.]
5. *Washermen and Barbers.*

The Kallars of Ambilnádu were devout worshippers of Siva.

"After settling down in Ambilnàdu, the colonists were joined by two fresh tribes of Kallars bearing the titles of

* Mr. Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of South India*, Vol. III, p. 60.

1. *Adayavalanjàn* and 2. *Kalingaràn*. The whole body then moved in different directions and are said to have founded nine settlements (or *Kuppams*), the names of which are these :—

1. *Pilâvíduthi.*	5. *Neivéli.*
2. *Vadakkalúr.*	6. *Narangiyanpatti.*
3. *Kallâkóttai.*	7. *Ammanippatti.*
4. *Karambakkudi.*	8. *Panduvákkóttai.*

9. *Mangalavellálaviduthi.*"

From inscriptions and reliable copper plates, we find that the Tondaimáns were at first living peaceably as agriculturists at Terkalúr in Anbilnádu, exercising the powers of Araiyars with five *Kudis* under them. In Ammàchatram copperplate grant dated 1733 A. D., the land itself is called not *Anbilnádu* but Alumbilnádu as in some inscriptions, and the name (=land without perversity) is said in the document to have been given to the land, as it was famous as a place where all sorts of charities including grants of lands to temples and Brahmins were going on properly without any irregularity whatever. That the *five kudis* mentioned above were brought by the Tondaimàns with them may be accepted as a fact as in an inscription at Ambukkóvil they are styled "*five kudi* Araiyars." In most of the copper plates issued by the Tondaimàns they styled themselves "Araiyars of Indra Vamsam, who had estates with proprietary rights at Terkalúr in Anbilnàdu". That the Tondaimáns were living in Anbilnàdu before they acquired Pudukkóttai is a fact accepted by all and requires no further proof. The ten tribes mentioned above seem to have been devout worshippers of Siva, His son Pillaiyár and Máriamman. A poem which gives the names under which they worshipped these deities calls the two last Karpaka Pillaiyâr and Víra Mákàli Amman respectively. At the temples of the Gods mentioned above, there were the common meetings of all the Kallars of the Anbilnàdu, the Tondaimàns having been only one of the ten tribes mentioned above.

The Tondaimans rise to power. An account of Raya Tondaiman. We may now explain how the Tondaimáns gradully rose to power and eminence. The line of rulers extracted above from the *Tondaimán Vamsàvàli* was evidently invented to give an air of antiquity to the Tondaimán rule.

Nothing is mentioned in this poem or anywhere else of any of the first fourteen of the fifteen rulers. In fact, in the prefatory portion of another Telugu book by the same author, *Andra Bhàshàrnavam* (or Telugu Lexicon), which was addressed to Ràya Raghunátha Tondaimàn, who ruled from 1769 to 1789, the poet does not think it necessary to make mention of any of the first fourteen Tondaimáns, but derives the descent of his patron only from Ráya Tondaimán, the fifteenth in the list. Of the fifteenth ruler, Ráya Tondaimán, much has been written. We shall give a short account * of the way in which he is said to have raised himself to prominence.

While Srîranga Ràyalu, King of Vijayanagar, and in theory "suzerain of Gingee, Tanjore and Madura" was touring in these parts (or was halting in these parts on a pilgrimage to Ràmésvaram), one of his elephants got altogether out of control and worked great havoc. Ávadai Raghunátha Tondaimán, son of Pacchai Tondaimán of Karambakkudi, captured the elephant with great skill, and conducted it to Srîranga Ráyalu. The king was so much pleased with the exploit that he conferred on Ávadai Raghunàtha Tondaimán the title of Ráya Ráhutta Ráya Vajrîdu Ráya Mannîdu Ráya, so that the Tondaimán came to be called ever afterwards as Ráya Tondaimàn, and granted to him also some lands, and many insignias of distinction including an elephant with *howdah*, an elephant with a kettledrum, a lion-faced palanquin*, a large drum, the privilege of having carried before him in procession the figure of a *Gandabhérunda*, the fabulous bird said to prey on elephants, in special commemoration probably of the courage of the Tondaimán in capturing the

---

* The account is based on the sources mentioned below.

1. *Tondaimàn Vamsàvàli* (the Telugu poem on the Tondaimán line of rulers, already referred to).
2. *Ràya Tondaimàn Anuràgamâlai* (a Tamil poem on Ráya Tondaimàn).
3. *Ráya Tondaimán Irattaimanimàlai* (another Tamil poem on the same ruler).
4. Information contained in the copper plates of the eighteenth century.
5. Palace records and other papers.

* Palanquins, umbrellas, *etc.*, were in those days special ensigns of honour. "In Alamgír's reign, no one could of his own accord assume a chair or a palanquin or an umbrella. A grant from the King was required to use them and any one was punished who used them without authority." Many of the ensigns in the list were emblems of royalty. For details see the account of the Palace Administration.

wild elephant of Sríranga Ráya, the right to use torches in the day-time, a couple of bards* to go in front of his palanquin singing his praises, the right to use the lion flag, the fish flag, the *Garuda* (kite) flag and the *Hanuman* (Monkeygod) flag, horses and umbrellas. In the Tamil poem, *Ráya Tondaimán Anurágamàlai*,† which gives some details of the genealogy of the line, the capture of the elephant, the honours conferred by Sríranga Ráyar, this Tondaimán is said to have got his name from Sríranga Ráya and defeated one "war loving Sadásivan, and Víranga Ráyan"‡ of whom nothing is known.

In a Palace document, dated 1819 A. D., it is said that 180 years before that date "the Pallavaráyars were ruling at Pudukkóttai and Ráya Tondaimán with the consent of Sríranga Ráya of Ánagundi § (a suburb of Vijayanagar) conquered it".

Sríranga Ráya of this account must have been Sríranga Ráya III of Vijayanagar, who ruled from at least 1639 to 1668, || and who granted the site of the city of Madras in 1639 to the English. The date mentioned in the Palace record of the conquest of Pudukkóttai by Ráya Tondaimán is also 1639 A. D. ¶

---

* "No Hindu Ràjâ is without his bards. Hyder, although not a Hindu, delighted to be constantly preceded by them, and they are an appendage to the States of many other Muhammadan chiefs". Lieut. Col. Wilks' *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, Vol. I (Two-volume edition), p. 15.

† In this poem Perumàl Tondaimân is said to have been the paternal uncle of Ráya Tondaimán and Thennathiraiyan, his maternal uncle (or father-in-law).

‡ இந்நிலமன் சீரங்க ராயருக்கு ராய்த்தொண்டை
மன்னன் பிடித்தனுப்பும் மால்யானை........................

சீரங்க ராயர் ஜெகராய ரைக்கண்டு
பேருந்திறல்விருதும் பெற்றருளி............................

.... உவந்துசமர்
வேண்டும் சதாசிவனை வீரங்க ராயனைப்போய்
மூண்டு புறங்கண்ட முதுவீரன் ....

§ The Zamindar of this place is related to Narasa Ràju of Tirugókarnam, known as Owk Râja.

|| See Mr. Sewell's *Dynasties*, pp. 112 and 113.

¶ The late Sir A. Seshayya Sástriár mentions the thirteenth century as the time when Tondaimân got his title from Sríranga Râya (*Vide* Appendix to the Pudukkòttai Administration Report for 1883–1884). This is certainly incorrect, as the Vijayanagar Kingdom was founded in 1336 and had not come into existence in the thirteenth century.

Sríranga Ráyalu was not a ruler of much influence, and the story of the conquest of Pudukkóttai, for which there is no other authority than a paper prepard 180 years after 1639, cannot be relied on, especially as we find Seventhe-luntha Pallavaráyar of the long and powerful line of the Pallava-ráyars as the ruler of Pudukkóttai till after 1680. But we believe that there must have been some connection between Ávadai Raghunátha Tondaimán and the Vijayanagar line of rulers, as, in all the copper-plates issued by the Tondaimáns, Ávadai Tondaimán is never mentioned by this name, but is always called " Ráya Tondaimán, who got the title of *Ràya* from (Sríranga) Ráyar ". We may refer, for example, to the copper-plates relating to the grant of Chandanattákuricchi in 1724 A. D. and the establishment of Ammáchatram in 1730 A. D. The first Tondaimán ruler of Pudukkóttai inherited the title and called himself Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimân (1686–1730 A. D.) and some of his successors also adopted the title. Further, the settlements of military men from Owk, a village near Vijayanagar, " the employment of Telugu bards (Bhatrájus) and Telugu *puróhits*, the adoption of Telugu as the first language in which the members of the ruling family receive instruction, the signature of the previous Tondaimáns in Telugu and the composition in Telugu of the poems containing the pedigree and celebrating the deeds of the Tondaimáns ",* may also be taken as proving the connection of the Tondaimàn family with Vijayanagar. The story of the capture of the elephant has in it no elements of absurdity, especially when it is remembered that the earliest Tondaimáns were skilful in catching and taming wild elephants (see p. 65) and pilgrimages to Rámèsvaram were very common, Ammáchatram itself, mentioned above in this paragraph, having been founded especially for the convenience of pilgrims to Rámésvaram. Though the Vijayanagar kings practically lost all their power in the battle of Talikóta in 1565 A. D., copper-plate grants acknowledging the representatives of the Vijayanagar family as paramount sovereigns are found as late as the year

* See Dr. Oppert's *Bhàratavarsha*, p. 259. Sir A. Seshayya Sàstriàr seems to us to have been quite off his guard when he informed Dr. Oppert that these institutions were to be ascribed to the marriage of a Kulattùr Tondaimân to a foster daughter of a Náyak ruler of Trichinopoly.

1793.* Sríranga Ráya was in theory the overlord of these parts and must have been treated during his pilgrimage with the greatest respect by all. And if some service was really done to a prince of the position and dignity of Sríranga Ráya, the recognition thereof must have taken some form resembling what has been mentioned above.

We reach stable ground when we come to the successors of Ráya Tondaimán. He had, according to the Telugu poem, four sons of the names of Raghunátha, Namana, Pacchai and Perama, and, according to another manuscript, a daughter also of the name of Kàthali.

Raghunátha Tondaimán and his brothers were brave men, skilled in hunting. Raghunátha Tondaimán succeeded his father as the ruler of the estates near Pilávidutthi under the title of Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimàn. He is said to have been born in 1641 and become ruler in 1661.

Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman's services to the Nayak King of Tanjore.. Vijayarághava Náyak, King of Tanjore, hearing of the personal strength and courage of Raghunátha Raya Tondaiman is said to have invited Raghunàtha to his court and asked him to enter service under him. The reply of the Tondaimán as given in the Telugu poem is characteristic of the chief. "We are men living by our swords and should not feel ashamed in serving under you as soldiers. The only conduct of which a soldier need feel ashamed is running away from the battle field, leaving his master to shift for himself". The Rájà of Tanjore, pleased with the reply, employed Raghunátha and his men. The Tondaimán seems to have been the Rájà's chief companion in hunting expeditions, as he is said to have killed a number of tigers, porcupines, *etc.* "Being a Kallar chief himself, he was very useful in keeping under some check the lawless Kallars who infested the road to Rámésvaram and attacked the pilgrims to that sacred shrine. He rose higher and higher in the service and continued to hold his place with credit till about the close of the Náyak rule in Tanjore"† about 1674. The Rájá, in

* See Mr. Maclean's *Manual of the Madras Presidency*.

† From Mr. Venkat Row's *Manual*. Râya Tondaimán is mentioned by Mr. Venkat Row without any authority as the Tondaimân that served under the Tanjore Râjâ. In the account given above, the Telugu manuscript has been followed.

appreciation of his services, presented the Tondaimán with horses, elephants, a necklace with a pendant containing a diamond of the *Rámamàdam* variety, and a large State sword named " Periya Ráma Bànam " which is preserved in the Palace and displayed on the Vijayadasami day every year, and enlarged the estate of the Tondaimán by the grant of a few villages near his village Piláviduti. The title of *Vijaya* prefixed to the names of the Tondaimán rulers of Pudukkóttai, seems also to have been conferred by Vijaya Rághava, the Rájá of Tanjore. Raghunátha seems to have been a staunch Saivaite, and, seeing that Vijaya Rághava Náyak was becoming a bigoted Vaishnava, gave up all ideas of continuing to serve under him and returned to his estate.

The services of the Tondaimans to the Nayak Kings of Trichinopoly. About this time the Tondaimáns seem to have distinguished themselves in the service of the Náyak King of Trichinopoly by the help that they rendered (in 1682) to Ranga Krishna Muttuvírappa Nàyak in preventing the Fort of Trichinopoly from falling into the hands of the enemies of the Náyaks. " The town was again attacked this time by a large combination at the very end of Chokkanâtha's reign. The Marattas who had pretended to be the friends of Chokkanátha laid seige to Trichinopoly. In despair at their treachery, Chokkanátha died of a broken heart in 1682 ".*

Ranga Krishna, his successor, must have, hearing of the gallantry of the Tondaimáns, applied to them for help. It was probably at this time that Raghunâtha Ráya Tondaimán was appointed as the Arasu-Kávalkár of Trichinopoly (see p. 78).†

The fees that the Tondaimán received for this duty—if we suppose them to have been the same as those stated in a copper-plate to have been granted to one Púchi Nâyak of Marungápuri for the same work—were

(*a*) One *kàsu per diem* from every shop in the sub-districts of Srírangam, Tiruvánaikká (and Tanjore).

(*b*) Two *panams* a year from every house in the same tract.

---

* See p. 53 of the *Madura Gazetteer*.

† See the Chapter on *Pudukkóttai* in Mr. Lewis Moore's *Trichinopoly Manual*.

(c) Ten *kalams* a year from every big village.

(d) Five *kalams* a year from every small village.

The following incident, mentioned * by Vijaya Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán to illustrate his predecessors' attachment to the Náyak rulers of Trichinopoly, must have occurred now. The extract that is given below will be found to throw light on what Mr. Hemingway considers obscure. †

"At that time the army in Trichinopoly proved perfidious and disobedient to their master (the king), who then sent his seal to my predecessors, and on receipt of the same they marched to his assistance with great haste, even to the ditch of the Fort of Trichinopoly, and, there having fixed ladders to the walls, endeavoured with great bravery to get within the fort; but it so happened that the ladders sank into a morass; however they made an effort and got within the fort. On this the people who had proved perfidious, being afraid, submitted themselves to the king. In short my predecessors did not neglect to exert their endeavours, till the troubles subsided". In consequence of this service, the position of the Tondaimán as a chief became more dignified. "The Ambilnádu Kallars became through the favour of the Trichinopoly Nâiks the heads of the twelve districts (see p. 116) under their chief the Tondaimán" ‡.

The Tondaimans at Ramnad. We shall now explain how Raghuuátha Tondaimán became the ruler of Pudukkóttai. The account that is given below is based mainly on a manuscript prepared by a descendant of one of the Sérvaikàra attendants of Raghunátha Tondaimán. Portions of the account are supported by tradition.

The Sétupati of Ramnad, Vijaya Raghunàtha Kilavan Sétupati (1673–1710 A. D.), hearing of the prowess of the Tondaimáns, invited Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán and his brother Namana Tondaimán to Ramnad and engaged them in military service. These are said to have been useful in subduing a

---

* See letter from the Tondaimán to the Madras Presidency, dated 20th November, 1759.

† "The nature of the operations is obscure, but the place was not taken". See p. 32 of the *Trichinopoly Gazetteer*.

‡ Dr. Oppert's *Bhàrata-varsha*, p. 259.

number of Tévans (minor chieftains), who had been giving the Sétupati a good deal of trouble, and thus secured the esteem of the Sétupati. Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán is said to have signalised himself by performing two exploits on which the Sétupati had set his heart and thus endeared himself to the Sétupati. One of these was the capture of the State elephant of the Tanjore Kingdom, with the Râjá of which the Sétupati was engaged in hostilities. The elephant, which was confined at Mannárgudi, was by secret arrangements with the *mahouts* brought over to the outskirts of Karambakkudi, Raghunátha Tondaimán's place, and thence taken easily by him to Ramnad. The other exploit is said to have been the subjugation of the Pálayakâr of Ettaiyapuram. The Pâlayakár is said to have been defeated and slain, and his head brought as a trophy to the Sétupati.

At this time the Sétupati fell in love with Káthali, sister of the Tondaimáns, and married her. She is said to have been the second wife of Kilavan Sétupati, who is known to have had more than forty-seven wives. She seems to have been much attached to her husband and committed *sati* on the death of her husband in 1710.*

This marriage strengthened the ties of friendship between the Tondaimáns and the Sétupati. About this time, according to the *Tondaimán Vamsávali*, one of the elephants of the Sétupati got out of control and Namana Tondaimán is said to have captured it with great dexterity and boldness and prevented much bloodshed. The incident still further enhanced the esteem of the Sétupati for the Tondaimáns.

Soon after this incident, the Tondaimáns wanted to return to their estate. It is said that the Sétupati desired to present Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán with a Pálayam and that one Ilandári Muttu Vijaya Ambalakáran, the head of the southern Kallar force under the Sétupati, suggested that the Pálayam of the Pallavaráyars might be granted to the Tondaimán. The Pallavaráyar,

* See Mr. Nelson's *Madura Country*, Part III, p. 245 and Mr. Râjarâm Row's *Ramnad Manual*, p. 230. "The unhappy woman appeared to be all unmoved, and after looking for a few moments now at the (funeral) pile, now at the attendants and crying out now and again "Oh! Siva, Siva", threw herself on the burning mass in the ditch with the same firmness as the first Râni".

who had assumed the title of Rájá like the King of Tanjore or the Sétupati of Ramnad himself, seems to have held a small tract of land to the south of the Vellár as a fief of Ramnad. The relations between the Pallavarâyars and the Sétupatis appear thus to have been similar to those between the Kings of France and the Norman and Plantagenet Kings of England, who, while they were independent rulers of England, owed allegiance to the Kings of France for their possessions in that country. And just as Edward III was summoned to appear before Philip of Valois, Seventhe*l*untha Pallavaráyar was summoned by Kilavan Sétupati to appear before him. The Sétupati was at Kálaiyárkóvil, ten miles east of Sivaganga, and the Pallavaráyar at Kandadévi, about four miles from Kálaiyárkóvil. The Pallavaráyar was sent for; but as he was then engaged in *pújá* (deep devotion to Siva) it was reported to the Sétupati that the Pallavaráyar, called in the manuscript "Pújai Pallavaràyar", would start to see him on the completion of the *pújà*". The Sétupati was immensely provoked, abused the Pallavaráyar for thinking more of his *pújá* than of his liege lord, and, placing his son on his State elephant, directed him to march to Kandadévi and make an end of the Pallavaráyar. The prince met him on the banks of a drinking-water pond of Kandadévi and had him seized by his men. And the Pallavaráyar, finding resistance useless, died * with the curse in his mouth that the Sétupatis should sooner or later lose all their sovereign rights. Two of the servants of the Pallavaráyar, Chinna Bangáru and Periya Bangáru, in revenge attacked the prince of Ramnad, who was seated on the State elephant, and killed him by throwing a dagger at him, which pierced through his body.

Foundation of the Pudukkottai Tondaiman line of rulers. The Sétupati then sent for a gold palanquin, and, presenting it to the Tondaimáns, asked Ilandári Ambalakâran to take the Tondaimáns to Dharma Pillai, the Sétupati's agent at Tirumayyam, and to arrange for Raghunátha Tondaimàn's being installed as the ruler of the Pallavaràyar's dominions. At this time a sword of honour is said to have been presented by the

* On hearing this, the wives and children of the Pallavarâyar are said to have committed suicide by throwing themselves into a pit in the Pallavan tank in front of the Palace. Mr. Venkat Row's *Manual*.

Sétupati to the Tondaimán, which is preserved in the Palace as Chinna Ráma Bánam, * as also a வலம்புரிசங்கு or a conch opening to the right, which is said to be very propitious to its owner. † The order of the Sétupati was communicated to Dharma Pillai, who said that, if the Tondaimán cared, he would give the Tondaimán Kanduván's dominion (see p. 97) near Senkarai forest, containing only 1,000 people in all, but that he could not think of giving away the Pallavarâyar's State. Ilandâri Ambalakáran, requesting the Tondaimáns to halt for a time at Tirumayyam, marched back to the Sétupati and informed him of the refusal of Dharma Pillai to act according to the orders of the Sétupati. Thereupon the Sétupati giving the Ambalakâran the State ring which he was then wearing, asked him to show it to Dharma Pillai at Tirumayyam as a sign that it was his command that Reghunátha Tondaimán should be given the Pallavaráyar's dominions, and that Dharma Pillai himself should enter service under the Tondaimân as the leader of the Tondaimán's forces. As soon as Dharma Pillai saw the State ring, he was satisfied. The ring was presented to Raghunátha Tondaimán, who was installed as the ruler of the Pallavarâyar's dominions. As directed by the Sétupati, Dharma Pillai became the Commander of the Tondaimán's forces.

This is a pretty detailed account of what is called "the the Sétupati origin of the Pudukkóttai State". We shall show in the pages that follow that it was only a tract of land to the south of the Vellâr that the Tondaimán got from the Sétupati, and not the much more extensive dominion to the north of the river, subject to the last of the Pallavarâya rulers. It may be supposed that Sétupati's forces helped Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán in stepping into the place vacated by the last of the Pallavaráyars.

The account given above has been taken from a petition presented to a Tondaimán Rájá for help by one of the descendants of Muttu Vijaya Ilandári Ambalakáran, and the statements

* The sword, the conch and the image of Mínákshi Amman said to have been presented by Kâthali, the Tondaimàn's sister, have been carefully preserved in the Palace.

† Mr. Balfour says that "even Rs. 20,000 have been named as the price of a right-handed conch".

that eulogize the services performed by the Ambalakàran must be taken with a grain of salt. But we must remark that the statement that Pudukkóttai was a fief of Ramnad is founded not upon this unpublished manuscript, of which the existence is known only to a very few, but on the well-known book, *Madura Country* by Mr. Nelson. As the question whether Pudukkóttai was or was not subject to Ramnad seems to us to be important, and as Mr. Nelson's statement has been taken on trust by all the later writers without any investigation, we may at some length examine Mr. Nelson's treatment of the early history of Pudukkóttai and consider what value may be attached to it. We shall quote the passages in the *Madura Manual* relating to this subject and offer our remarks thereon.

I. "*The several territories under the rule of Tirumalai* (Náyak) *appear to have been the following:—The Tinnevelly country; a portion of Travancore country; the Madura,............ the Puthu-kòttei, ... the Manapárai,.............. ....*" *Madura Country*, Part III, p. 144.

The statement in the extract that 'Pudukkóttai' was under the rule of the Nâyak kings of Madura is correct, though the territory referred to as "the Puthu-kóttei" did not then bear this name, but was known as the 'Pallavaráyan Símai'* or 'the Pallavaráyan's country', just as the principality was called in the eighteenth century 'the Tondaiman's country".

II. "*Chokkanatha* (the Náyak king of Madura) *marched into the Marava country and took the forts of Thirupathúr, Puthu-kôttei, Mánamadura and some others of less importance, and, penetrating into the heart of the jungly districts, obtained possession of Kâleiyar-kôvil* (from the Sétupati in 1664)". *Madura Country*, Part III, p. 187.

This extract, whfch is based on one of the annual letters of the Madura Mission to Rome,† has misled Mr. Nelson and many others, and caused them to suppose that the tract containing the chief town of this State was for some time at least under the

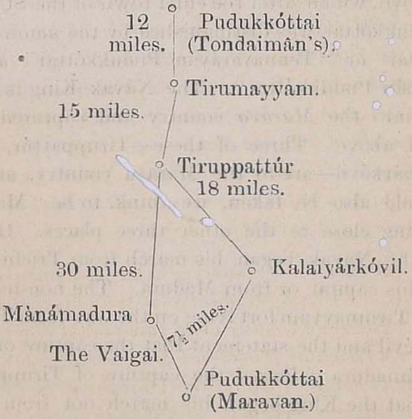
* In Ilandári Ambalakàran's manuscript, the country is repeatedly called "Pallavaráyan Símai" and is not even once referred to as "Pudukkòttai".

† See the Letter of the Madura Mission to Rome for 1663–5. The letter states that Kálaiyârkóvil was then the capital of the Sêtupatis.

sway of the Sétupatis of Ramnad. It is clear however that there is no reference in this extract to the Pudukkóttai State. In the first place there was in these parts no town in 1664 of the name of 'Pudukkóttai', the name having been given to the chief town of the Tondaimán's country after 1686 as will be shown later on. Again, even if we take it for granted for the sake of argument that the chief town of the State bore in 1664 the name of *Pudukkòttai,* it is, in our opinion, impossible that, in the extract quoted above, this town could have been meant. There is another town of the name of Pudukkóttai (with the ruins of a fort and a big 'Pándyan's well') close to Mânámadura and Kalaiyárkóvil, which, after the chief town of the State came to be called Pudukkóttai, was distinguished by the name of "Maravan Pudukkóttai" or "Tennavaráyan Pudukkóttai" as opposed to "Tondaimán Pudukkóttai". The Náyak King is said to have marched into the *Marava* country and captured the four forts mentioned above. Three of these—Tiruppattúr, Mânâmadura and Kálaiyárkóvil—are in the Marava country, and the fourth place should also be taken, we think, to be "Maravan Pudukkóttai" lying close to the other three places. It is not clear whether the Nàyak began his march from Trichinopoly, which was then his capital, or from Madura. The non-mention of the capture of Tirumayyam fort lying on the way from Trichinopoly to Kálaiyárkóvil and the statement that the capture of Pudukkóttai and Mánámadura *followed* the capture of Tiruppattúr seem to indicate that the King began his march not from Trichinopoly but from Madura. The letters of the Madura Mission to Rome state that after the capture of the towns mentioned above, "the *thick* woods of the *Marava country* made every further advance more and more risky and difficult". The tract comprising this State was in those days no doubt covered with forests and jungles, but the Marava country was so full of them, that its people were called, even after the expiry of more than one hundred years from this date, "Sylvestres homines"* or "men of the woods". The passage quoted above may therefore be taken to indicate that the intended advance from Madura was in an eastern direction towards the sea-coast near Ramnad and not northwards to Tanjore or Trichinopoly. We have therefore to

* See Pennant's *View of Hindoostan* (1798), Vol. II.

conclude that *Pudukkóttai* mentioned in the extract is not 'Tondaimán Pudukkóttai' but 'Maravan Pudukkóttai'. Further the following sketch in which the positions of the places mentioned above are shown, will show that it is unreasonable to suppose that the Nàyak King instead of attacking 'Maravan Pudukkóttai' and other forts which lie close to Kalaiyárkóvil, the capital of the Sétupatis, thought of marching so far north as 'Tondaimàn Pudukkóttai' and captured this place without subjugating the much more important natural stronghold of Tirumayyam, lying on the way from Tirupattúr to 'Tondaimàn Pudukkóttai'.



Nevertheless we find the latest edition of the *Imperial Gazetteer of India* * closely following Mr. Nelson and giving the early history of Pudukkóttai as follows:—

"About the middle of the sixteenth century Madura passed to the Naik dynasty and its kings acquired the whole of the territory which makes up the present Pudukkóttai State, ruling it through a 'Poligár' or feudatory chief. In the seventeenth century the country came into the possession of the Sétupati of Ramnad, who had been a vassal of the Naiks, but had thrown off his allegiance. It was temporarily recovered about 1664 by Chokkanátha, the Naik ruler of Trichinopoly, but soon afterwards came again into the possession of Ramnad".

* See *Madras*, Vol. No. II, article on *Pudukkottai*.

Simply because there was a town of the name of Pudukkóttai subject to the Sétupati, it is quietly assumed that another town that was to be given this name many years after this date and the State of which it has been the chief town were subject to the Sétupatis of Ramnad!

The foregoing extract from the *Imperial Gazetteer* contains another grave error—*viz.*, "the whole of the territory which makes up the present Pudukkóttai State" was under the rule of *one* Pálayakár.

III. "*Shortly after this he* (Kilavan Sétupati) *fell in lôve with a Kalla girl named Kàthali, the daughter of one of his dependents, and married her; and appointed her brother Rag'hunàt'ha, Chief of the District of Puthu-kòttei, with the title Rag'hunát'ha Tondaimàn, in lieu of one Pallavaràyan Tondaimàn, who had been attempting to detach the District from the parent State and incorporate it with the Tanjore country. The predecessor of Pallavaráyan was Chandrappan entitled Sérvai and it seems to be inferrible that he was the first man created Chief of Puthu-kòttei" Madura Country, Part III, p. 206.**

We shall offer some remarks on the statements contained in this passage. We have to observe at the outset that the authorities for Mr. Nelson's treatment of this period seem to have been Rev. Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts* and the letters of the Madura Mission in which the Tondaimán is mentioned as a relative of Kilavan Sétupati, and that in neither of these is any reference found to the origin of the Pudukkóttai State.

* Mr. Hemingway, partly following Mr. Nelson, writes as follows in the *Trichinopoly Gazetteer*.

"The story of the origin of Pudukkóttai contained in Mr. Nelson's *Madura Country* is perhaps intrinsically more likely. This says that 'Pallavaràyan' (evidently the last of the stock) attempted to throw off his allegiance to Ramnad and to place himself under the protection of Tanjore, and that he was in consequence removed by the Sétupati. The latter then placed on the throne Raghunátha Tondaimân, whose sister he had married. The use of the name Tondaimàn by the Pudukkóttai rulers does not seem to have originated with this family, however, but seems to have been begun by the Pallavaràyars, for Mr. Nelson mentions "a Pallavaràya Tondaiman". But it is said that Tondaiman is never used as a title of the Pallavaràyars in the local inscriptions".

It is a well-known fact that 'Tondaimán' is not a title of rank, but a family name borne by many poor ryots of the Tondaimân stock at Pilàviduthi and other places. Nevertheless we find Mr. Hemingway writing in 1907 just as Mr. Nelson wrote in 1879, as though *Tondaimán* were a title of authority.

1. Mr. Nelson erroneously takes 'Tondaimán'* to be a title of authority, not knowing that it is an ordinary family name.
2. It appears that Mr. Nelson did not know anything of the line of Pallavaràyars. We find him mistaking the well-known cognomen *Pallavaràyan** for a nomen.
3. Mr. Nelson, having quietly assumed 'Maravan Pudukkóttai' that was subject to the Sétupatis to be the capital of 'Pallavaràya Tondaiman'* on the northern side of the Vellár, did not find any difficulty in making Kilavan Sétupati transfer it as a fief to his brother-in-law.
4. The predecessor of the last Pallavaráyar, Seventhe*l*untha, was, according to poems and inscriptions, not Chandrappa Sérvai (see pp. 102 and 104).
5. Nobody has heard of Chandrappa Sérvai as a ruler of Pudukkóttai. Kalasamangalam, the eastern portion of the Pudukkóttai town, was the capital of the Pallavaráyar Pálayakárs at least from 1539 A. D., (see pp. 68 and 71) and Mr. Nelson's inference that Chandrappa Sérvai was created the first Chief of Pudukkóttai is erroneous.

IV. So far as we have been able to ascertain, the Sétupatis did not own an inch of ground to the north of the Vellár (to the west of Álangudi) and they could not have given to the Tondaimán what they did not themselves own.

We base our statement on the following considerations.

1. Anybody that knows from hearsay anything relating to the past history of these parts would be surprised to hear that Tiruvarankulam, Perungulúr or Vellanúr formed at any time a portion of Sétupatis' dominions. There are hundreds of persons that speak of Tirumayyam as one of Sétupatis' forts, but do not mention any of the places mentioned above as having belonged to the Sétupatis.

* From the notes of Rev. Fr. Castets, it appears that the mistake originated with the Jesuit Fathers. Fr. Castets says that all the Kallar chieftains or the chiefs in these parts were called "Tondaimàns". It is clear, however, from inscriptions that the Pallavaràya chiefs and the chiefs of Pérâmbúr—Kattalúr were never called 'Tondaimáns.' Further we have the story relating to Nàgu Bhàrati, proving distinctly that the Pallavaráyars never bore this title. He was an old musician who applied for permission to sing before a Tondaimán ruler; and, when he was told that, as he had lost his teeth, he could not sing well, he made the graceful and witty reply, "What if the *Pallavaráyars* are gone? (=It does not matter much if I have lost my teeth. *Pal*=teeth). There is the *Tondaimán* to protect me (=I have a good throat. *Tondai*=throat)".

2. While there are various inscriptions relating to gifts of lands by the Sétupatis to temples, mosques, *etc.*, to the south of the Vellár,—at Mélur, Tirumayyam, Tánjúr, Ká*tt*ubáváp*a*llivásal, Nedungudi, Sástánkóvil, Virácchalai, *etc.*,—not a single inscription has been found connecting with the Sétupatis any tract to the north of the Vellár.

3. Numerous inscriptions relating to the Pallavaráyar chiefs have been copied and examined, and in none of these is there any reference to the Sétupatis. The successive steps by which the Pallavaráya Araiyars of Vaittúr and Perungulúr became ultimately Rájás have been already shown (see pp. 100–102). The power exercised by this line in 1539 *i. e.*, about 150 years before this date, was considerable (see para 3 of p. 101), and the last two rulers of this line, who, like their predecessors, were the direct subordinates of the Náyak kings, considered themselves as much entitled to the title of *Rájá* as the Sétupati himself, another feudatory of the Náyak kings, and described themselves in inscriptions as ராஜ்யபரிபாலநம்பண்ணும், that is, "exercising the powers of a king". There is no record whatever connecting in any way this long line of rulers with the Setupatis, and it is difficult to conceive that the last Pallavaràyar, who considered himself more powerful than any of his predecessors, could be a vassal of the Sétupati for the kingdom, which the Pallavaráyars had built up in the course of 300 years.

For these reasons we believe that we are quite justified in holding that the Pallavaráyars and the Tondaimáns, who succeeded them, were quite independent of the Sétupatis, so far as the lands to the north of the Vellàr were concerned.*

---

* Rev. Fr. Castets, who has carefully examined for me the letters of the Madura Mission, is of opinion that "the Kallar country was within the changing portion of the Setupati's dominion that grew and contracted with the kaledoscopic rapidity of those times", that a Maravan inroad through the Kallar country in 1682 is recorded, that, "though this was followed by a retreat and reprisal on the part of the Nayaks, the Madureans never went so far as Avur or Cunampa*tt*i", that in 1686 the Sétupati might have been in temporary possession of Pudukkóttai and might have granted the province to his brother-in-law. He attaches great weight to the word *made* in "the newly made Chief Tondaiman" in an Annual Letter to Rome, and thinks it very probable that the Tondaimàn was made the Chief of Pudukkottai by his relative, the Sétupati. The year and the month of "the elevation of the Tondaimán's family to the royal dignity" are inferred from the Annual Letter to Rome for 1746, in which we find it stated that the "sixtieth year of the foundation of the Tondaimàn's kingdom was fast approaching.........."

V. We may now examine the question "what authority the Sétupati had to send for Seventhe*l*untha Pallavaráyar, as is mentioned in Ilandàri Ambalakárar's manuscript, and expect obedience from him" (see p. 126). The tract comprising the modern Tirumayyam Taluk, which lies to the *south* of the Vellár, belonged to the Sétupatis, and the northern portion of this tract must have been held as a fief of Ramnad by the last of the Pallavaráyars and the first of the Tondaimán line of rulers. In this case the relation of the last Pallavaráyar to the Sétupati resembles exactly, as has already been mentioned, the relation of the Norman and Plantagenet Kings of England to the Kings of France. Just as the Kings of England were quite independent so far as England was concerned, but were vassals of the Kings of France for the lands that they held in France, so Seventhe*l*untha Pallavaráyar was the independent ruler of the tract from Ádanakkóttai to the Vellár and from about Álangudi to Kudimiámalai—that is, as independent as the Sétupati himself—as also a vassal of the Sétupati for the Sétupati's lands that he held to the south of the Vellár. And Kilavan Sétupati's summons to Seventhe*l*untha Pallavaráyar to appear before him to answer for what the Sétupati considered misconduct in the Pallavaráyar might not inaptly be compared with the summons that Philip of Valois, King of France, sent to Edward III, the powerful and independent King of England.

VI. "*In consideration of this aid the Kilavan* (Sétupati) *should cede to Tanjore* (in 1686) *for a term of twelve years the districts lying between the Pàmbàr and Puthu-Kóttei............In 1698 the Sétupati, who seems to have anticipated a breach of faith, lost no time in invading the Tanjore country, and after some hard fighting succeeded in taking possession of Arandàngi, Tirumayang-Kóttei and Kíranilei and of all the country to the south of the Ambuli river. The fortress of Puthu-Kòttei he was unable to take*". *Madura Country*, Part III, pp. 213 and 225.

Now, according to the Madura Mission letters, the authenticity of which cannot be disputed, Raghunátha Tondaiman became ruler in April 1686. In that same year, the tract containing Pudukkóttai would appear from the above extract to have been ceded to Tanjore. And the Sétupati was unable to retake the place in 1698. It will appear therefore that, even if we suppose

for the sake of argument that Raghunátha Tondaimán got from the Sétupati the Pallavaráya territory to the north of the Vellár, he did not remain subject to the Sétupati *for more than a few months.* There is no record or tradition to show that Pudukkóttai was at any time subject to Tanjore. The natural inference seems to us therefore to be that Pudukkóttai was never subject to Ramnad, that it was not transferred to Tanjore in 1686, and that the Tondaimán was an independent ruler of Pudukkóttai from April 1686, the date of the beginning of his rule.

VII. We may also mention that no Tondaimán considered himself at any time as in any way subject to the Sétupatis. According to the Jesuit letters to Rome, "the Tondaimán Rajah had made himself formidable by 1711 to the King of Madura himself". In copper plate deeds of *inam* grants* dated as early as 1710 and 1718, we find the Tondaimáns ascribing their titles, dignities, *etc.*, to the Vijayanagar Kings and not to the Sétupatis or Ràjás of Tanjore. That the Pudukkóttai rulers had become within a few decades of the foundation of the State as important as the Sétupatis or the Kings of Tanjore may be evident from a Tamil Geography of the Tamil land written about 1740 A. D.† in which the towns "Madura, Tinnevelly, Ramnad and Tondaimàn (for Kalasamangalam or Pudukkóttai)" alone are mentioned as the (four) important towns in the Pàndyan Kingdom, and from another Tamil Geography of the eighteenth century, summarised by Rev. W. Taylor, ‡ in which

1. Pudukkóttai is given the same rank as Travancore, Ramnad and Sivaganga, these four being called "the adopted sons" of the Kings of Madura,

2. and the other chieftains are called *pálayakár servants.* The Trichinopoly pàlayakárs are said to have been those of Ariyalúr, Turaiyúr, Kulattúr (under a branch of the Pudukkóttai Tondaimán family), Iluppúr and Pérámbúr–Kattalúr, while Marungápuri, Nattam, Kumàravádi, *etc.*, formed what were known as Manappârai pálayams, and so on.

---

* See Ucchàni grant dated 1710 and Kadayakkudi grant dated 1718.

† See the Tamil Manuscript *Désanirnayam* in the Madras Museum Manuscripts Library.

‡ See Rev. W. Taylor's *Oriental Historical Manuscripts*, pp. 161-3.

Origin of the Kulattur Palayam. About the time that Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimàn became the ruler of Pudukkóttai, Namana Tondaimán became the ruler of Kulattúr. The Pálayakâr of Nágalápuram (in Tinnevelly District) had become insubordinate, and, setting the power of the Náyak ruler of Madura at defiance, refused to pay the usual tribute. The Náyak ruler, who had already received substantial help from the Tondaimáns (see p. 123), directed them to proceed to Nágalápuram and bring its chieftain under subjugation. Namana Tondaimán* marched with a force against Nàgalàpuram, defeated its chieftain and some other Pálayakárs that had allied themselves with him such as Puli Tévan and Kataboma Náyak, and brought them again under the rule of the Nàyaks of Madura. He returned to Trichinopoly and respectfully placed before the Náyak king the horses, elephants, *etc.*, which he had captured or received as presents from the refractory chiefs whom he had brought under subjection. The Náyak King, Ranga Krishna Muttu Vírappa (1682–89), was so much pleased with the way in which the affair was managed that he presented him with the tract of land about Kulattúr from the lands that were directly under the rule of the Nàyak Kings. This tract, which the Tondaimán received as "a free gift" not subject to any tribute †, did not become a portion of Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán's dominions, as Namana Tondaimán set himself up as a separate ruler. The relations between the Tondaimàn and Ranga Krishna Muttu Vírappa Náyak seem to have been intimate, and Namana Tondaimân called himself Ranga Krishna Muttu Vírappa Namana Tondaimàn. He received from the Náyak King various presents and marks of distinction which are enumerated as follows in a copper-plate grant dated 1730 :—

1. Elephants with *howdahs*.
2. An establishment of dancing girls.
3. A set of musical instruments called நகர மேளம் —instruments to be played by men and to be carried on elephants.

---

* The *Tondaimán Vamsàvali* speaks of Ráya Raghunàtha Tondaimàn as the leader of the forces against Nàgalàpuram. It does not take note of Kulattùr as a separate State.

† See Rev. W. Taylor's *Catalogue of Oriental Manuscripts*, Vol. III, p. 174.

4. Garuda *dhwaja* (kite flag).
5. Hanuma *dhwaja* (Monkey-god flag).
6. Use of torches in the day-time.
7. War-drums.
8. Drums in the form of or producing the sound of the fabulous mighty bird *Ganda-bherunda*, with two faces.

So about the year 1790, we find Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán ruling at Pudukkóttai and Namana Tondaimán ruling at Kulattúr. The letters of the Madura Mission to Rome speak of these as "The Tondaimán" and "Chinna Tondaimán". *

The Kulattur Tondaimans. It will be convenient if we first give an account of the affairs relating to the Kulattúr rulers alone and then take up the history of the rulers of Pudukkóttai and matters relating both to Pudukkóttai and Kulattúr. The Kulattúr line continued to rule from about 1690 till about 1750.

Namana Tondaiman's subjugation of the Visenginattu Kallars. We have already mentioned that the Vísenginádu Kallars were an aggressive people who cared nothing for the lives of others and considered others' goods as their own (see p. 65). They appear at this time to have been particularly troublesome and to have engaged in a number of plundering expeditions in which they were always successful. The Náyak rulers of Trichinopoly found them a thorn on their side "as the Kallars gave trouble to the Náyaks by their lawless habits and by their obstinate refusal to pay the Government dues. † It is said that when any Revenue officer required them to pay the revenue, they summarily cut off his head and did not trouble themselves about the affair any more. Under these circumstances, the Náyak ruler pitched upon Namana Tondaimán as the proper person for punishing these Kallars of Visenginadu.

---

* See Letter of the Madura Mission to Rome for 1708.

† The extract is from Mr. Venkat Row's *Manual*. The authority for the details is not known.

"Namana marched against the enemy with a detachment of troops and encountering the Kallars at Puliyúr, where they had assembled for a great festival, gave them battle and took many of their leaders as prisoners. He cut off the heads of all the principal captives and sent them over to the Nàyak in loads of ten. *

"This exploit of Namana struck terror into the hearts of the Kallars of Visenginadu, who felt that they could not continue their old habits with impunity. They acknowledged the supremacy of the Nàyak ruler and soon converted themselves into comparatively peaceful subjects".

Annexation to Kulattur of Perambur–Kattalur. The next event that we have to refer to is the annexation of Pérámbúr and Kattalúr to the Kulattúr State. It has already been mentioned (see p. 94) that a chieftain of Pérámbúr and Kattalúr had permitted the Catholics to erect a church at Ávúr. The Jesuit Missionary at that station, Rev. T. Venantius Bouchet, was a great friend of the Kattalúr chieftain. Queen Mangammal was then Regent of Madura (1689-1704) and it was "her able and upright Brahmin prime-minister surnamed the Talavei (Dalavoi or Commander-in-chief) that administered in the Queen's name all the affairs of the kingdom. The Missionary's friendship with such a high personage was very useful to the chieftain of Pérámbúr and Kattalúr, who, probably through some insidious court intrigue, had fallen into disgrace and was afraid that he might be deprived of his principality. T. Bouchet's interviews and explanation with the Talavei in 1701 A. D. sufficed to disperse the clouds and save him so long as the Talavei remained in power".

In 1704 † Queen Mangammal ceased to be the Regent and Vijaya Ranga Chokkanátha Náyak became the ruler at Trichinopoly. He was a most effeminate debauchee and entertained "jealous suspicions and even open hostility against the Brahmin Commander of his army (Talavei Narasayya), a most powerful man and the first in the kingdom after the king. The king

* The story is that he sent bags containing each nine heads through a Vìsengináttukkallan with the message "ten heads including the head of the bearer of the load".

† According to the Annual Letter of the Madura Mission to Rome (1708), the new reign began towards the close of 1706.

repeatedly sent emissaries to kill him; but the latter succeeded every time not only in eluding, but in putting them to death. Hence the king felt the need of having near him some one to counterpoise this Brahmin's authority and some safeguard against the plots the Brahmin was suspected of organising against the king. This was a chance for an ambitious and crafty potentate like the Tondaman. The king found that the Kallar retainers of the Tondaman could be of great help to him and thus secured the services of the Tondaman. The suspicions and displeasure against the Kandalur (Kattalúr) chieftain were revived by the Tondaman, who was apparently the personal enemy* of the chieftain, with the result that the chieftain was deprived of his principality, which was transferred to the Tondaman as a personal appanage. Avur and many other villages extending from Trichinopoly in the direction of the kingdom of Madura were made over in 1707 to the Tondaman, as a favour by the Raja of Trichinopoly, whose favourite the Tondaman had become.

"The Missionaries of Ávúr were afraid that the Tondaimán would resort to a bitter persecution of the Christians. This foreboding however proved false, and if the Missionaries had to complain of lawless subordinates and at times suffered from court intrigues, they found that except in a single case they could always rely on the Rájá's own sense of fairness and justice".

Annexation of Viralimalai and the tract about Ammankuricchi. After acquiring the principality of Pérámbúr and Kattalúr, Namana Tondaimán had for his neighbour the chieftain of Kumáravádi, who owned the Viràlimalai tract. This tract originally belonged to the chieftains of Pérámbúr and Kattalúr, the temple at Viràlimalai having been built by a member of this line of rulers. (see p. 94 and the *Gazetteer*). The Tondaimán had by 1711 became so powerful that "he had made himself formidable to the King of Madura himself" and he could not, with the

---

* "In Rev. T. Martin's Letter to Rome (Bertrand's *Mission du Madure*, Vol. V, p. 176), it is related that in 1702 there was a feud between the prince of Kandalúr (of Kattalúr) and the head of a neighbouring principality (evidently the Tondaimàn) and that the latter profited by the concourse of pilgrims to the annual feast of the church of Avúr to come to it with a number of armed followers ready to pick up a quarrel and have a fight".

power that he then had, quietly permit the Kumáravàdi chieftain to continue to be in possession of lands which properly belonged to him as the owner of the Pérâmbúr and Kattalúr principality. Namana is said to have had several encounters with the Kumáravádi chief, and, overcoming him, annexed Virálimalai to his dominion. In this way Namana seems to have become the ruler of more or less the whole of the modern Kulattúr Taluk. The Tondaimán about this time seems to have obtained permission from the Nâyak King to subjugate Púchi Nàyak of Marungápuri, who must have withheld the payment of the annual tribute. The Tondaimán, with the help of his brother Raghunâtha Ráya Tondamàn of Pudukkóttai, defeated him and seized from him his capital Ammankuricchi (see the *Gazetteer*) and some other villages, which the Tondaimâns were permitted to keep for themselves.

"Namana Tondaimán married four wives, two from the Rángiar family, one from the Panrikondár family, and one from Sammatti family—a daughter of one Kurundan Sammatti. A fifth wife by the name of Rangammál is mentioned by one authority. This Rangammàl was probably one of the maids of honour in the court of the Náyak of Trichinopoly. Of the five wives of the Tondamán, the daughter of Sammatti seems to have been the only one that bore him a son. The child born of her was Rámaswámi Tondaimàn".

Namana Tondaiman as a ruler. We may now place before our readers some information relating to Namana Tondaimán as a ruler. He seems to have been a beneficent and charitable chief, who was intent on promoting the good of his people. He built at Kulattúr a Siva temple and a Vishnu temple. The Náyak rulers were staunch Vaishnavites, and partly to please these rulers and partly at the instance, it is said, of Varadarája Náyak, who is said to have been one of his chief counsellors, he is said to have built the Vishnu temple at Kulattúr. We find from an inscription at Pérámbúr, that in 1713 A. D. he made a grant of land to the temple of the God Ganésa at Pérámbúr. We find from another inscription that, after the annexation of the Virálimalai tract, his agent Udaiyappa Sérvaikár, evidently acting

under the orders of his master, granted to the Venkatésvarapperumál temple of Viràlúr, near Virálimalai, the right of levying ¼ of a *padi* of oil for every time that oil was extracted in every oil-press at the place. Another inscription in the calingula of the big tank at Kulattúr tells us that the calingula was built by this ruler. Of the gifts of lands that were made to Brahmins in the time of this Tondaimân, record has been preserved of two. According to a copperplate, the village of Uccháni, six miles to the north of Pudukkóttai, was permitted by him to be granted by his son, Rámaswámi Tondaimân, as a *sarvamânyam* village in 1710. And from an inscription at Tiruppúr, dated *Saka* 1634 or A. D. 1712, we find that Namana Tondaimán, along with Raghunátha Râya Tondaimân, Akkal Râjá and others, made a gift of the village of Tiruppúr to an Ayyangàr of Sríranga.

Ramaswami Tondaiman of Kulattur. The date of the death of Namana Tondaimán is not known. It will be clear from what is said above that he must have lived at least up to 1713. He was succeeded by his son Rámáswami Tondaimân, who is known from the letters of the Madura Mission to have ruled till 1736 and died in that year.

Râmaswámi Tondaimán, like his father, called himself after the Nâyak ruler at the time—Vijaya Ranga Chokkanátha Rámaswàmi Tondaimán.

"He married Muttal*a*kammâl, one of the foster-daughters of Mangammál (Queen-Regent of Trichinoply) and received as her dowry the five villages of Pasumarappa*tti*, Álattúr, Vellánpa*tti*, Karaippa*tti* and Kottamanganpa*tti*. He also married three other ladies namely, Periyanàyaki Áyi, Periyanácchi Áyi, and Pillai Áyi.

Ramaswami Tondaiman's charities. Ràmaswámi Tondaimán seems to have been a peaceful ruler, not caring for wars or extension of territory. The Sérvaikárs of Andakkulam and Nánguppa*tti* seem to have helped him greatly in keeping his pàlayam in order and peace. For the convenience of the passengers to Râmésvaram, he built two Chattrams—one at Kalamávúr in 1728, for the maintenance of which the village of Pallattuppa*tti* was set apart, and the other at Ammáchatram in 1730 in the name of his wife Muttalakammál, for the upkeep of which several

villages were allotted. The former charity is mentioned in an inscription at Kalamávúr and there is a copperplate relating to the latter charity.* Another Chattram had been founded at Nallúr for the convenience of the passengers to Rámésvaram by A*l*agia Náyak (see *Nallùr* in the *Gazetteer*), and Rámaswàmi Tondaimán increased the usefulness of this Chattram by assigning to it lands in two villages, as is mentioned in two inscriptions near Nallúr. He is also known to have imported Brahmins into the State and settled them here by grants of rent-free lands. It was in this way that a Brahmin village was formed in 1733 round Mutta*l*akammál Chattram. Examples of other villages that were granted to Brahmins are Chandanattâkuricchi (1724), about three miles to the north of Kattalúr, and Nánjúr with fifty houses (1734), about three miles to the east of Kíranúr. The latter village (called Nánjiyúr) was given the name of Namanaráyasamudram to commemorate the name of his father or as a mark of favour to his son Namana Tondaimán. There are copper plates supporting these grants.

In 1730, after the death of Raghunàtha Ráya Tondaimán, an attempt seems to have been made to set up Pacchai Tondaimán as the ruler of Pudukkóttai by Rámaswàmi Tondaimán, his cousin. Details of this attempt, which failed, will be given when we give the history of the Pudukkóttai rulers.

The Tondaimán is mentioned in the letters of the Madura Mission as having "developed a marked respect and veneration for the Christian religion, its teaching, its ceremonies and symbols, and especially for the symbol of the Cross. As an instance of the confidence he implicitly placed on all those that professed that religion, the following is mentioned. In a village whose people had been repeatedly accused of rapine accompanied with deeds of violence and murder, five of the inhabitants were seized and brought before the prince. But one of the five accused, being a Christian, was at once dismissed as innocent, on the mere plea that men professing such a religion were incapable of being parties to such crimes. Nevertheless the Tondaimân continued in his old ways until death overtook him in 1736".

* The former of these was known as *Namana Ráya Chattram* and the latter even now bears in official records the name of *Kulattúr Chattram*.

The end of the Kulattur line of Tondaimans. Râmaswámi Tondaimán was succeeded by his son, Namana Tondaimàn. Not much is known of this ruler. The fact seems to be that in his time, as was very probably the case in his father's time also, Pudukkóttai had become very much more powerful than Kulattúr and overshadowed it. Two or three facts are specifically known about Namana Tondaimân II. An inscription at Vaittikóvil states that lands were granted in 1749 to the God at the place by Vijaya Raghunàtha Tondaimàn of Pudukkóttai and Namana Tondaimán. We find it mentioned in the well-known ballad called "*Khan Sahib's Fight* *" on the wars waged by Yusuf Khan, of whom we shall hear a good deal hereafter, that the representatives of Sivaganga and Ramnad, who were about the year 1760 on their way to Trichinopoly to see the Nawab, were met at Tirumayyam in the Pambâr plain by Namana Tondaimán and his Commandant, Dhanuvanam Pillai. We have an abundance of records relating to Pudukkóttai in the years 1750—1760, and these show that in this period Kulattúr did not exist as a separate State. We must therefore conclude that Kulattúr was annexed to Pudukkóttai and ceased to be a separate State about 1750.

The following details are from Mr. Venkat Row's *Manual.* "Tradition on the subject simply says that the ruler of Kulattur was sent to the Tirumayyam Fort as a State prisoner. In all probability, the ruler thus dealt with was Namana Tondaimân, son of Ramaswami Tondaimàn. The date of the annexation is not ascertainable.

"This tradition is recorded in a manuscript. There is a more detailed traditional account which is as follows.

"Namana Tondaimán II was a weak-minded prince. He had no legitimate son. He had a concubine for whom he built a palace at Kulattur. The palace is still in existence, though in ruins. It is known as Kannampa*tti* Aranmanai. By this concubine he had a son to whom he desired his Sirdars to pay the respects due to an heir-apparent. The Sirdars protested repeatedly, but in vain. The obstinacy of the Tondaimán disgusted the Sirdars, who at last proceeded *en masse* to the Tondaimán of Pudukkóttai,

* See கான்சாய்பு சண்டை, p. 41.

whom they requested to become the ruler of Kulattúr by annexing it to his dominions. The Pudukkóttai Tondaimán yielded. He deposed Namana Tondaimán and sent him to the Tirumayyam Fort as a sort of State prisoner. The province of Kulattúr was annexed to Pudukkóttai ".

Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman (1686–1730 A. D.)

We shall now take up the history of the Pudukkóttai Tondaimáns. One of the first acts of Raghunâtha Râya Tondaimân was to reward those who had helped him in becoming the ruler of Pudukkóttai. Of these, the foremost was Ilandâri Ambalakâr, who was pressed to remain at Pudukkóttai and granted a Jaghire on condition that he should help the Tondaimân with a number of men in his wars. Another powerful supporter was, according to the Ambalakár's manuscript, Nallakutti Valamkondân who had followed the Tondaimân to Ramnad from Karambakkudi and had been his faithful friend all along. He received, like Ilandâri Ambalakâran, a grant of land for military service to be performed by him. Dharma Pillai was made the Commandant, as has been mentioned already, and one Kuruntha Pillai was made the *Kàriakartâ* or the agent or minister of the Tondaiman. One Anná Aiyar, ancestor of Appâ Aiyar, the well-known Fouzdar and of Annáswámi Aiyar, a former Sirkele of the State, is also said to have come from Ramnad with the Tondaimân and to have been made a Palace *Vidvàn*.

The relation of the Pudukkottai Tondaimans to the Kulattur Tondaimans. It may be well to describe the relation of the Tondaimán of Pudukkóttai to Chinna Tondaimán, ruler of Kulattúr. Though each of these was independent of the other, they seem to have acted like the brothers of an undivided family, engaged in enhancing the position and dignity of the house. That Raghunátha Ràya Tondaimân and Namana Tondaimân, and after these, Vijaya Raghunâtha Tondaimân and Namana Tondaimân II, grandsons of the above, acted as friends may be clear from the inscriptions at Tiruppúr and Vaittikóvil (see pp. 141 and 143). The first two seem to have acted together in subjugating portions of Marungàpuri,

Foundation of Pudukkottai. Another point which we may mention here is that at the time of the installation of Raghunâtha Râya Tondaimán, no town of the name of Pudukkóttai was in existence. The present town of Pudukkóttai is said in the *Tondaimân Vamsâvali* to have been built by Raghunâtha Râya Tondaimân. The exact meaning of this statement is not very clear. There were the old towns of Singamangalam and Kalasamangalam on the site of the Pudukkóttai town, and there is nothing on record to show how these old towns which were once so prosperous and flourishing (see p. 69), disappeared. The Tondaimán is known to have built a circuit wall, which is stated in the *Statistical Account of Pudukkóttai (1813)* to have been 2¼ miles long, and very probably established the *vàdis* or sentinels' stations in the south, west and north of the town. The town, with the fortifications* round it, was given the name of Pudukkóttai† (or *New Fort*) a name rarely used, however, in writings till the 19th century, the State having been known as the "Tondaimán's country".‡

The Tondaiman's wives and childern. "Raghunátha Ràya Tondaimán married

1. Malayattàyi, daughter of a Rángiar of Mangattánpa*tti*,
2. Peria Udaiyammai Áyi, daughter of a Tennatiraiyan,
3. Aváttàyi, daughter of a Rángiar of Malakkuricchi,
4. Víráttáyi. daughter of a Kâduve*tti*,
5. Pillaittácchi Víráttáyi,

and 6. Tacchi Áyi, daughter of a Rángiar. These he married among his own relations of different clans. He had also seven

* From a letter dated 16th June, 1754, written to the Madras Presidency by Ramah Naick, the Company's agent at Tanjore, it will appear that there was no wall round the town in 1754. "Puducota is the principal town. Tondaman resides in it as well as myself. There is neither stone nor mud wall. The place is surrounded by woods and secured by inclosures". The wall mentioned in the text must have been demolished by Chanda Sahib or by Ananda Row, the Tanjore general, when he captured the town in 1734.

† As the name *Pudukkóttai* is said by Rev. Fr. Castets to occur in a map of 1700, drawn by Rev. Fr. Venantius Bouchet, the Jesuit Missionary at Avùr, we may take it that the place was fortified by the Tondaimán within the first ten years of his rule.

‡ The town of Pudukkóttai itself seems to have been occasionally called "Tondaimân", the *Geography of the Tamil Country (circa 1745)*, referred to on p. 135, mentioning Ramnad, Madura, Tinnevelly and Tondaimàn as the important *towns* in the Pándya country.

mistresses* selected out of seven castes among his subjects. Concubinage in such circumstances does not seem to have carried any odium with it at the time.

"By the first wife he had a son named Peria (the elder) Ràya Tondaimán, by the second wife, a son named Chinna (the younger) Ráya Tondaimán, by the third, a son named Tirumalai Tondaimán, by the fourth wife, a son named Muttu Vijaya Tondaimán and a daughter named Perianáyaki Áyi. To this list must be added the name of Vijaya Tondaimán, mentioned in *Tondaimàn Vamsàvali* .... Other accounts content themselves with merely stating that the Tondaimán had thirty-two sons, without giving their names. So far we may regard it as pretty certain, that the number of sons, legitimate and illegitimate, was 32. The Tondaimàn had also his brother Pacchai Tondaimán, who stayed with him. This valiant brother and the numerous sons constituted a strength such as none of the neighbouring chieftains possessed".

The Tondaiman's successes in Trvancore. It was not long of course before Raghunàtha Ráya Tondaimán made the acquaintance of the Nâyak rulers and was employed by them in military affairs. The authority for the statements is *Tondaimân Vamsâvali.* He was first sent against Travancore. From 1634 A. D., Travancore had been paying an annual tribute to Madura. In 1697, owing to the disorderly state of the Madura kingdom, the Travancore King was unpunctual in remitting his usual tribute. In 1698 Mangammal, the Queen-Regent of Madura, sent a large army under the command of Narasappayya, the Dalavoi. Raghunâtha Râya Tondaimân was one of the leaders in this army. He is said to have distinguished himself in the Kérala country, "brought into subjection Kalkulam,† Kambam and Gudalur, and returned with bronze guns".

* "The names of these have been given as Ponnammâyi, Chinnammá Ayi, Mìnatchi Ayi, Ku*tt*ai Vengârammá, Kastùri Ammâ, Chandrammà Ayi and Jànaki Ayi. By the first of these, Râya Raghunâtha Tondaimân had a son named Venkayya, by the second, a son named Selambakku*tt*iayyá, by the fifth, a son named Pacchai Ayyâ, by the sixth, a son named Kò*l*ikkàl (cock-legged) Pacchai Ayyâ". Mr. Venkat Row's *Manual,* from which the quotation in the text is also made.

† See p. 318, Vol. I of the *Travancore Manual.* That Venkayya's account is very valuable is seen from the fact that most of his statements are corroborated by contemporaneous records. The bronze guns are referred to by Mr. Nelson and by Mr. Francis.

The Tondaiman defeats the Mysore forces. It is stated in the *Tondaimán Vamsàvali* that the Tondaimán defeated about this time the Mysore forces also. The reference must be to the services rendered by the Tondaimán to the Náyak ruler, when Trichinopoly was besieged by the Mysore forces in 1695. *

The Tondaiman helps the Nayaks in their war with Tanjore. There seems to have been a dispute between the Maratta ruler of Tanjore and the Nâyak ruler of Trichinopoly about the lands near Tirukkà*tt*uppalli, six miles from Kóviladi, the possession of which was extremely important to Tanjore as the irrigation of the Tanjore District by the Kávéri and its branches is practically controlled at this place, which contains the Grand Anaikkat. The Tondaiman is said to have rendered signal service to the Trichinopoly rulers, defeated Tanjore, and got the tract of country to the west of Tirukka*tt*uppalli for Trichinopoly. † From this date forwards (say 1700 A. D.), until Tanjore came into the hands of the English, we find the Tanjore Râjâs very often in difficulties‡ with reference to the irrigation of the Tanjore Kingdom.

The Tondaiman against Baloji Pant of Tanjore. About this time according to the *Tondaimàn Vamsàvali*, one Bálóji Pant, a Tanjore general, is said to have been getting ready an army of 2000 cavaliers, evidently to chastise the Tondaimán for the loss of Tirukkà*tt*uppalli mentioned above. The Tondaimân sent Pandáram, Panrikondrán and Singappuli, the leaders of his forces, against him ; but these were defeated. The Tondaimân himself thereupon penetrated boldly into the enemy's camp, scaled the ramparts of Pa*tt*ukkó*tt*ai where Bálóji Pant was stationed and caused him to evacuvate the fort. The date of this transaction is not known.

---

* See p. 55 of the *Madura Gazetteer*.

† See *Tondaimân Vamsàvali*. Very probably this is the war referred to by Mr. Nelson and, following him, by Mr. Francis, as "a desultory war (in 1700), the origin and course of which are alike unknown".

‡ The tract was got back by the Tanjore Rájâ in 1733 as will be mentioned later on. But it fell again into the hands of the Nawab of Arcot and the Tanjore Râjàs were ever petitioning the Madras Government to intercede with the Nawab and arrange for the proper irrigation of the Tanjore Kingdom.

A terrible famine in the State. In 1709 there was in the country of the Tondaimán and far to the south of it, a terrible famine, the like of which the country had not experienced probably for centuries. Rev. Fr. Bertholdi, who worked for a long time at Ávúr, and Rev. Fr. Joseph Veyra, his successor, who "travelled on foot when on their ministration through the length and breadth of the country, and could well observe the effect of the famine which was only just ending in 1730, explicitly state that not one-thirtieth of the population survived the famine". The following details of the famine are from the letter of the Madura Mission to Rome for 1709. The letter will show that the Missionaries were shrewd observers with a full knowledge of the Hindu customs and manners.

"The famine was caused in 1708 by a simultaneous flood of the Kávéri and torrents of rain, which destroyed all the existing crops and did much damage in other ways. This was followed by an extraordinary drought.*

"The events of this year, 1709, supply plenty of sorrowful material to write upon concerning this Mission. Incredible is from want of rain the dearth of foodstuffs and hence are found, as was to be expected, prevalence of sickness of all sorts, dire squalor, deaths innumerable and all the accompanying evils of extreme penury. But not to dilate too long over such a famine, the like of which the oldest among the living have never witnessed, suffice it to say, it has lasted at this incredible height for two years already. The poor inhabitants being reduced to the last extremity, we see parents selling their children for a paltry price and likewise husbands bargaining away their wives. Many villages are fully deserted, without even one inhabitant left in them; everywhere along the roads and in the fields heaped-up corpses or rather bleached bones are left unburied, amidst a people amongst whom funeral ceremonies could never, it would seem, be considered dispensable. From the two examples here subjoined one may realise to what pitch the famine has developed.

---

* Rev. Fr. Castets says that Rev. T. Peter Martin, writing from the Marava country in 1713, mentions only the drought and the flood that *followed* the famine.

"A Hindu mother, to satisfy her hunger with sacrilegious food, put aside the natural feelings of a mother, and ate her own daughter, one foot of whose dead body betrayed the horrible crime. While crossing a river, the float (boat) that carried her became quite immovable and could by no means be dragged in the water. Astonished at such an extraordinary event, the other natives, who were journeying with that woman, inspected her little basket, and, discovering the crime, brought the impious mother to the judge of the place.

"The other example is that of a married couple, husband and wife, who, driven away by famine, were migrating to the neighbouring kingdom of Mysore. They stopped fatigued and lay down to rest under the shade of a tree. While the woman was sleeping, the husband sold her away to a passing wayfarer for a little rice, and, having received the bargained price, stealthily left her and went away. On awaking the wife, who was informed of the infamous bargain that had taken place, was so shocked with indignation and shame that she expired on the spot.

"As for the Christians, in several districts, three-fourths at least have migrated, after having consumed all they had and gone to far-off countries, a thing which, though very painful to all men in general, is peculiarly distressing to the people of this country, on account of their excessive attachment to their native land.

"In fine, everywhere we see dire misery and solitude. Now, when at the approach of the rainy season, the hopes of the agriculturists just began to rise, God has chastised anew the whole of the southern portion of India by a new calamity. For, on the 18th of December, 1709, there began to pour such deluges of rain that rivers were flooded and the bunds of nearly all the tanks, by which rice plantations are irrigated and which are most numerous, burst and the water spread in all directions like a deluge. Hence arose incalculable material losses and great loss of life also. In the Marava (country) over 100 corpses were whirled by the rush of the water at a single spot. As for houses which are generally built with mud walls, the destruction of them was immense. The sprouting crops were either drowned or washed away, and hence still greater became the dearness of food and

greater also the general misery". To give an idea of the dearness of food, T. Peter Martin writing from the Marava country, says that "the price of rice which in ordinary times was one panam for eight marakkals of well-pounded rice rose to four panams per marakkal".

War with Tanjore and Ramnad. *The battle of Pèraiyúr.* The Rájá of Tanjore, who had been waiting for an opportunity to punish the Tondaimàn for the loss of Thirukkà*tt*uppalli, which he prized so greatly as containing the tract from which the irrigation of his kingdom could be controlled, must have thought that the Tondaimân's country was exhausted after the famine and the flood, and that that was a good opportunity for crushing him. He made an alliance with the Sétupati of Ramnad that had succeeded Kilavan Sétupati, and sent a large force against the Tondaimàn under a Maratta general of the name of Hindu Row. The Sétupati also sent a force under one Indra Tévan, who marched to Pudukkóttai through Tirumayyam. The Maratta forces were stationed at Péraiyúr, and the Maravars under Indra Tévan* occupied the tract from Kavinàd reservoir, a mile to the west of Pudukkóttai, to Kadayakkudi, 3 miles to the south-east of the town. In addition to the Marattas of Tanjore and the Maravars of Ramnad, there were in the army, it is said, a large number of Mussalmans. The army of the Tondaimàn marched out from Pudukkóttai to meet the enemy and was commanded by the Tondaimán in person, assisted by his five sons—Periya Ràya Tondaimàn, Vijaya Tondaimàn, Muttu Vijaya Tondaimán, Tirumalai Tondaimán and Chinna Ráya Tondaimàn. In a sanguinary engagement the Tondaimán defeated the Marattas and the Maravars, slaying Indra Tévan, the Ramnad General, and many others, and captured several elephants, horses, palanquins, war-drums, *etc.* The action is described at great length and with much poetic skill by Venkayya in his *Tondaimân Vamsávali.* It appears from this poem that Tirumalai Tondaimán distinguished himself in this battle more than his father or any of his brothers.

---

* This incident is referred to in two dance-songs, *Ambunáttu Valandán* and *Venkanna Sérvaikár Valandàn.*

"கந்தாமல் வந்தவொரு கவிநாட்டுக் கம்மாயில்
இந்திராதி தேவனை எதிர்வெட்டுந் தொண்டைமான்".

"The Tondaimân who opposed and killed Indra Tèvan and others, who marched fearlessly to the Kavinad tank".

The Tondaiman subdues several Palayakars. The Tondaimán is said to have next brought under subjection the pálayakárs of Turaiyúr, Ariyalúr, Udaiyárpálayam and Válikandapuram. These chieftains must have been refractory in the payment of their tributes, and a force might have been sent, as was usual in those days, to collect the tributes with Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán as its leader.

The Tondaimans very powerful at Trichinopoly. The Tondaimán brothers had become so powerful that, according to the letters of the Madura Mission to Rome, "by 1711 the Tondaimán Ràja had made himself formidable to the king of Madura himself" and by 1716 "owing to the dotage of the effeminate Náyak ruler (Chokkanàtha Náyak) the Tondaimán had for a time become all powerful at Trichinopoly*". By some happy change of fortune, it is said, the Náyak King chose a Brahmin, Góvindappa Aiyar, a man of strong resolution and of no mean administrative capacity, as his prime minister. The minister, with the help of the Maravas, drove away the Tondaimân from the Court and forced him to keep himself within the limits of his own dominion.

The Tondaiman helps Tanjore against Ramnad It must here be mentioned that it will be found that for a long time the Sétupati and the Ràjá of Tanjore were engaged in hostilities with each other with respect to the ownership of the lands lying between Pattukkóttai and Arantángi. "There seems to be little doubt that the recognised boundary line of the Tanjore Ràj, whatever it may have been, was exposed to the constant raids and encroachments of the Marava chiefs of Râmanàth, who had now greatly risen in power".† Lands to the north of Pattukkóttai as far as Mannárgudi and Tiruválúr in the Tanjore District were occasionally seized and enjoyed by the Sétupatis, while the Ràjà of Tanjore claimed lands so far south as Hanumantagudi in the Ramnad Zamindári as his. In the wars between these rulers, the services of the Tondaimán, who was recognised as a powerful prince, were sought sometimes by the Ràjà of Tanjore and on other occasions by the Sétupati.

---

* Letter of the Madura Mission to Rome for 1716.

† Mr. Venkáswàmi Row's *Manual of Tanjore*, p. 771.

About the year 1720, the Rájá of Tanjore, from whom Kilavan Sétupati had wrested Arantàngi and some other places, "gained over the Rájá of Pudukkóttai to his side "* and declared war against Tiruvudaya Tévar (1709-1723), successor of Kilavan Sétupati. "The Sétupati went out to meet the allied forces at Arantángi. Some indecisive actions were fought. An epidemic broke out in the camp of the Sétupati which carried off many of his sons and wives, and he himself contracted the disease, which proved fatal shortly after he was brought to Ramnad".*

According to the letters of the Madura Mission, the Tondaimán country also suffered about this time from an epidemic. "An epidemic of virulent small-pox ravaged the whole country and claimed everywhere numerous victims; but as people did not fail to remark, Christians were either not attacked or were usually cured. In the village of Malampatti, in particular, though more than a hundred Christians of every age and sex were attacked, only one little child died of it".

Civil War in Ramnad. Acquisition of Tirumayyam. Sétupati Tiruvudaya Tévar died in 1723, nominating one Tánda Tévar to be his successor. The accession of this Sétupati was contested by one Bhaváni Sankar, an illegitimate son of Kilavan Sétupati. "Upon this Thandá Tévan applied for assistance to the King of Madura and also to the Tondiman Rája of Puthu Kóttei, promising to cede to the latter, if successful, the districts dependant on Kíranilei and Tirumayang Kóttei. He obtained the required assistance within a few days, and proceeded to closely besiege his rival in Arundángi; and the latter feeling that he was unable to cope with the forces against him, gave up the contest for a time and fled to Tanjore".† Tirumayyam, to the south of the Vellár, whether it had been held before as a fief or not, now became an integral portion of the Pudukkóttai State.‡

* See Mr. Sewell's *Sketch of the Dynasties of Southern India*, p. 90 and Mr. Nelson's *Madura Country*, Part III, p. 248.

† Mr. Nelson's *Madura Country*, Part III, p. 248.

‡ Mr. Râjaràm Row, in his *Ramnad Manual* (p. 238), mentions merely that "the Setupati stationed the ancestor of the present Tondiman Ràja at Tirumayyam to defend the northern boundary". The Tondaimán must have taken Tirumayyam as a grant to him, as stated by Mr. Nelson, for services that he rendered. We find the Tondaimán ruler of a good portion of the modern Tirumayyam Taluk at the time of his death in 1730 A. D.

Tanjore defeats the Madura and Pudukkottai forces. Bhavâni Sankar got the help of the King of Tanjore by promising to cede to him all the provinces that had been wrested from the southern frontier of Tanjore by Kilavan Sétúpati, and invaded Ramnad with the Tanjore forces within four months of the accession of Tánda Tévar as Sétupati. The Náyak King of Madura and the Tondaimán espoused the cause of Tánda Tévar. "The King of Madura, or more probably one of his ministers, had sent a small body of men to protect the northern frontier of Ramnad, whilst the Tondiman Rája put his troops in motion, and finally encamped them at a little distance from his allies. But the Tanjorean General (Ánanda Row Péshwa) who accompanied Bhavàni Sankara soon disposed of these obstacles in his path. He first fell on the Madura troops, who fled at once without offering the slightest resistance; and then attacked the Tondiman, and having succeeded in taking his two sons prisoners compelled him to sue for peace. The invaders then besieged Ramnad; and having effected an entry into the fort by mining, seized the unhappy Séthupati and some of his supporters and put them to death".*

In 1729 Tirumalai Tondaimán, the only surviving son of Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimân, who distinguished himself so greatly in the battle of Péraiyúr, expired, leaving the ruler childless.

The Tondaiman's conquests and annexations. About this time, seeing that Ramnad was under weak rulers, the Tondaimán must have set about to conquer the lands in the south-west of the State. Lands to the west of Virácchalai belonged to Púcchi Náyak of Marungápuri and the tract about Ponnamarávati originally belonged to Bomi Nàyak of Karisalpa*ttu*–Várappúr. It is found from a copper plate that Kilavan Sétupati had driven out Bomi Náyak from Ponnamarávati and had made himself master of the fort. Soon after Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán received the grant of Tirumayyam, he must have taken the lands about Ponnamarávati and to the north of Piránmalai, as having formed part of the Tirumayyam tract, and extended his territory to the present south-western limits of the State. The procedure said to have been

* Mr. Nelson's *Madura Country*, Part III, p. 249.

adopted by the Tondaimán to become master of the portion of Marungàpuri to the west of Virácchalai resembles the methods laid down in Tamil classics* for the acquisition of new territory.

In the days of Ovala† Púcchi Náyak, otherwise known as Pulivetti Púcchi Náyak, the Tondaimàn is said to have sent word to the ruler of Marungápuri that on a certain day he would remove the cattle of the village of Oliamangalam and make himself master of that village. The Pálayakár of Marungápuri, to whom the village belonged, ordered Muttirulappa, Manigar of the village, to be watchful, and sent fifty men to help the Manigar in resisting the Tondaimán's men. While the head officer of the fifty men was enjoying himself in a dancing girl's house, the men sent by the Tondaimán artfully removed the cattle and soon afterwards hoisted the flag of the Tondaimán in the village. The Pálajakár, on hearing of this, is said to have sent a *killákku*‡ or 'order on a betel-leaf' for the execution of the head of the force of fifty men, but excused the Manigar Muttirulappa.

---

* See Dr. Pope's article on *Purapporul*, in the Tamilian Archæological Society's *Journal*, No. 6. "In the *Mahabharata* we are told that when one king invades the country of another, he should begin by attacking the cattle first. And as if to illustrate the advice, the attempt of the Kauravas to capture the cattle of Ràjà Virâta, King of the Matsyâs, is graphically described in the poem. The frequency of such raids in South India has almost created a literature of its own, and, thanks to the bards and grammarians of Southern India, who have immortalised these raids, we can even to-day get an accurate idea of the raids undertaken in those times. While the bards have given us accounts of individual expeditions, the grammarians have elevated such practices into a science and have given us the *modus operandi*. See *Tolkáppiyam Porul Adhikâram* under *Vetchitthinai* and *Purapporul Venbàmàlai* under *Vetchippadalam*. Before the expedition is undertaken, the astrologer is consulted, wine is distributed freely, the news of the expedition is "tom-tommed" by the village drummer, spies are sent to find out the enemy's position, the number of the herd, *etc.*"..............For details, see the *Christian College Magazine* for September, 1901, from which the extract in the footnote is taken, or Dr. Pope's article referred to above.

† The account is based on tradition. The exact date of the incident is not known. It is likely that the Púcchi Nâyak referred to here was the grandson of Ovala Pùcchi Nâyak and great grandson of Tirumalai Pùcchi Náyak, who are mentioned in an inscription at Ammankuricchi. See the first footnote on p. 96.

‡ *Killàkku* literally means *betel-leaf*. In those days very few could read and write. It was usual for men of position to grow one of the nails on the right or left hand and to send a betel-leaf with an impression of the nail thereon to show that the order sent with the leaf should be carried out.

With reference to the annexation of the western portion of Virácchalai, the account given by a descendant of one of the witnesses that were examined in 1803 by a Commission appointed by the British Government to decide the dispute between the Tondaimán and the Marungápuri chief as to the ownership of the lands to the west of Kudimiámalai and Virácchalai is that the eastern portion of Virácchalai belonged to the Tondaimán and the western portion to the Marungápuri chief, that the inhabitants of the two halves of the village were connected with one another by blood-relationship and ties of marriage, that they were willing to be ruled by the same chief and that the people of the western half declared themselves as the subjects of the Tondaimán on the Tondaimán's promising them some concessions in the payment of land tax. The people of Várppattu (see the *Gazetteer*) are said to have similarly declared themselves for the Tondaimán, seeing that they were not quite safe under the rule of Bomi Náyak of Váráppúr—Karisalpattu.

In these ways the Tondaimán became the ruler of almost the whole of the Tirumayyam Taluk with the exception of the tract about Kílánilai.* He is said to have appointed wardens, who received liberal pay and presents, to watch the conduct of the inhabitants of the annexed territory and to suggest measures for giving them all possible satisfaction. On the eastern side he built a fort about 1710 A. D., Meratnilai, very probably to prevent the ingress of hostile parties from the east, where there were constant feuds between the Rájá of Tanjore and the Sétupati. The fort is described† as having been "a quarter of a mile to the south of Ónángudi, circular in form (with four bastions) and capable of holding 200 men". The fort is said to have been destroyed in 1756 A. D.—evidently in "the bloody war"‡ between the Rájá of Tanjore and the Tondaimán for the possession of Kílánilai.

---

* Kílánilai was a tract that was promised along with Tirumayyam to the Tondaimán by Tánda Tévar (see p. 152). It was very probably in the enjoyment of the Tondaimán, until he was defeated by Ananda Row Péshwa and had to sue for peace (see p. 153). Kílánilai formed a portion of "the debatable land" claimed both by the Rájás of Tanjore and the Sétupatis.

† In the *Statistical Account of Pudukkóttai*, dated 1813.

‡ See the Annual Letter of the Madura Mission to Rome for 1756.

The Tondaiman's charities. We have now to close our account of Raghunátha Râya Tondaimán. Before doing so, we shall give a short sketch of his charities and attitude towards religion.

He seems to have been a devoted worshipper of Siva, but tolerant and even kind to people of other religions. Though he established Saivism in the State*, he is known to have granted in 1718 Kadâyakkudi as a rent-free village to Vaishnava Brahmins. Grants in Tiruppúr village were made by him along with Namana Tondaimán and some others (see p. 141) to a Srírangam Ayyangar. A village of the name of Póram was granted to Brahmins in 1728 A. D. in the name of his son Tirumalairáya Tondaimàn, who distinguished himself in the Péraiyúr engagement. From an inscription at Kudimiámalai, we find that a portion of the temple at Kudimiámalai was built by Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán, and that another portion was the gift of his minister Kuruntha Pillai. The Chattrams in the Pudukkóttai town and at Tirumayyam, which are called "ancient institutions" in the *Statistical Account of Pudukkóttai* (1813), were probably founded by this ruler.

In the very year in which Raghunâtha Ráya Tondaimán began his rule, Ávúr in the Kulattúr Taluk was finally chosen by the Madura Mission as a new Catholic central settlement in the tract to the north of the Marava country. The Tondaimán was very kind to the Christians, and in 1711 "when the bishop of San Thomé was making the first pastoral visit of the Madura Mission and Ávúr, the prince of Pudukkóttai went to Ávúr to visit His Lordship and treated him with the greatest honour".† "In 1713 he granted the Father at Ávúr a diploma forbidding the use of any sort of violence against any Christian debtor that sought refuge in the Church of Ávúr".‡ The Tondaimán§ is said to have "had a singular affection for the Missionaries and not to have failed to send three or four of his officials to all the

* See the introductory stanzas to Venkayya's *Andhra Bhàshàrnavam.*

† Letter of Rev. Fr. Martin, 1713.

‡ Letter of the Madura Mission to Rome for 1713.

§ See Bertrand's *Mission du Madure*, Vol. IV, p. 209.

principal Christian festivals at Ávúr, to prevent any disorder that might occur owing to the presence of many non-Christians attracted to the feasts by mere curiosity".

Destruction of the fine Church at Avur. "When in 1716, the Tondaimán was supplanted and driven away from the Náyak's Court at Trichinopoly by the newly appointed minister, Góvindappa Aiyar, (see p. 151), the whole kingdom of the Tondaimân became a prey to incessant inroads and tumultuous outbreaks. During such troublous times, universal misrule accompanied by the continual coming and going of armed men and repeated tumultuous outbreaks of lawless peoplec ould but arise, and the Village Magistrates, who had always proved most hostile to the Christians, seeing the Tondaimàn now occupied elsewhere, under the pretext of public necessity, alleging that the Church of Ávúr might be turned by the enemy into a fortress, gave orders to commit it to the flames. The men, however, kept back by some superstitious fear, did not dare to execute their orders to the full, and were satisfied with pulling down the walled enclosures of both the compound and the Church. But emboldened by this exploit, the Tondaimán's own son, who happened to come at this juncture, had the Church itself destroyed to its very foundation".

Persecution of Christians in the Nayak Kingdom. Tondaiman's country a place of refuge. The Tondaiman practically independent. "On the contrary for the next ten years—from 1717 to 1727--the Pudukkóttai kingdom seems to have been so safe a place as even to afford a refuge to the persecuted Christians and Missionaries of the neighbourhood". "Notably was this the case during a fierce persecution raised in Trichinopoly in 1727 by "the Mudali", a man of the Mudali caste appointed by the new Brahmin prime minister, Náranappa Aiyar, as a sort of general superintendent to manage all the ordinary business and see to the general order and peace of the State........ What the Mudali most of all desired was to lay his hands on one of the Missionaries. Fr. Bertholdi, who was often searched for, retired each time to the Tondaimán's territory and thus escaped happily from his hands".* This shows that, as Rev. Fr. Castets remarks, *the Tondaimán had become practically independent of the Nâyak rulers.*

* See the Letter of the Madura Mission to Rome for 1729.

The Tondaiman's kind treatment of Christians. "Soon after this, when some of the neophytes at Ávúr refused to pay any contribution for the building of a new temple, and one of the catechists of Ávúr was thereupon falsely accused of having broken off the hands, feet and nose of the image to which the temple was to be dedicated, the people became excited and required that all the Christians should be fined and their churches destroyed". "But a timely transfer of the case to the Tondaimân himself proved their safety. The Rájá suspected, from the very gravity of the accusation, that the case had been too summarily dealt with, and after a serious inquiry he recognised in fact that the accused was innocent".

Character of the Tondaiman. Enough has been said to show that the Tondaimán, who was noted for his bravery, intrepidity and bodily strength, was far in advance of his time in his impartiality, fair-mindedness and general personal character. It goes without saying that occasionally he permitted depredations by his men.* But it must be remembered that all his men could not be of his mind, and that the Tondaimán must have occasionally felt it politic to yield to their wishes so that he might more effectually lead them on other occasions. The descendants of Raghunátha Ràya Tondaimàn, it will be found, have every reason to be proud of "the founder of the State". The letters of the Jesuit Missionaries constantly speak of the Tondaimàn's fair-mindedness and his strict sense of justice.

His death. Raghunâtha Ráya Tondaimân died in 1730. "All the legitimate sons of the Tondaimán with several of the illegitimate sons were now dead. A brother (Pacchai Tondaimán), three illegitimate sons (Venkayya, Chinna Pacchaiyyá and Kólikkál Pacchaiyyá) and four legitimate grandsons, Vijaya Raghunátha

* That the state of affairs here did not differ very much from that of the Highlands of Scotland before the pacification of the Highlands in 1746 may be inferred from the following extract from Sir M. E. Grant Duff's *Notes of a Diary kept chiefly in Southern India in 1881—1886*, Vol. 4, pp. 171—3.

"The most amusing incident of my journey occured at Pudukota. The Raja is the head of the great Kalla or robber caste of South India. Dewan Sashia Shastri, who speaks excellent English but stammers a good deal, was standing by my chair as the chiefs of the clans came up to me to pay me my homage. "These" he observed "are the Ca Ca Campbells and so forth of this part of the country".

Tondaimán,* Muddu Namana Tondaimán, Rájagópàla Tondaimán and Tirumalayya Tondaimán (sons of Tirumalai Tondaimán) remained alive. There was no likelihood of a peaceful succession to the Râj. The Tondaimán wished his eldest grandson, Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán, to be the future ruler of the country. To accomplish this object, the Tondaimán summoned Ilandári Ambalakáran and Ávudaiyappa Sérvaikáran to his bedside and in their presence presented the State (finger) ring and his own ear-rings to his eldest grandson, Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimân, enjoining on the two Sardárs the duty of supporting the young Tondaimán against his rivals and enemies.† The Sardárs promised. The Tondaimán passed away shortly after this".

Vijaya Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman (1730–1769 A. D.)

A Succession Dispute. "The succession of Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán was disputed by Rámaswámi Tondaimán of Kulattúr, who was proclaimed ruler of Pudukkóttai by the men of Kulattúr and many men at Pudukkóttai.‡ When the forces of Kulattúr and Pudukkóttai assembled to prevent the installation of Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán, Ilandàri Ambalakáran saw the Tondaimán and reported the matter to him. The only reply that the Tondaimán gave was that he knew nothing and could do nothing and that he depended on Ilandári Ambalakáran for every thing. The Ambalakár thereupon got upon his horse, and, taking the Tondaimán with him, marched with an armed force of 150 men and war-drums on a camel and a horse to Kudumiámalai to instal Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán—as was usual—in the temple at the place. Ávudaiyappa Sérvaikâr also followed with an armed force of 100 men. The Ambalakárar and the Sérvaikârar, leaving the Tondaimán at Kudumiámalai, marched in the direction of Kulattúr, setting fire to all the villages they passed through. The forces of Rámaswámi Tondaimán were scattered in all directions, and Rámaswámi Tondaimán himself, who was

* Vijaya Raghunâtha Tondaimán was the son of Tirumala Râya Tondaimán by Nallâyi Ayi of the Panrikondàr family and Tirumalai Tondaimân, by Muttuvíráyi Ayi of Malavarâya family.

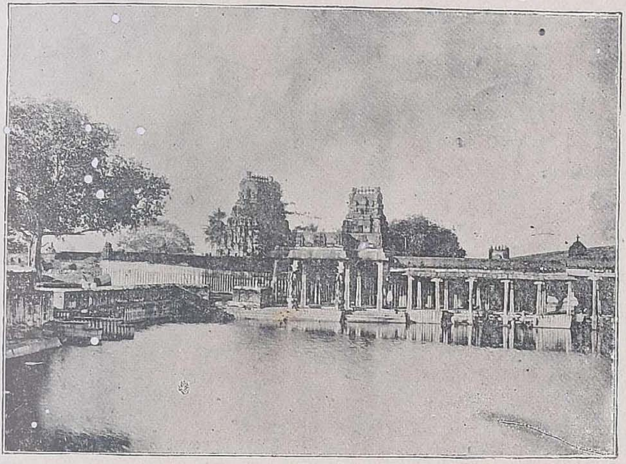
† From Mr. Venkat Row's *Manual*.

‡ From Ilandári Ambalakàran's Manuscript already referred to.

captured, was sent as a prisoner to the fort of Tirumayyam. Vijaya Raghunâtha Tondaimán was thereupon installed ruler of Pudukkóttai first at Kudumiàmalai and afterwards in the temple of Brihannáyaki at Tirugókarnam".

This account is that of an interested person desirous of eulogising the services of his ancestors. In the first place, Râmaswámi Tondaimân was, as has been already mentioned (see p. 141), a peaceful ruler, who could not have thought of unnecessarily entangling himself in the affairs of Pudukkóttai. Further there are absolutely no grounds for supposing that he was ever immured at Tirumayyam, as from the Jesuit letters we find that he continued to rule at Kulattúr till 1736 A. D. It should also be noted that Ávudaiyappa Sérvaikár, who seems to have been of great help on this occasion, is kept in the background and greater prominence is given to Ilandàri Ambalakàr.

The fact therefore seems to be that, as noted by Mr. Venkat Row, Pacchai Tondaimán, a brother of the last ruler, opposed the succession of Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimàn, that he applied to Rámaswámi Tondaimán of Kulattúr for help and that, having been ultimately defeated, he was sent as a State prisoner to Tirumayyam. "In order to avoid an ominous collision, Ávudaiyappa Sérvaikâr and Ilandâri Ambalakâr installed Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán in the temple of Brihannâyaki at Tirugókarnam and shortly afterwards made the necessary preparations for marching against Pacchai Tondaimán at Kudumiámalai. Meanwhile Pacchai Tondaimán and his forces reduced several villages and committed all sorts of havoc wherever they went. The two generals of Pudukkóttai soon completed their preparations and marched against the enemy. They encountered the forces of Pacchai Tondaimán, which were led by Kumára Kaliyarán, an officer from Kulattúr, and defeated them with great slaughter. The Kaliyarán himself was killed and the wreck of his troops fled in different directions. Pacchai Tondaimàn took refuge in the temple at Kudumiàmalai and closed the door behind him. Being besieged where he was, he at last surrendered himself. He was sent over to the Fort of Tirumayyam to be kept there as a State prisoner. The Sardârs returned to Pudukkóttai in great triumph. In recognition of the services that



Temple at Tirugókarnam.

Ávudaiyappa Sérvaikár rendered, he is known in history as அரசு நிலைநிறுத்தின ஆவுடையப்ப சேர்வைகாரர் or "Ávudaiyappa Sérvaikár that established the Ráj'. The two villages of Meratnilai and Ónángudi were set apart for the support of Pacchai Tondaimán".

In addition to the two Military Officers mentioned above and Nallakutti Valamkondán referred to on p. 144, we hear now of another officer, who was a near relation of the Tondaimán. This was the Sérvaikár of Kadayappatti, Rámaswámi, Rángia Tévar.

The Tondaiman's ministers. The chief Civil Officer or, as he was called, the *Kàrya Kartá* (or Agent) of Vijaya Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán was at first Vilvanátha Pillai, son of Kuruntha Pillai, minister of the previous ruler, and after him one Éka-nàyaka Mudaliyár of Kunriyúr, *who was followed by his more famous son, Subrahmanya Mudaliyár.

Creation of Two Jagirs. One of the first acts of the new ruler was the grant of two Jágírs to two of his brothers. This was a politic step, which must have made friends of near relatives, who might have otherwise been induced to openly or secretly oppose the ruler. The two brothers were Rájagópala Tondaimán and Tirumalai Tondaimân, who were to the ruler "like his two arms", and who received each of them a tract of land estimated to yield a revenue of "20,000 pon or about Rs. 25,000". The first of these must have been a brave warrior supposed to be competent to act as "a warden of the marches" and to keep in check the chieftains hostile to the Tondaimân, and several villages that were granted to him were those that had been taken from these chiefs,† such as Tirukkalambúr, Idaiyárrúr and Várpattu. The Jàgír granted to him was known as the *Western Palace Jàgìr* and it continued to be held by the descendants of Rájagópala Tondaimán till 1881, in which year it was resumed by the State, as will be

* See *Virálimalaikkuravanji*, of which the hero is Subrahmanya Mudaliyàr. *Kunriyúr Nàdu* was the tract about Kudumiamalai.

† The exact date of the creation of the Jágír is not known. In a report submitted to the Madras Government by the Resident of Pudukkòttai in 1811, the names of the villages are given; but the column for the date is left blank. The Western Palace papers state that the grant was made, towards the close of the rule of Raghunàtha Râya Tondaimàn.

explained later on. The second of the Jàgírs was conferred on Tirumalai Tondaimán.*

The Tondaiman's family. "Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimàn had six wives, *viz.*—(1) Nallakâttáyi Áyi, (2) Mangattáyi, (3) Rangammá Áyi, (4) Adaikkattáyi Áyi, (5) Periyanáyaki Áyi, (daughter of Krishnan Panrikondrár and (6) another of the same name, Periyanâyaki Áyi, daughter of Namana Tennathiraiyan.

"The third of these gave birth to Ràya Raghunátha Tondaimán, the next ruler of Pudukkóttai".†

State of affairs in Southern India. We have now to give an account of the military transactions in which the Tondaimán was engaged. The account would be found very confusing by one that does not know the general state of affairs at the time in Southern India, which therefore we shall briefly describe, before pointing out how the Tondaimán was affected thereby.

The whole of Southern India was in theory subject to the Mussalman Emperor of Delhi. Aurangzeb, after the conquest of Bijapore and Golconda in the Deccan, sent in 1693 to the south an army under Zulfikar Khan, who made the Tanjore and Madura rulers acknowledge the power of the Emperor and exacted tribute from them. The local representative of the Emperor was the Nawab of Arcot, nominally subject to the control of the Nizam of Haidarabad, who was the direct representative of the Emperor for the Deccan and Southern India. Both the Nizam of Haidarabad and the Nawab of Arcot were, however, practically independent, with this difference, *viz.*, that while the Emperors, who were generally very weak rulers after Aurangzeb (1658 A. D.–1707 A. D.), could exercise no control over the Nizam, the Nizam was jealous of the rising power of the Nawab and occasionally

---

* This Jágír must have lapsed to the State a few years after its creation, when, according to the ruler, two of his brothers lost their lives during the invasion of the State by Chanda Sahib in 1733 (see pp. 168 and 169). The ruler had only three brothers and Ràjagòpál Tondaimán, the Western Palace Jágírdar, is known to have lived till 1773 A. D.

† From Mr. Venkat Row's *Manual.*

nterfered in the affairs of the Carnatic. We thus find that the Nàyak rulers of Madura, to whom all the land from Trichinopoly to Travancore was subject and the Maratta Ràjàs of Tanjore were feudatories of the Nawab of Arcot.

Immediately to the west of the Madura Kingdom lay the Kingdom of Mysore which included Karúr and extended as far as Palni to the west of Dindigal. We therefore find the Mysoreans constantly mingled up in the wars of Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Madura.

Another interfering factor was the Marattas of the Bombay Presidency. They were an aggressive people who rarely failed to commit annual depredations in the provinces which did not purchase their withdrawal by payment of *chouth* or one-fourth of the revenues, and the Carnatic was, from about 1720 A. D., a province subject to the payment of this impost. As the Nawabs had long postponed the payment of *chouth*, the Marattas were waiting for an opportunity to invade the Carnatic.

Further there were the usual grounds of quarrel between the Sétupatis of Ramnad and the Rájás of Tanjore, which have already been explained, and there began in 1731 dissensions in the Madura Náyak Kingdom itself, which we shall next describe.

Civil war in the Nayak Kingdom. Ranga Krishna Chokkanátha Náyakkar, King of Madura, died without issue in 1731, leaving his kingdom by will* to the first of his eight wives, Mínákshi, who appointed two of her brothers to administer the kingdom. These began by forcing Nàranappa Aiyar, the late minister, and his friends in office to refund the enormous sums which they had embezzled. And these Brahmins to avenge themselves called back from exile a cousin of the late King, Bangàru Tirumalai, who had kept himself entirely away from politics, and gave him hopes of obtaining the crown. All the feudatory chiefs of the Náyak rulers including the Tondaimán, to whom inviting

* I owe these details to the kindness of Rev. Fr. Castets, Parish Priest, Pudukkòttai, who has been at great pains to frame a very interesting account of these times from the letters of the Jesuit Missionaries to Rome. I am sorry that occasionally I have had to resort to condensation, as the whole of the matter that has been supplied to me does not pertain directly to Pudukkòttai history.

promises were made, joined the Pretender. They were about to transfer the crown without war or bloodshed from the Queen's head to that of the Pretender, when the plot was betrayed and the intriguers had to save themselves by a hasty flight.

The steps taken by Náranappa Aiyar to escape from his enemies are dramatic and may be referred to, though not quite relevant to our history. "Having retired with his whole family into the vestibule of his house, he tied all round the house a number of cows, and spread all over the place a great quantity of powder. Then from this place of vantage, holding a lighted torch in his hands, he threatened, if they tried to arrest him, to light the powder and thus blow up the whole gathering of Brahmins and cows, for the death of whom, he said, his enemies would become responsible. The whole town was so terrified by such a threat that the citizens pledged themselves with a solemn oath to permit him to depart unmolested and to carry away all his wealth".†

The Nawab's invasion of the Tanjore and Madura Kingdoms. About this time (in 1732), the Nawab of Arcot sent an expedition to exact tribute from the kingdoms of the south. The leaders of this expedition were Safdar Ali Khan, the Nawab's son, and his nephew, the famous Chanda Sahib.* These took Tanjore by storm, and, after a victorious campaign in Madura and Travancore, assembled their forces near Trichinopoly. Instead of the two contending parties headed by the Queen and the Pretender joining together and driving out the Mussalmans, Náranappa Aiyar promised to Safdar Ali that, if he would seize Mínákshi and hand over the kingdom to him, he would pay him thirty lakhs of Rupees. Safdar Ali, unwilling to attack Trichinopoly, proclaimed Bangáru King, and, after taking a bond for thirty lakhs from Bangáru, is said to have returned to Arcot, leaving the conduct of affairs at Trichinopoly to Chanda Sahib. The partisans of Mínákshi approached this prince and told him that, if he should support Mínákshi, they would pay him what he demanded *viz.*,

* Annual Letter of the Madura Mission to Rome. 1732.

† The date 1734 given in the *Madura Gazetteer* does not seem to be correct. Various references to the Mughals in and about Trichinopoly are found in the Annual Letter for 1733.

a crore of Rupees. **Mínákshi**, suspecting treachery, required him to swear on the Koran that he would adhere faithfully to his engagement; and Chanda Sahib, who was ever deceitful, unscrupulously substituted a brick in the splendid covering usually reserved for that book, and swore that he would sincerely support the Queen against Bangàru Tirumalai. Mínákshi was satisfied, and Chanda Sahib, before departing for Arcot, as will be mentioned later on, accepted a part payment of the crore of Rupees, which the Queen borrowed from the Rájá of Tanjore.

The Queen now became more careful in the choice of her advisers, expelled all Brahmins from her court, levied new troops and thought that she was safe under the protection of Chanda Sahib. Meanwhile the impecunious Pretender, Bangáru Tirumalai, through the good offices of his Brahmin supporter, gathered round himself an army, to which the feudatory chiefs including the Tondaimán sent contingents. Securing the help of the Mysoreans also, his minister, Náranappa Aiyar, marched against Madura. He succeeded after some reverses in taking the fortress, whereupon the Queen's general at Madura escaped to Trichinopoly. Trichinopoly, the only fortress that remained to the Queen, was next besieged by Nàranappa Aiyar, and the following terms of peace were arranged with the Queen:—

1. The Queen, having adopted as her heir the Pretender's son, should be left to reign in peace.

2. The revenues of a few provinces round Madura, named in the agreement, should be assigned to the Pretender for his maintenance.*

3. The post of Prime Minister should inviolably be assured to Nàranappa Aiyar for several years.

There were thus practically two rulers in the Náyak kingdom—a King in Madura and a Queen at Trichinopoly.

"Náranappa Aiyar had now everything his own way. He extorted by torture from the chief men of the kingdom enormous sums of money to be paid to the Mughal Chanda Sahib. As he

* The *Madura Gazetteer* remarks that "strangely enough, apparently with the good will of the Queen, Vangaru Tirumala went off to Madura". The account given above, which has been supplied by Rev. Fr. Castets, will show that there was nothing strange in the Queen's conduct.

managed everything as he liked, without minding the Queen at Trichinopoly or the King at Madura, the latter came suddenly to Trichinopoly. But circumvented by the intrigues of the astute Brahmin, the newly arrived King also, just like the Queen, was for a while kept a prisoner in the Palace. At last everything having been arranged according to the Prime Minister's will, the Pretender was publicly proclaimed King without any chief protesting or seeming to remember the Mughal alliance with the Queen. But the poor puppet King paid dearly for his mock elevation to the throne. For he was soon afterwards delivered up by Nàranappa Aiyar to the Mughals and the Tanjoreans, who had come to the help of the Queen.

"It was only after this that the Queen was really assured of her throne, while the captive was taken away with full royal honours to the city of Arcot, not without the hope or even the promise of an early recovery of his lost kingdom. As for Náranappa, he did not escape this time so easily as he had hoped. For the Mughals captured him and delivered him up to the Queen for punishment. He had his ears, his nose, his tongue, his hands and his feet cut off, and he thus ended his life miserably. His son, heir to the father and his accomplice, was kept in close confinement".*

Sufferings in the Tondaiman's country. The civil war was, owing to a great failure of rain, succeeded by a famine. But the greatest scourge to the Tondaimán's country proved to be the auxiliary troops who roamed about the country setting the towns on fire, driving away the cattle and destroying the crops. "It is not easy to recount the ravages of the civil war in the Aur residence; but one can form an idea of it from the fact that five armies, *viz.*, those of the Queen (Minatchi), of the King her rival, of the Mayssurians, of the Tanjorians and of the Moghuls, were for several months encamped in the territory, and that there was not the least trace of discipline among the soldiery......... The church at Aur was the asylum of the people of the place and of the

* Annual Letter to Rome for 1733. It is not known when Chanda Sahib returned to Arcot. He is said to have returned to Trichinopoly in January, 1736. Very probably he went to Arcot in 1733 taking the Pretender as his prisoner and leaving a Mughal army in the southern districts.

surrounding villages; for all who took refuge in it escaped the insults of the soldiers. But it was with great difficulty that the missionary was able to save his church. First of all he had to defray the expenses of the Moghul soldiers whom he had received to watch over it, then there was a constant state of fear owing to the daily inroads of the soldiers and their rapine."*

The Mughal army that came to the help of the Ràni invaded the territory of the Tondaimân, a supporter of the Pretender, and a party of them pitched their camp in Ávúr itself. To alleviate in a way the disorders that were to be expected, the Missionary applied for (to Chanda Sahib)† and obtained a piquet of soldiers, to keep continual watch over the church and its compound. In this way the church and its surroundings soon became a sort of safe asylum, where the inhabitants of Ávúr and of the villages around, both Christians and Non-Christians, were free from the insults and violence of the soldiery.

Nevertheless, one day, this state of immunity was very near coming to an end. Some soldiers of the Tondaimàn, having managed to steal some bullocks from the Mughal army not far from Ávúr, the Mughal soldiers became furious, and coming to the Missionary required him either to return the bullocks immediately or to surrender himself to them as their prisoner. The Missionary that had to answer the charge was Rev. Fr. Beschi,‡ who was then in temporary charge of Ávúr. As getting the bullocks back was not in his power, he quietly submitted to the alternative proposed by the soldiers. The infuriated soldiers immediately chained him and led him to their camp amidst insults and menaces, and as they found that their prisoner bore all the ill-treatment with

* Annual Letter of the Madura Mission to Rome for 1733. See p. 7 of *Chanda Sahib and Beschi* (St. Joseph's College Press).

† Chanda Sahib "had a special love for the priests of the Madura Mission. Once when some men of his army carried away three earthen vessels from the houses at Aur and a few cocoanuts from the trees, he ordered the culprits to receive 40 stripes a piece from a rod". Father Rossi wrote in 1743 that "it was doubtful if a Christian ruler could have been more benevolent to the missionaries than this Mahomedan ruler". See pp. 10 and 13 of *Chanda Sahib and Beschi.*

‡ This was the famous Tamil Scholar, who has composed a very large number of works in Tamil including an epic (Tèmbâvani), Grammars of classical and popular Tamil and a Dictionary. He is popularly known among the Tamil scholars as Viramâmuni.

unruffled equanimity, they became so exasperated that they had him tied, and, stripping him of his clothes, exposed him to the midday sun As soon as this however came to the knowledge of the chief, Chanda Sahib, he issued immediate orders for the prisoner's release. "The chief tenderly embraced the missionary and told him to sit by his side; then he protested that what had happened to him had been done without his knowledge............ Having witnessed the honour paid to the missionary, the soldiers, who, a short while before, had insulted him, began also to do him honour. As a matter of fact, the danger the Father had incurred became the occasion of his safety and of that of the village".*

Invasion of the State by Chanda Sahib. About this time there was, according to a letter of the Tondaimán to the Madras Presidency, an invasion of the State by Chanda Sahib, in which two of the Tondaimàn's brothers lost their lives.† Venkanna and Ilandári Ambalakâran also speak of this invasion. According to the manuscript of the latter, Chanda Sahib pitched his tents near the bed of the Kavinád tank near Tirugókarnam, destroyed the bunds of the tank, opened fire from a fort called Kâlikudi,‡ destroyed the Palace of Pudukkóttai, rendered the road to the town by the Akkacchiá tank impassable by cutting down the trees, filled the town with horses and plundered the Treasury. The Rájá was taken for safety by Ilandàri Ambalakáran to the forests of Manippallam, to the east of the town, and brought back after all danger was over.

Speaking of his relations at this time with Chanda Sahib the Tondaimán wrote as follows to the Madras Presidency in the letter referred to above:—

"Chanda Sahib during his government sent and desired me to come to him, giving great hopes; but the Gentue Queen (Mínákshi) being then under confinement, I wrote him an answer that it would be a bad thing to comply with his desire. Afterwards he, having gathered an army, formed a scheme to undertake

* See the Annual Letter of the Madura Mission to Rome for 1733.

† See Letter from the Tondaimán to the Madras Presidency, dated 20th November, 1759. This was probably no other than the invasion of the Mughal army mentioned on p. 167.

‡ The name of the hamlet near Adaippakkáran Chattram by the side of a temple to Kâli.

a certain expedition. At that time the Zemindar of Tottiam sent and desired me to join him, to which I agreed out of regard to the business; and when an engagement happened, the said Zamindar, *etc.*, having left me, made a cowardly escape. I therefore, depending upon the help of God, returned safe to my place and lived quietly afterwards. The enemy besieged my pollam then; two of my brothers and some men belonging to me were killed and the dispute ended". The Tondaimán adds that he was afterwards introduced to Mahphuz Khan, Muhammád Ali's brother, and that he obtained his protection.

The Tondaiman known as "Sivagnanapuram Durai". Vijaya Raghunátha Ràya Tondaimàn was popularly known as "Sivagnánapuram Durai", as he was fond of spending much of his time in a house which he had built for himself at Sivagnànapuram, a few furlongs to the south-east of the town. He must have built for himself a residence there after the above-mentioned demolition of the Palace, and determined upon spending there much of his available time after he became engrossed in Védántic speculations, as will be mentioned later on.

The Mughal army triumphant. End of the Nayak Dynasty. The Mughal army showed no desire to return to Arcot. "They marched in 1735 towards Madura and received a deputation of the malcontents, whom the oppressive rule of the Queen's younger brother had created, petitioning for the return and restitution of the Pretender. Vangáru Thirumala was consequently brought back from Arcot in January, 1736, accompanied by a large Mughal army under Chanda Sahib, and immediately after their arrival the siege of Trichinopoly was begun. The town was captured, the poor citizens were stripped of all they had, the ancient temples were despoiled of their silver and bronze statues and of lots of precious articles, and the Queen's younger brother was made a prisoner, while the Queen with her other brother was kept confined in the Palace. The Pretender was then brought forth and decorated with the vain title of King, while Trichinopoly was in the hands of a Mughal garrison and the Mughals were the real rulers of his kingdom".

"Chanda Sahib then laid siege to Tanjore, but receiving liberal presents turned towards Trichinopoly and moved again from there towards the south.

"His passage to the south was barred by the petty potentates through whose lands he had to pass and he returned therefore to Trichinopoly. The puppet King was made a prisoner once more and the empty royal dignity was given back to the Queen. Soon-after this, news having come that in Madura the son of the recently deposed King had been proclaimed King, chiefly through the influence of a most influential Brahmin, the Queen despatched another Brahmin against him at the head of a strong body of cavalry. This general managed either by threats or by gifts of money to secure free passage for his troops through the countries of the Tondaimáns, and meeting the enemy, put their army to flight, killed the commander and forced the newly made King to fly for safety to the neighbouring State of Ramnad. He then promenaded his victorious troops through the country and forced Madura to recognise the Queen's authority. This happened in 1737. Queen Mínákshi was soon afterwards locked up in her palace and Chanda Sahib proclaimed himself ruler of the kingdom. The Queen shortly afterwards took poison and died."*

A summary of the miseries of those times. "In the midst of these turmoils of war, the clash of arms, the unbridled license of soldiers, the hatred of enemies to whom all sorts of excesses seemed permissible, the incursions of robbers, the plunder of goods and chattel, the terror of women, to which must be added the dearness of provisions, epidemics consequent on the war and innumerable other evils, how much people must have suffered one can easily imagine". It must be a matter of the sincerest rejoicing that under the powerful *ægis* of the British Government, none of us have any experience of the miseries which were undergone as a matter of course by the inhabitants of these lands about 180 years ago.

Ananda Row's invasion of Pudukkottai. In 1734 the Mughals retired from the Tondaimán's country, but only to make room for other invaders. During the Trichinopoly Civil War,

* The date of her death is not known. As her death is not mentioned in the Annual Letter written on the first of May, 1739, Rev. Fr. Castets is of opinion that we may safely conclude that she did not die before May 1739. The following extract is from a letter written from Pondicherry on January 6, 1739 by Father Gaston Cœurdon. "The fate of the Kingdom of Trichinopoly is at present settled; that is to say, hereafter it is a Moorish (Muhammadan) country. The Nabob Chanda Sahib made his entrance into the capital more than a month ago (December 1738)". See p. 11 of *Chanda Sahib and Beschi*.

the King of Tanjore, who had helped the Ráni by sending an army under the leadership of his Prime Minister Ánanda Row as also by advancing the large sum of money that the Queen paid to Chanda Sahíb, was given in return—what the Ràjâ of Tanjore must have very much coveted—the right of occupying, till the time of the repayment of the debt, the fertile territory lying between the Kâvéri and the Coleroon up to the walls of Trichinopoly, the Tiru-kká*tt*uppalli tract already referred to. " The Râjâ wished to profit by this privileged situation to induce the Ráni to go to Madura for her coronation, hoping that, in her absence, he might find an opportunity of seizing the citadel of Trichinopoly. But this plan having failed, he tried another. He explained to the Queen and her advisers how easy and advantageous it would be to fall on the unprotected Tondaimâns (of Pudukkóttai and Kulattúr) and take revenge on them for the help they had faithlessly dared to give during the last war to the Queen's enemies, and offered himself to be the willing executor of that vengeance. His private object was only to conquer for himself the whole of the Tondaimânnâdu and thereby open the way for the further conquest of the Marava (Ramnad province)". This proposal had the approval of the Queen.

" Accordingly Ánanda Row, the Tanjore General, having gathered an army, to which were added the forces of the Madura Queen, invaded the Tondaimânnádu in July 1733 and after a few days of hostilities,—without fight* but not without the suspicion of treason,†—put the Tondaimáns to flight and occupied the whole of their territories. One fortress alone remained uncaptured, namely, " Tirumayyam, a fortress most strong for the country on

* A copper plate states that Ananda Row's army plundered many villages, and that the bankers of Nambukuli (see p. 72) and three other flourishing villages deserted them, leaving many images and much treasure concealed in the vaults of the temples at Palamkarai and Kulavàippa*tt*i.

† It is not clear what is hinted at here. In a Palace Record it is stated that Ananda Row encamped first at Vadasêrippa*tt*i, two miles to the north of Tirugòkarnam, and then at Tirugòkarnam and attacked the Tondaimán from the latter place. Ananda Row's attack of Pudukkóttai from Kàlikkudi Fort, which lies near these places, is referred to as follows in a dance song (வளந்தான் பாட்டு) written in praise of Venkanna Sérvaikàr who lived in the time of Rájâ Vijaya Raghunàtha Tondaimán (1789—1807).

" கனத்த புகழ்படைத்த காளிக்குடிக்கோட்டையில்
ஆநந்தராயரை அதிரவெட்டுந் தொண்டைமான் ",

account of its being cut in the rock. Now while the Brahmin general besieged it most closely, the Maravars, to safe-guard themselves, rushed to the help of the besieged. But as they were wanting in cavalry, their tactics consisted in hiding in the surrounding jungles during the day and profiting by the darkness of night to make inroads into the camps of the besiegers. By such continued harassing and by laying ambushes to intercept the convoys of provisions to the Tanjore force, they caused much harm to the Tanjoreans. Further, some bands of theirs having managed to enter into the fortress, they added courage to the defenders. Meanwhile also, the Madura Queen, finally seeing through the schemes of the Tanjoreans, revoked her alliance with them and called back her army to other quarters. Yet the Brahmin general, cunning among the most cunning and most tenacious in his purpose, kept on pressing the siege, by force and by cunning, by promises and by intrigues,—until at last all his efforts to capture the fortress having proved vain, he was obliged to raise the siege and hurriedly lead back his mutilated army to meet another more serious enemy and pay the just penalty for his long career of past misdeeds".‡ The Tondaimân returned to his capital in October, 1744, *i. e.*, after an absence therefrom of about fifteen months.

The following detail is from Ilandàri Ambalakár's manuscript. "During the troubles caused to the country by Ánanda Row and Álam Khan (a soldier of fortune who, according to Orme, the historian, was originally in the service of Chanda Sahib and afterwards in that of the King of Tanjore) Ilandári Ambalakáran took the Tondaimân to the jungles near Púkkudi tank, about

or "The Tondaimân, who attacked Anandaràyar so fiercely as to make him tremble in the very famous fort of Kálikkudi". The following extract is from Mr. Venkat Row's *Manual*. The authority for the statements is not known.

"The invader encamped at Kàlikkudikóttai and opened fire from a rock known as Sadayappàrai (near Tirugòkarnam). The Tondaiman sent Rangu Pallavarayar to guard the Southern Gate of the town and Neniya, one of the illegitimate sons of the Tondaiman undertook the defence of the passage through Akkacchikulam jungle. Both these were defeated by the enemy, and Ananda Row entered the capital with his victorious army". Mr. Venkat Row is wrong in mentioning two invasions of Pudukkóttai by Ananda Row—one in 1734 and the other in 1738—and in finding fault with the author of *Tondaimán Vamsàvali* for referring only to one invasion. As a matter of fact, Ananda Row died in 1734 as will be narrated later on, and did not live in 1738 to lead another invasion.

‡ Annual Letter of the Madura Mission for 1734.

eight miles to the south of Tirumayyam, and, secretly sent word about the Tondaimán's lying concealed in the woods through a shepherd to a Tékká*tt*úr Vélár, a rich landowner, who was then engaged in performing Siva púja in the temple of Siva at Kànádukáttán. The Vélâr took to the Tondaimân some cold rice and condiments, and the Tondaimán afterwards in gratitude presented him with the village of Kollaikkudi". This incident must have occurred before the Tondaimán threw himself into the fortress of Tirumayyam.

Invasion of Tanjore by the Mughals and Madureans. "The new danger the general Ánanda Row had now to meet was a double invasion of Tanjore by the Madureans, his former allies, on the one side and the Mughals on the other. Both these enemies had begun hostilities in response to the pressing invitations of the Tondaimán and the Sétupati. Nothing daunted by the sudden turn of fortune, the old Brahmin general, though more than an octogenarian, marched boldly against the Mughals and barred their way to Tanjore, fortifying himself by barriers of trenches and harassing the enemy by night attacks. The Mughal general, becoming exasperated beyond further possible endurance, came out boldly and made an inrush on the Tanjoreans. Ánanda Row, who had been seated on an elephant, on being wounded with three arrows, descended from the elephant, mounted a horse and retreated in a shameful manner. The whole Tanjore army followed the example of its chief, The Mughals killed a great many fugitives, made many prisoners, seized the camp which was stocked with wealth and carried away the elephants, the horses, gold, *etc.* After this, the Mughal cavalry broke away unopposed through the country in all directions, spreading everywhere ravage and ruin. The Tanjore Rájá sued for peace, which he obtained from the Mughals on his undertaking to pay a heavy sum of money. Ánanda Row soon afterwards died miserably of gangrene caused, as people suspected, by the poison (of the poisoned arrows) in one of his wounds. This was a just punishment for so many cruelties he had perpetrated and so many revolutions he had stirred up".*

* Annual Letter of the Madura Mission for 1734.

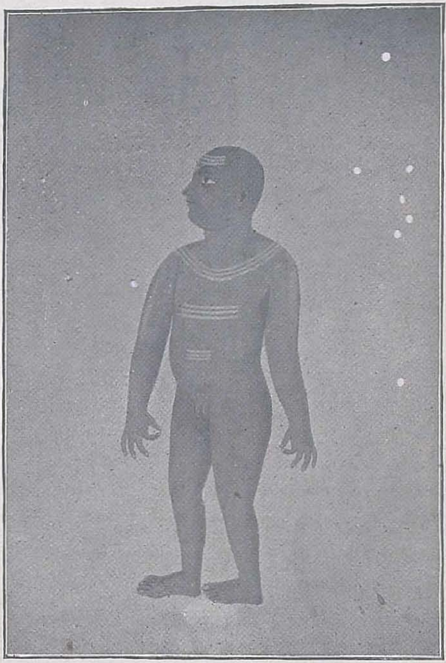
The Mughals harass the Tondaiman's country. "These invasions and counter-invasions could not go without bringing the contending parties to the Tondaimán's country. The Jesuit records say that the village of Ávúr was first sacked and then burnt by the Tanjoreans. Nevertheless, the Missionaries succeeded by persuasion in having the Church spared. A famine ensued as a result of these wars, which with the depredations caused many of the Christians to emigrate elsewhere. The return of the Mughals, after their defeat of the Tanjore general, added still further to the sufferings of the people that did not emigrate. On the side of the Kallar woods, the Mughal cavalry made a furious inroad against Kunampa*tti* which was for the time being a tributary of Tanjore".

The Tanjore Zamindárs attacked by the Tondaimán. The Tondaimán at this time seems to have attacked some tributary chiefs of Tanjore, such as the Zamindár of Nagaram, the Zemindár of Pálayavanam and the Jágírdár of Vàràppúr. Váráppúr is only three miles to the east of the Álangudi town (see p. 95) and in the Tondaimán's attempt to seize the Jágír, the Jágírdár, a Brahmin of the name of Rághava Ayyangár, is said to have been killed by one Kákkái (crow) Tiruman*, one of Tondaimân's men, so that the Tondaimàn found no difficulty in subjugating the greater portion of the Jágír and annexing it to his dominion. Some villages in the south-eastern portion of the State must have been seized from the Zamindár of Pálayavanam about this time as also some villages in the eastern portion of the State from the Zamindár of Nagaram† and added to Pudukkóttai. Thus about 1735 the

---

* The following story is related of Kàkkài Tiruman. He was asked by the Tondaimán what reward he would choose for the help that he gave the Tondaimàn and mentioned in reply that he would be satisfied, if in measuring lands to be given away to Brahmins as wholly or partly rent-free, a foot should be taken to be the length of his foot. Though a tall man with long feet, he is said to have cut his feet and lengthened them before the measurement of his foot was taken, so that the Brahmins might get more land than they would do otherwise. The measure of his foot is said to be inscribed on one of the rocks near Sittannavâsal.

† There is no record supporting these statements. But we have no doubt that the portions of the Alangudi Taluk, which did not originally belong to the Tondaimâns and which did not form portion of Seventhe*l*untha Pallavaràyar's dominion, were acquired in some such way.



Sri Sadasiva Brahmam.

State was as big as the present State exclusive of the Kílànelli tract, which the Tondaimán got from the British in 1803 as will be shown later on.

The Tondaiman's charities. Instead of continuing the narration of military affairs which fill this reign, we may give here an account of the charities of this ruler. The Tondaimân was a devout chief, liberal in his gifts to temples and Brahmins. In 1732 he granted to Brahmins the village of Kímanúr* in Tirumayyam Taluk as *ardhamànyam* or half-rent free. In 1733, one af his military officers, Lingappa Sérvaikàr, son of one Raghunátha Sérvaikàr, dug a tank at Kudimiyàmalai. In 1736, the ruler granted to some Pallavaráyans certain lands for the upkeep of the temple at Tennangudi.† About 1738, the Tondaimàn obtained a spiritual *guru* and in accordance with his directions instituted many charities, which have been most reverentially maintained to the present day. The name of the *guru* is Sadâsiva Brahma, and to his blessings is attributed the continued prosperity of the State. We shall now give a brief account of this *Guru*.

An account of the Tondaiman's spiritual Guru. Sadàsiva Brahma was a very famous sage thoroughly conversant with Hindu philosophy, as also a great spiritual teacher. His likenesses are eagerly sought after by the people of Pudukkóttai, and, when secured, placed among the pictures of Gods for worship. He was born more than two hundred years ago at Tiruvasanallúr, a village near Kumbakónam, which has long been noted for its learned men. After learning the elements of literature and grammar under (it is said) the famous Râmabhadra Díkshitar, the author of the Sanskrit play *Jànakìparinaya*, he is said to have renounced the world. His wife is then saíd to have come of age and, when, being hungry, he asked his mother for meals, she is said to have replied "Don't you see that this is a day of festivity? You will have to wait for some time more". Sadásivá who must have been already thinking of the vanities of the world, on hearing this reply, left the house with the remark

* It is noteworthy that, while all the other copper-plates of the Tondaimàns are in Tamil, this grant is in Telugu.

† The inscription at Tennangudi, which is rather obscure, seems to convey this meaning.

"I see there is no good in my continuing as a householder. When I am to begin my family life, I am asked to wait for meals. I do not know how much I shall have to suffer if I continue to live with you all. I shall seek the way to heaven by giving up this life".

He was fortunate in getting soon afterwards a proper *Guru*, extolled by him as Paramasivéndrar. This *Guru* is believed to have been no other than the Sankarácharya of the time at Kumbakónam. He learned Védánta and Yoga under him and was further acquiring some knowledge of music. In his own words, "the sage, whose voice was sweet like nectar, sat cooing in the cool garden of *Vedantic* lore, whose tender plants are the manifold Ágamas".* He composed about this time a large number of valuable works on Advaita Védánta philosophy as also many *Kírtanas* or hymns to God and Advaita songs which are very popular in this State. Among his *Kírtanas* we may mention "*Chintá nàsti kila téshàm*" which expands the idea that "people that have renounced their desires have no cares whatever", and "*Pibarè Ràmarasam ai Rasane*", that is, "Drink, O tongue! the (sweet) juice of the name of (the God) Rama".

Amoung his many works on Védánta we may mention "Brahma Sútra Vritti" and "Átmavidyávilása".

In his discussions with his *Guru*, he is said to have very often talked vehemently, which practice once drew from his preceptor the remark "Sadásiva, when will you learn to close your mouth and keep mute"? He understood at once his want of self-control, and, begging to be excused, made a vow never to open his mouth afterwards.†

Sadásiva Brahma after this wandered from place to place, never halting at any place for any length of time. He is said to have gone as far north as Mysore and the Northern Circars, in the Godaveri District of which tract he is now said to be worshipped, to have lived in the innermost recesses of forests for months together, and to have been once in a state of trance (*samâdhi*) for

* See his *Atmavidyávilása*, 31st stanza.

† Mr. Hemingway's account that "he never spoke throughout his whole life" (*Trichinopoly Gazetteer*, p. 273) is of course quite incorrect.

two or three months with the flood of the Kávéri running over him all this time and brought back to his senses when somebody who was digging near the spot casually wounded him and drew blood from his body.* He often acted as a mad man and once—and only once—to show that he possessed supernatural powers, he is said to have taken "in a moment" a number of children from Nerúr in the Trichinopoly District to Madura to see some festival there and brought them back to their place after a few hours with sweetmeats, nuts and other things purchased in the Madura Bazaar Street. Many other wonderful stories are related of this sage, to which we cannot refer for want of space. We may only mention that the story† given by Mr. Hemingway on p.274 of the *Trichinopoly Gazetteer* is told differently in these parts. He was suffering from an ulcer in one of his legs, which he made no attempt to cure, under the belief that, if heaven is to be secured, the ills and troubles of this life must be borne patiently as an expiation of sins committed in previous births.

In 1738 or just before, Vijaya Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán had the good fortune to receive spiritual instruction from Sadásiva Brahma. It is not definitely known where the meeting took place between the ruler and the Yogi. Some say that the Tondaimán met him in the forests near Sivagnánapuram, a little to the south-east of the Pudukkóttai town where the ruler often lived, while others assert that the Yogi was at no time within the limits of the Pudukkóttai State, and that it was in the bed of the Kávéri, when the Tondaimán was on a visit to Trichinopoly, that the prince saw his future preceptor. The Tondaimân must, immediately on seeing the Yogi, have known him to be a great sage, and made his obeisance to him requesting spiritual instruction. The sage thereupon wrote on the sand‡ by his side the

* "The sage is supposed to have lived 200 years ago and to have travelled as far as Turkey in Europe.......He could see things which were happening in distant places". See p. 274 of the *Trichinopoly Gazetteer*.

† "He is also said (like Simon Stylites and the latter-day saint of Kottacheruvu in Anantapúr) to have replaced the maggots that fell from a festering wound in his body, bidding them eat what God had given them".

‡ According to the *Trichinopoly Gazetteer* "he is supposed to have assured the then Raja that his line would endure as long as his descendants remained virtuous and truthful, and to have recorded his assurance by writing it on sand".

Dakshinámúrti Mantram, *i. e.*, the prayer to Siva in his form as the *south-faced* preceptor of the Rishis, as also a direction that the Tondaimán should have as his spiritual Guru Mahábáshyam Gópálakrishna Sástriâr, a class-mate of the Yogi in his boy-hood.

Gópálakrishna Sâstriâr was sent for, was made the Palace Guru and granted rent-free the two villages of Kónappé*tt*ai (otherwise called Brahmavidyápuram) and Pinnangudi (Muktámbál Samudram). The Guru chose to reside at Namanasamudram, a Brahmin Sarvamányam Agraharam, six miles to the south of the town. To this village one-third more land was added, and one-fourth of the village was granted as Sarvamányam to Gópàlakrishna Sástriàr. The Tondaimàn was required by the Guru, for the expiation of his past sins and for the security of the future welfare and prosperity of the State, to institute the worship of Dakshinàmúrti,* in the Palace, and to arrange for the annual conduct of the *Navaràtri* or Dussera festival, when Lakshmí, Durgá and Sarasvati were to be worshipped and a large number of Brahmins were to be fed and given doles of rice and money, *etc.*, and for the distribution of *Svayampâkams* (rice and other articles required for a Hindu meal) to a number of Brahmins every day and to all girls that might apply therefor on every Friday. It must have been about this time that the *Ammankásu*, the State coin, of which a large number is distributed during every Dussera, was first struck. The charities that were then instituted have been maintained to this day with great care. The sand on which the Dakshinàmúrti Mantram and the direction for the appointment of Mahábhâshya Gópálakrishna Sástriàr as the spiritual Guru of the Tondaimân were written is preserved in the Palace.

Sadâsiva Brahma, after the incident referred to above, again wandered where he liked and ultimately sank into eternal repose at Nerúr near Karúr. A few days before he closed his earthly career, he is said to have specified the date and the hour of his

* That the worship of Dakshinàmùrti was instituted now may be clear also from the prefatory portion of the Telugu work *Bhâshárnavam* or Lexicon written by Venkanna, court poet, between 1769 and 1789 A. D., in which he says that Vijaya Raghunâtha Tondaimân moved on intimate terms with the rulers at Trichinopoly, was a terror to the ruler of Mysore, his enemy (probably Haidar Ali is meant), was very devout in his worship of Dakshinàmúrti and was absorbed in investigating Védânta problems.

death, and asked the inhabitants of Nerúr to have a pit ready for his Samádhi, in which was also to be buried a *bána lingam* (a white stone representing the essence of Siva) that would then be brought to the place, he said, by a Brahmin from Benares. Every thing occurred just as he had predicted, and, at the closing moment of his life, men specially sent by the Tondaimán, to whom information must have been sent by the Nerúr people, are said to have been present. A temple was built by the Tondaimán over his tomb, which was endowed with two villages in the Tirumayyam Taluk by the Tondaimàn.*

Account of the Tondaiman's charities continued. In 1738, the year in which he received spiritual instruction, the Tondaimán granted lands in Manalvayaléndal to one Tavi*tt*uppandáram, a spiritual teacher of Sudras, who had his Ma*th*am on the banks of the Kâvéri at Trichinopoly. In 1745 his minister, Subrahmanya Mudaliár, arranged for the grant of some lands and a share of the produce of certain other lands to the temple of Vénktéswara Perumál at Virâlúr.† In 1749 the same minister granted some wet lands to the Màriamman at Nánguppa*tt*i in Kulattúr Taluk. In the same year, as has already been mentioned, the Tondaimàn made some gifts to the temple at Vaittikkóvil along with Namana Tondaimán, ruler of Kulattúr. He is known to have built two chattrams—one of them about 1753 A. D., (Annachattram) to the

* The statements contained in the following extract from Mr. Hemingway's *Trichinopoly Gazetteer*, p. 274, are erroneous, "The Raja visits Nerùr during the Navarátri in September or October to worship at the tomb of the saint. It is locally believed that this is done to expiate the sin of one of his ancestors in betraying Umaiyan, the famous Tinnevelly poligar". In the first place Nerúr has been considered, as has been shown by Mr. Hemingway himself, the tutelary shrine of the Tondaimâns from the middle of the 17th century, and to say that the Ràjàs of Pudukkóttai paid their visits to the shrine only from 1799, the date of the capture of Umaiyan, does not seem very satisfactory. In the next place, as will be shown later on, Umaiyan was never *betrayed* by the Tondaimán, and the Tondaimáns did not consider any expiation necessary for capturing and handing over to the British a rebel who, of his own accord, had concealed himself in the Tondaimàn's woods. Further the Ràjàs of Pudukkòttai, during the *Navaràtri*, never stirred out of the Pudukkóttai palace, where they spent their time in worshipping the Gods and hearing religious discourses.

† It must have been about this time that the Tamil play, *Virâlimalaikkuravanji*, of which this Subrahmanya Mudaliàr, son of Ekanàyaka Mudaliyàr of Kunriyùr already referred to (see p. 161) is the hero, and which is even now acted once every year by the dancing girls of Virálimalai, must have been composed.

north of the Kundâr river, and the other at Tirugókarnam, in which in 1813, Brahmins were fed free during the *Navaràtri* festival. Rangammá Áyi, his wife and mother of the next ruler, built a chattram at Piláviduti, where in 1813, people were fed free on every Dwâdasi day (or the twelfth day of the lunar fort-night).* About the year 1763, the Tondaimân founded a chattram at Benâres. Of his other grants to temples and Brahmins, we have no record.† From the time of the arrival of Gópálakrishna Sâstriâr, there has been a large influx of Brahmins into the State. In the time of the next two rulers, many learned Brahmins were invited to the State who adorned their court, and many others were attracted to the State by grants of rent-free lands in various parts of the State.

The Tondaiman's administration of his charities. The Tondaimán seems to have been very strict in the administration of his charities. It is found from the Madras Government records, that one Adaikkalamkáttache*tt*i, a merchant with whom a sum of money had been deposited by the Tondaimán for charitable uses, betrayed his trust and fled to Tanjore, that the Presidency of Madras, on a representation from the Tondaimán, required in 1760 the Tanjore Rájà either to see that the amount was returned, or that the man was handed over to the Tondaimàn, that the Che*tt*i thereupon absconded to Sivaganga, and that the Madras Presidency afterwards wrote to the Zamindar of Sivaganga, under whose protection the Che*tt*i was living, either to require the Che*tt*i to pay back what was due or deliver up the Che*tt*i to the Tondaimán's people. ‡

* The information given above is based on inscriptions, copper-plates and the *Statistical Account of Pudukkòttai* (1813).

† Kanakkampa*tt*i, which is a mile to the south of the town, is said to have been granted as a sarvamányam village by this ruler. The interesting story given in connection with this place in the *Gazetteer* is based on tradition. The details show that the grant must have been made in this reign. Further the village, which is near Sivagnánapuram, in the forests of which the Tondaimàn is said to have received his spiritual initiation, was given at the time of the grant the name of Dakshinàsyapuram, which means *the village of the God Dakshinàmúrti*. The year of the grant, *Nala* (1736), well accords with the date of the spiritual initiation. But the Inam Office Records show that the grant was made sixty years later, in *Nala* (1796).

‡ *Vide* Letter from the Madras Presidency dated 5th of July, 1760 to the Râjá of Tanjore and Letter dated 9th of December, 1760 to the Sivaganga Pâlayakár.

Before resuming our account of military transactions, we shall refer to two more events connected with religion. The details are based upon the letters of the Madura Mission.

An attempt to persecute the Catholics. "In 1745 the Tondaimàn, or rather his minister, instigated by the chief Brahmin of the pagoda (of Brihadambá of Tirugókarnam evidently) ordered the Christians in the Tondaimán's dominions to contribute money or labour like the other non-Christian subjects for the construction of a new *theiru* or car for the pagoda of Pudukkóttai. They unanimously refused, and in spite of the proclamation, which the Brahmin, to remove their religious scruples, got published to the effect that the extra tax was meant only for general expenditure, they remained firm in their refusal. As a retaliatory and coercive measure, the Christians were interdicted the use of barbers and dhobies; but this additional penalty only brought out their constancy still more; on seeing this, a few influential men urged the minister to withdraw the order, and their intervention was ultimately successful".

The Tondaiman leads the life of a recluse. Proposal to destroy the Catholic churches. "The sixtieth year of the foundation of the Tondaimán's Kingdom, and the elevation of the Tondaimán's family to the royal dignity (1746) was, according to the palace astrologers, an eventful year, the evil results of which could only be averted by the Raja divesting himself of his royal dignity and leaving his court—first to lead the life of a *Sanyasi* for sixty days and next to be a wandering mendicant for as many days more.* The Raja's zeal for the worship of Siva was raised by this to a pitch. While he was going through the mendicant part of his devotion, he went near Tirumayyam and visited † the school of this place. To his great disappointment, the Tondaimán found it in point of appearance and surroundings less a school

* The following extract from a letter of the Tondaimân to the Governor of Madras (November, 1759) will show that he lived for some years (at Sivagnânapuram, we may suppose) the life of a recluse.
"I must tell your Honor that this world is like a dream. One should not depend upon it; wherefore I withdrew myself from it for a long time. But the youth of my sons, *etc.*, induce me to intermeddle in it".

† The record is interesting as showing that there were in the State schools for children in those days, and that the schools were, though occasionally, inspected by the ruler himself.

than a filthy hovel. The teacher of the school partly to exonerate himself, and partly to give vent to his rage against the Christians, reported that it could be no better, since the attendance was made up mostly of Christians, a degraded class of people, who were no better than Parayans, that the same state of things was to be witnessed throughout the Raja's dominions, and that the old religion as well as the good manners and propriety of the behaviour of the people was fast disappearing.* Much excited by the report of the teacher, the Tondaimán at once issued orders for the destruction of all churches in his territory. This was in April, 1746. But happily the execution of that order was delayed by the better feelings and the good offices of some influential men; next it was applied only to four churches; and the order was finally cancelled through the intercession of the Raja's brother-in-law".

Chanda Sahib's administration of the Nayak Kingdom. We shall now take up our narration of the military transactions of these times. Soon after Chanda Sahib proclaimed himself the ruler of the Náyak kingdom, he placed his two brothers in the strongest towns dependent on his sovereignty—Buda Sahib in Madura and Sadak Sahib at Dindigul. His success was viewed with hostility at Arcot; he determined however not to throw off his allegiance to the Nawab before he should be openly attacked. Meanwhile the Nizam was viewing with resentment the increase of the power of the Nawab, and the Marattas of Bombay were preparing to invade the Carnatic to collect the arrears of *Chouth*† for many years. They were encouraged in this attempt by the Nizam who wanted to see the Nawab of Arcot and Chanda Sahib brought to the ground, and were also invited by the King of Tanjore, and Bangáru Tirumalai, the Pretender.

Invasion of the Carnatic by the Marattas. The Marattas in 1739 marched with an army of 10,000 men under the generals Rághúji Bhonsla and Fa*tt*a Singh to the Carnatic, killed the Nawab

* Rev. Fr. Castets remarks that "the explanation could hardly be correct as very few Christians frequented that school or any other, and, owing to the non-interference of the Missionaries with caste customs, Christians observed the same caste decorum as their Hindu countrymen".

† The Nizam, Husain Ali, granted about 1720 to the Marattas "the fourth and the tenth of the revenues of the six Soubhas of the Deccan and of the tributary States of Tanjore, Mysore and Trichinopoly".

of Arcot, Ali Dost Khan, and agreed to return to their country on Safdar Ali, the Nawab's son, undertaking to pay an indemnity of one crore of Rupees. Safdar Ali was recognised as the Nawab, and it was also secretly agreed at the time that the Marattas should return shortly afterwards to the south, and, defeating Chanda Sahib, should take for themselves the provinces of Trichinopoly, Madura and Tinnevelly. The Marattas returned therefore to the south in 1741, killed the two brothers of Chanda Sahib who had advanced to Trichinopoly for their brother's help, captured the fort and returned to Satara, taking Chanda Sahib with them as a captive, and leaving Murári Row of Gúti* as the Governor of the conquered kingdom. "From November, 1742 to September, 1743, Muràri Row was engaged in a war with the Zamindar of Turaiyúr in his attempt to consolidate his power".†

The Tondaiman helps the Marattas. In this war, the Tondaimàn helped the Marattas against Chanda Sahib. "On the 25th of March 1741, Ràghúji Bhonsla directed the Poligars, the Kallar of the Maravan (*sic*) Tondaimán and the Pindaris to scale the walls of the fort of Trichinopoly, and they did so simultaneously from all quarters. Chanda Sahib, seeing that his life would be in danger if he remained any longer in the fort, treated for terms.......... The fort at Trichinopoly was occupied by the Maharattas and their standard was hoisted there."‡ The *Tondaimàn Vamsàvali* says that the Tondaimân was admired for his valour by Fatta Singh and was awarded the title of *Vajridu* or "The Brave Warrior".

The Nizam's invasion of the Madura Kingdom. The Nizam of Haidarabad thought that it was time enough for him to re-assert his authority in Southern India and marched therefore to the Carnatic with an army of 80,000 horse, and 200,000 foot. He found

* He was a Maratta chieftain, subject at least in name to the Nizam. The Ràjâ of Sândùr is his lineal descendent. See *Haidar Ali* in the "Rulers of India" series.

† See Letter of the Madura Mission to Rome for 1743.

‡ Sir Frederick Price's *Ananda Ranga Pillai's Diary*, I, 161. See also Chap. XLIV of J. Talboys Wheeler's *Madras in the Olden Time*, where it is stated that "though their own army was sufficiently numerous, the Marattas had the assistance of the King of Tanjore and the tributary princes of Trichinopoly".

that there was chaos everywhere, every governor of a fort and every commander of a district having assumed the title of "Nawab". One day, after having received the homage of several of these little lords, he said that he had seen that day no less than eighteen Nawabs in the Carnatic, whereas he had always imagined that there was but one in all the Southern Provinces. He then ordered his guards to scourge the first person who for the future should in his presence assume the title of "Nawab".*

The Nizam marched to Trichinopoly in March 1743 and sent a summons to Murári Row to surrender the city. Finding that the Marattas persisted in refusing to obey his orders, he besieged the city. In September 1743, Trichinopoly was captured and the capture of Madura soon followed. Murári Row immediately after this quitted the Carnatic with all his Marattas.

The Kallars harass the Nizam's forces. "During this invasion, while the siege of Trichinopoly was going on, the Kallars of Kunnampa*tti* (in the Tanjore District) and the neighbouring villages made nightly irruptions into the Nizam's camp and carried off many herds of bullocks, one elephant, 133 horses and 40 camels. The Nizam was so incensed by these daring robberies that he sent a very able general with a large force to chastise the villagers. But the general found that the task was not so easy as it appeared to the Nizam. After recovering what he could, he pardoned them for the rest and made peace with them. But when similar complaints were brought forward against the Kallars after the capture of Trichinopoly, the Mughals sent in all directions through the Kallar country strong bodies of cavalry that laid everything waste".†

The Tondaiman's interview with the Nizam. According to the *Tondaimàn Vamsàvali*, the Tondaimán enjoyed about this time the honour of having an interview with the Nizam. The poem says that "with kettle drums highly sounding, he was received by the Nizam, the representative of Delhi 'Páshàh', and that in his Court all the titles won by his forefathers were fully confirmed". The following account is from Mr. Venkat Row's *Manual*. "The Nizam appears to have held a grand

* Orme's *History of Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 51.

† See Letter of the Madura Mission to Rome for 1743.

Durbar at which several princes and chiefs seem to have paid their homage to him. The Tondaman proceeded to the visit, causing his drums to be beaten till he reached the very entrance to the Nizam's tent. The Nizam is said to have conferred upon the Tondaman authority to use several musical instruments appertaining to Mahamadan royalty. Tradition associates with this visit to the Nizam an exploit of the Tondaman, which we cannot listen to without feeling some doubt as to its authenticity. In the course of his conversation with the Tondaman, the Nizam caught sight of the Tondaman's sword which appeared to the Nizam to be bound round clumsily with cords, sheaths not having been then in use. The Nizam laughingly asked the Tondaman how he could conveniently use such a sword, if suddenly attacked. The Tondaman spoke not, but gave a dexterous tap to a portion of the sword with the tip of his thumb. Up flew the sword, piercing the tent cloth overhead. The astonished Nizam asked the Tondaman, what favour he wanted. The Tondaman desired the assignment of the province of Ilúppúr* to his dominion, a favour which the Nizam at once granted. The territory thus acquired did not long remain in the hands of the Tondaman, for he presented it to Nawab, Mahamad Ali, for his consort's expense".†

---

* The story is known to many old men. But the names of the Nawab or the Emperor of Delhi and one Chinna Pacchai Tondaimân are substituted for those given in the above account. The Tondaimán was so strong that he could extract oil from the gingelly seeds by pressing them with his hands. Finding in the Darbar no seat for him, he is said to have approached the prince and sat down with one of the poles of the throne tent on his thigh. The following conversation is then said to have taken place.

The Emperor. Who is this that has come with his drums beating up to the Darbar tent?

The Tondaimán. Why is not the question proposed to me?

The Emperor. Do you think you are safe?

The Tondaimân. Why not? How have I offended you?

The Tondaimàn then took his sword from his belt,............................

† The gift of Iluppúr reminds us of the grant of the village of Anganviduthi in Alangudi Taluk, to Saidambá Bâí Sahib as pin-money (for வெற்றிலை பாக்குச் செலவு) at the time of her marriage to the Ràjâ of Tanjore in 1833. See the Inam Office Records. The acquisition of Iluppúr by the Tondaimàn is mentioned in a Tamil poem—*Venkannan Sèrvai Valanthàn*—but not as a free gift. Probably the Tondaimân had conquered the province and requested the permission of the Nizam to keep it for himself " எழு எழு பதினாலு இலுப்பூரு சீமையை

நாலால் ஜயங்கொண்ட ராய்பகதூர் தொண்டைமான் "

நாலால்=by the fourth expedient, that is, in war. The pâlayam of Iluppúr contained fourteen villages.

Another Maratta Invasion. The Kallars attack the Marattas. "In 1745 the Marattas under Murári Row again invaded the whole of the Madura Kingdom. It is difficult to realize the dread which these freebooters inspired in the people by their lawless and reckless raids. At the beginning of March, 1745, they were all round Trichinopoly, spread both to the north of the Coleroon, and through the woods round Ávúr. The Missionaries of Ávúr and other Roman Catholic centres had to take refuge at Kunnampatti, and the people of Malaiyadippatti in the State had to seek refuge with their cattle and furniture in the gorges of the adjacent mountains (the Nárttámalai hills). But when a month later the Marattas were driven away from all the country round by the Mughal garrison at Trichinopoly, the Kallars attacked the Maratta camp, where they had gathered up the produce of their raids, in particular, large herds of cattle, and carried everything away. As for some 3,000 Maratta cavalry stragglers, who had dispersed through the Kingdoms of Tanjore and Ramnad, some were entirely plundered by the same Kallars of all their stores and convoys, while others were obliged, after selling their horses, to return home on foot severally in disguise".*

Grant of Kilanilai to the Tondaiman. In 1749 the Rájá of Tanjore sent Mánóji to attack Arantángi, a fort of strength and note in "the debatable land"–*i. e.*, the land the possession of which was ever in dispute between the Rájás of Tanjore and the Sétupatis. Mànóji, finding his own forces insufficient, applied for help to the Tondaimán, who stipulated in return for the cession of the Kílànilai Fort and district, valued at 30,000 rupees a year. Arantángi was reduced and the Tondaimàn, taking possession of the Fort of Kílánilai and the district around it, pressed Mânóji for the patents of cession under the seal of the Rájá of Tanjore. But the King disavowed the act of the general, telling him that he had exceeded the limits of his authority in making the contract with the Tondaimàn. On this Mánóji "purloined the use of the seal" and delivered, according to his promise, the patents thus apparently authenticated.†

---

* Annual Letter of the Madura Mission to Rome for 1745.

† Orme's *History of Indostan*, Vol. I, pp. 402–3.

CHAPTER IV.

THE TONDAIMANS, THE NAWAB AND THE ENGLISH.

The famous War of Sucession in the Carnatic. Now began the famous war between Anwar-ud-din and his son Muhammad Ali on the one side and Chanda Sahib on the other, which ultimately proved to be a war for the mastery of Southern India between the English and the French.

The contending parties. It will be difficult "to conduct the reader in a satisfactory manner through the dark maze of Carnatic intrigue of this time". It will be enough for our purposes if the reader has a general idea of the trend of events and of the chief parties that were engaged in the war.

(*a*) There were the two trading companies—

The English East India Company and the French East India Company } with armies.

They had been engaged in wars with each other till October, 1747, when news arrived in India of the peace between England and France in Europe. These had fighting men with whom they did not know what to do, and they were ready to help the native princes in their wars with one another.

(*b*) There was Anwar-ud-din, the Nawab of the Carnatic appointed by the Nizam in 1744.

(*c*) We have mentioned before (see p. 183) that Chanda Sahib had been taken by the Marattas to their country and that he was kept as a prisoner at Satara. The Marattas required a large sum to be paid for his release, which Chanda Sahib could not raise.

Dupleix, the French Governor, who knew the abilities of Chanda Sahib, arranged for his release, whereupon Chanda Sahib appeared in the Carnatic with a small army from the Marattas.

(*d*) The ruler of Haidarabad, Nizam-ul-mulk,* died about this time and was succeeded by his son, Nazir Jung. His claim to the throne was disputed by Muzaffar Jung, the son of a deceased elder brother, and a war broke out between the two disputants.

Muzaffar Jung, the pretender, applied for aid to the French and promised to make Chanda Sahib the Nawab of the Carnatic, if Chanda Sahib and the French should help him in becoming the Nizam. The proposal was accepted.

Muzaffar Jung marched against Anwar-ud-din, who was slain in the battle of Ambur in North Arcot district, and Chanda Sahib succeeded him as Nawab of Arcot. Muhammad Ali, one of the sons of Anwar-ud-din, fled to Trichinopoly, where he proclaimed himself Nawab. But the Madura country was under the control of Alam Khan (see p. 172), who was a devoted adherent of Chanda Sahib.

The French support Chanda Sahib. Dupleix, who was very astute, recognised that upon the capture of Trichinopoly and of Muhammad Ali depended the permanent supremacy of the French in the Carnatic; and helping Chanda Sahib and Muzaffar Jung with a large force and an advance of three lakhs of Rupees, he pressed them to march direct against Trichinopoly. These two princes, however, having exhausted on their own pleasures the money that they had received from Dupleix, turned towards Tanjore to attack its Ràjâ, "whose riches were proverbial"† and from whom arrears of tribute to the Mughal were due. The Rájá made fruitless promises of payment of money, while he sent messages to the English and Nazir Jung for help. The English sent twenty men, and the Tondaimán, according to the palace records, sent a small force against Chanda Sahib at the request of the Nawab (Muhammad Ali) and Captain Cope (1749).

Nazir Jung, the Nizam, now appeared against Muzaffar Jung, the pretender, in the Carnatic, with a huge army which was joined on its way by 10,000 Marattas and a force of the Mysoreans and he obtained some help from the English. Muzaffar Jung

* His real name was Chin Killich Khan. He was also known as Asof Jah.

† Col. Malleson's *History of the French in India*, p. 246.

and Chanda Sahib with the French retreated therefore to Pondicherry, frustrating the plans of Dupleix. In December, 1750, Nazir Jung was assassinated, and the greater part of his army acknowledged the pretender, Muzaffar Jung, as the Nizam. The chances of Muhammad Ali "seemed reduced to zero,"* and Muzaffar Jung left the Carnatic for the north.

Muhammad Ali applies to the English Company for help. Chanda Sahib now appeared to be all powerful, and Muhammad Ali represented his distress to the Governor of Madras, earnestly requested assistance, and offered to cede a large territory near Madras for the same and further to defray the expenses of the war. The English, who were till now rather indifferent, recognised that their only chance of safety consisted in their supporting the cause of Muhammad Ali, and the assistance applied for by him was granted to him on his own terms. An army was sent to help him under Captain Cope and Captain Gingen (1751).

The English informed Chanda Sahib that they were determined to support the imperially sanctioned cause of Muhammad Ali and that they would molest Chanda Sahib until he permitted Muhammad Ali to enjoy the Trichinopoly country. They also wrote to the Tondaimán (16th October, 1751) stating that the English were in alliance with Muhammad Ali, whereupon the Tondaimán sent a force of 400 horse † and 3,000 Kallar infantry to Trichinopoly. "These Kallars were chiefly used for cutting off small parties, surprising convoys or stealing or disabling horses or cattle, at which they were most expert".

According to the Palace records, the Tondaimán's forces, which were sent under Sinnannan Sérvaigàran to help the Nawab, Captain Clive and Captain Gingen, remained in the field for

* The following extract from a letter written from Avùr by Rev. Fr. John Baptist Buttari to his brother in September 1751 may be found interesting. "You ask me for news from this country. Here is a scrap which I have just received which may serve for a specimen of what goes on here......... He (Chanda Sahib) has just arrived with 12,000 horse and a large number of guns at the chief fortress—Trichinopoly—which is only twelve miles distant from the village (Avùr) where I am staying.......... Once the master of the fortress, he will easily be master of the whole country........ The French are altogether in favour of this ruler; whereas the English follow the party of the old one. But the French will carry the day". See pp. 12 and 13 of *Chanda Sahib and Beschi.*

† See Orme's *History of Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 208.

eighteen months and were present in the engagements at Úttattúr and Válikandapuram (Volkonda) in the Trichinopoly district between the English and the French. In these battles the English were unsuccessful.

Siege of Arcot. The troops of Chanda Sahib outnumbered Muhammad Ali's by ten to one and the English battalion did not exceed 600 men, whereas the French soldiers numbered 900. Matters looked very grave, when Captain Clive attacked Arcot and caused Chanda Sahib to send a large part (4,000 men) of his force at Trichinopoly for the rescue of that fort. The place after a siege of about seven weeks was captured by Clive.

Muhammad Ali's alliance with the Regent of Mysore. Muhammad Ali, without the knowledge of the English, formed now (November, 1751) an alliance with the Mysore General, Regent * Nunjaráj or Nandirájà for his active co-operation, promising to cede to him on his becoming the Nawab all the tract of land from Trichinopoly to Cape Comorin. The Ràjá of Tanjore, who had till then been wavering, now declared for Muhammad Ali and sent a force to help him.

Muhammad Ali's prospects brighten. The parties were ranged as shown below towards the close of 1751, and Muhammad Ali's forces were in no way inferior to those of Chanda Sahib.

Muhammad Ali, The English, The Rájâ of Tanjore, The Tondaimán, The Mysoreans and The Marattas	against	Chanda Sahib, The French and Alam Khan at Madura.

Alam Khan, the adventurer referred to already, passed with 2,000 horse through the Tondaimán's country † to Madura and after subduing Madura and Tinnevelly on behalf of Chanda Sahib and leaving Mondemiah and two others as his lieutenants there, marched to Trichinopoly to help Chanda Sahib. Under the orders

* "The King of Maissore was a minor; the Kingdom was then governed for him by his two uncles; the one called Nanderauze *commanded* the army; the other ruled the cabinet". Col. Lawrence's *Narrative of the War on the Coast of Coromandel*, p. 19, in Cambridge's *War in India*.

† Taylor's *Oriental Historic Manuscripts, Pandian Chronicle*, Vol. I, Section 6.

of Chanda Sahib, he went to the court of the Tondaimân to inform him that the pálaiyakárs of Ettayapuram and Manappàrai were ready to march with him against Muhammad Ali Khan at Trichinopoly and attack him, and that if the Tondaimån also should join him, Chanda Sahib would give him a large tract of land as a present. The Tondaimán rejected the offer, replying that he was preparing to march against Chanda Sahib. Enraged at this, Alam Khan left the court of the Tondaimán and proceeded to Trichinopoly, where he encamped with his allies and intercepted all supplies of provisions to the fort by barring all the roads leading to the Tondaimán's country. Hearing that an army of the Tondaimán with an English detachment was then encamped at Kíranúr (probably superintending the collection of provisions) Alam Khan marched against them. He was driven back to Rettaimalai ("The Five Rocks") near Trichinopoly, where an engagement soon afterwards occurred in which Alam Khan, who was mounted on an elephant, was killed by a cannon ball (1752).* *More than two hundred men of his party were killed, on which the enemy retreated.* †

Chanda Sahib slain. Major Lawrence and Captain Clive arrived about this time (March, 1752) at Trichinopoly and the French and Chanda Sahib had to give up the siege of the fort. Chanda Sahib was soon afterwards captured, and his head, which was cut off by Mánóji, the Tanjore general, was sent to Muhammad Ali (June, 1752). The war seemed to have come to a close. Major Lawrence soon afterwards left Trichinopoly, leaving a small force in the fort under the command of Captain Dalton.

The Mysore Regent wants the Trichinopoly country. The death of Chanda Sahib and the defeat of the French did not, however, as might have been expected, close the war. The Regent of Mysore now declared that the Nawab had sworn to deliver up to him Trichinopoly in consideration of his alliance, and now that Chanda Sahib was dead and the French were defeated, he claimed the fulfilment of the promise. The English,

* The account is based on *Tondaimàn Vijayamu*, a Telugu poem which was written about 1800 A. D. as a continuation of the *Tondaimàn Vamsàvali* by the son of Venkayya, the author of the latter book.

† See Col. Lawrence's *Narrative of the War on the Coast of Coromandal* (1761), p. 21.

from whom this agreement had been carefully kept, were thunderstruck when they heard of it. They had the mortification to learn that the splendour of their military achievements had been associated with the cause of fraud and dishonour.* Muhammad Ali tried to excuse himself by stating that Trichinopoly belonged to the Delhi Emperor, of whom he was only a deputy and that the resigning of this place to the Government of an Indian King would involve him and the English in continued wars with the Mughal Emperor.

Siege of Trichinopoly by the Mysoreans and the French. Nandaráj was not to be put off and he formed the plan of conquering the garrison at Trichinopoly by *starvation*—"that dread enemy which is more to be feared than a host of armed men". The city was strongly blockaded by the Regent's army, and all means of obtaining provisions from the surrounding country were now cut off. The contending parties were ranged now as shown below:—

The Nawab, The English, The Tondaimán and the Rájá of Tanjore also	*versus*	The Mysoreans, The Marattas and The French.

The following letter to Major Lawrence from Captain Dalton, dated April 13th, 1753, will give the reader an idea of the situation.

"Dear Major, The shortness of our provisions which the Nabob till now kept a secret to me is a *thunderclap at this juncture*; however it is exactly the *state of affairs* as he has reported to us and under his seal, and I could not avoid referring it to you as it is *of the utmost consequence*, and I am persuaded you will take the necessary measures to assist us".

The War, a series of Engagements for Supply of Provisions. The war was more or less a series of skirmishes for the supply of provisions to the fort and "the English found it an important object to keep an open communication between Trichinopoly and the territory of the Gentoo Prince Tondeman which was from its extraordinary fertility esteemed a granary of provisions for the garrison and the camp".†

---

* See *Memoir of Captain Dalton*, pp. 147, 170 and 186.

† *Vide An Impartial View of the Origin and Progress of the Present Disputes relative to Mahomed Ally Khan and Tuljajee, the Raja of Tanjore (1777).*

The Tondaiman's services to the Nawab and the English. It was in these circumstances that the Tondaimán showed his unswerving attachment to the cause of the Nawab and the English by supplying the necessary provisions to the garrison during the siege. The Rájá of Tanjore was at first lukewarm, and Captain Dalton wrote to Madras to say that the Ràjá wanted to join the stronger side.

Dupleix, finding this a good opportunity for raising the position of the French, proclaimed Raja Sahib, son of Chanda Sahib, Nawab of the Carnatic, and sent French soldiers to help the Mysore Regent against the English at Trichinopoly. The Mysoreans began "to construct circumvallation between the fort and the Tondaiman's country" (April, 1753) and intercepted a party of sepoys who had been sent into the Tondaimán's country for provisions. The Regent attempted to alienate the Tondaimán by representing to him (May, 1753) that, if he should send provisions to Trichinopoly, the Nawab and the English would succeed and then carry their arms into the northern portion of the Carnatic, leaving the Tondaimán to the just resentment of the Regent, who would not fail to take the severest revenge for the service rendered to his enemies. He bribed also the chiefs and officers of such districts in Tondaimán's country as lay convenient for furnishing provisions.* The Tondaimán paid no heed to the threats or allurements of the Regent, but wrote to Madras soliciting a speedy despatch of a European detachment for the relief of Trichinopoly. Major Lawrence arrived at the place in the same month (May, 1753), persuaded the King of Tanjore to help the Nawab, and began to open communications with Tanjore and the Tondaimán's country for provisions.

To secure communication with the Tondaimáns country, he occupied the intrenched camp at Fakir's Tope † to the south of the Trichinopoly town, out of which Dalton had driven the Mysore general in April, 1753. Provisions had become so scarce

* Orme's *History of Indostan*, Vol. I, pp. 285 and 286.

† "Fakir's Rock, if held by the enemy, must compel the surrender of the fortress (of Trichinopoly), as it commanded the country known as the "Tondaman's country" whence the English obtained their native supplies". Malleson's *Dupleix* (*Rulers of India* Series).

at Trichinopoly in July, 1753, that the Nawab undertook a journey to the Tondaimán's country to expedite their despatch. When the provisions reached the Golden Rock near Trichinopoly, the enemy surrounded the rock, and in a general action which ensued the Nawab was successful (July, 1753). Attempts were now made by the Madras Presidency to open negociations with the Mysoreans, who were very obstinate, but Mánóji, the Tanjore general and the Tondaimán refused to comply with the proposed conditions of peace* and Major Lawrence wrote (in August, 1753) to Madras expressing his inability to carry on negociations with the Regent.

Some days after this, Major Lawrence marched against the Mysoreans, and an engagement with them resulted in a complete victory over the French and the Mysoreans and the capture of the Golden Rock to the south of Trichinopoly. "Thus by the determined and desperate gallantry of a handful of men the victory of the Golden Rock was gained and Trichinopoly was saved. The enemies retreated and communications were opened with the Tondaimán and the Tanjore country".† The enemies were so dispirited by this defeat that neither during the following day nor night did they send a single patrol, which the English took advantage of; and in a few hours fifty days' provisions which had been collected by 700 sepoys sent out for that purpose were safely lodged in the city.

About the middle of September, 1753, there was again a scarcity of everything in camp and no convoys could be brought in without risking a general engagement; it was a great object therefore to engage the enemy with the utmost promptitude. The Tanjore cavalry acted for a time with great spirit, but as the day dawned and they could more distinctly see the camp, they could not withstand the temptation and all were soon busily engaged in plundering; had they continued the pursuit, few of the French battalion could have escaped. In addition to the prisoners taken during the action, 200 of the French battalion were picked up alive or "knocked on the head by the people of Tondiman's woods".

* See *Minutes of Consultation of the Madras Presidency*, 13th August, 1753.

† General Neille's *Historical Records of the First Madras European Regiment*, p. 96.

Mainly as a result of this action, we find Major Lawrence with six months' provision in December, 1753. The enemies now attempted to take the fort by night, but were completely repulsed.

In February, 1754, a large detachment was sent by the English to escort about 3000 bullocks loaded with military stores and provisions. It consisted of 100 grenadiers, 80 other Europeans, four field pieces and 800 Sepoys. This, though a third of the force, was inadequate to the protection of the convoy. The whole convoy—guns, military stores and £7,000 in money—was captured by the enemies. This was by far the severest blow which the English troops suffered during the course of the war. In this engagement, Haidar Ali, who had accompanied the Mysore army as Commandant of the cavalry, seems to have distinguished himself. "He seized several guns belonging to an English convoy, which was cut off in the Pudukotta territory between Tanjore and Trichinopoly".*

Soon after this the King of Tanjore ceased to send provisions; and indeed the King, not doubting that the defeat of the escorts would oblige the English to retire from Trichinopoly, discouraged his merchants from supplying them any longer. He excused himself by writing that ever since Chanda Sahib invaded his country, continual affliction had attended his country, that he was annually involved in wars and troubles, that "his country was his only estate and that he had to support all the affairs out of it". The Tondaimân's country therefore remained once again the only source for provisions.†

"A party of 300 sepoys were detached with orders to collect supplies in Killanore (for Kíranúr), a village in the woods, about twelve miles from the city. The detachments of Europeans employed to escort them were not permitted to move farther than five miles from the camp, at which distance they halted and sent forward a detachment of Sepoys, who met the provisions escorted by the party of Sepoys from Killanore, at the skirts of the wood, and returned with them from thence to the post where

* See Mr. Bowring's *Life of Haidar Ali* (*Rulers of India* Series.)

† Orme's *History of Indostan*, Vol. I. p. 346 and Letter from the Râjâ (of Tanjore) to the Madras Presidency received on the 26th of February, 1754.

the Europeans were halting. In this service they were much assisted by the activity and vigilance of Mahomed Isoof, an excellent partisan, whose merit had raised him from a Captain of a company to be Commander-in-chief of all the Sepoys in the English service. He constantly procured intelligence of the enemy's motions, and, having a perfect knowledge of the country, planned the marches of the convoys so well that by constantly changing the roads and the times of bringing the provisions out of the woods, not one of them was intercepted for three months. The enemy, however, getting intelligence that the magazines were kept at Killanúr, sent in the end of March, a party to attack the place, but they were repulsed by the Sepoys stationed there"*.

Outrages in the Tondaiman country by the French and the Mysoreans. "The enemy, reflecting with much vexation upon their disgrace, thought it necessary to perform some exploit which might re-establish their reputation; but thinking it desperate to attack the English in their camp, they determined to wreak their vengeance on the Polygar Tondiman whose attachment to the English alone had enabled them to stand their ground at Trichinopoly, so long after they could get no more provisions from the Tanjore country. Accordingly M. Maissin† with all his Europeans, 3000 Sepoys and 2000 horse, marched (May, 1754) into the Poligar's country with an intention to commit every kind of outrage"‡ "Tondiman had made his previous dispositions for such a visit; and on the approach of the confederates three nights afterwards, his cordon of matchlockmen gave the alarm; the inhabitants, quitting their villages and driving off their cattle to the depth of the woods, left the roofs of their houses, composed of bamboo and dry grass, to be burned by the enemy, the only injury (easily replaced in a single day) which they effected in this expedition, besides the destruction of a few bags of rice in the English depôt".§ Vexed that they had with much fatigue been

* Orme's *History of Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 347.

† "Lawrence and after him Orme state that Maissin commanded; but the French records show that it was Mainville and that the command was not given to Maissin until after the arrival of Godeheu to relieve Dupleix". See Malleson's *Dupleix*, p. 148 (*Rulers of India* Series).

‡ Orme's *History of Indostan*, Vol. I., p. 357.

§ See Lieut. Col. Wilks' *Historical Sketches of the South of India*, Vol. I (of the two volume edition), p. 204.

able to do very little mischief in this country, they resolved to fall on the dominions of the King of Tanjore and plundering as they went, appeared before Kelli Cottah, which surrendered on the second day.

According to one Ram Naick, the agent at Tanjore of the English, the above invasion was the second of two invasions of the Tondaimán's country by the Mysoreans and the French. On the first occasion, the enemy lost two hundred men and the English "a few men". On the second occasion, after the skirmish at Kíranúr, "the remnants of the army retired to Podacota". What then happened may be given in Ram Naick's own words. "The enemy's troops are still in Kearanore and they began to set Tondaman's country on fire (and have been at this work for) these three or four days. They arrived in Kearanore on the 15th (of May, 1754) and as they began their havoc immediately after their arrival, it is thought that they have ruined that country entirely by this time. If they find even two huts in a village they consume them. I see nothing but smoke and flames of fire everywhere during these four days. Tondaman is at great concern at present; he speaks to me continually that he trusted the Nabob and the Major. The Tondaman thought that the Major would have sent a force to drive away the enemy; but he has not sent him any assistance to this day..............The Army (of the enemies) which had been sent to the southward lie quite there; notwithstanding this, Tondaman is under an apprehension whether they will plunder the country. If so, he despairs of all hopes of preserving his country. *This made him very sorrowful in case of the above accident it will be difficult to procure provisions for the use of the fort*".*

The italics are ours. We find from this that, even when he was in the midst of very great danger, the Tondaimàn was mainly concerned about the condition of the English garrison at Trichinopoly.

From a postscript to this letter we find that Major Lawrence was resolved to send a force, and, as the enemies' troops lay on the road, had applied for some guides of the Kallar caste to enter

* Letter from Ram Naick dated the 20th of May, 1754 to the Madras Presidency.

Kíranúr by way of the woods. Ram Naick also added the following. "Padacota is the principal town. Tondaman resides in it as well as myself. There is neither a stone nor a mud wall. The place is surrounded by woods and secured by inclosures. Tondaman has no guns, but as the enemies have guns with them...... ...... he can't face them. The people are of opinion that this place cannot be defended".

An English force arrived soon afterwards and drove the French, who turned their attention to Tanjore. Along with the force came also Muhammad Ali, the Nawab, and Major Lawrence. The Nawab wrote on the 14th of June to the Madras Presidency as follows in connection with this visit.

"The enemies, finding that Kearanore, *etc.*, belonging to the Tondaman were clear of the people, arrived on a sudden at Podacota, a place of his residence. On this I thought it necessary to assist him and on that account I marched from Terchenepelly jointly with the Major and arrived in Tondaman's country on the 23rd *ult.* (of May). The Tondaiman came and waited upon me". Major Lawrence "received the Tondaiman with the respect due to his fidelity and attachment to the English cause". The Nawab and the Major received now an express message for help from Tanjore, where they arrived on the 28th of May.

The Tondaiman troubled by the Maravars. The troubles that arose from the invasion of the State by the French and the Mysoreans were over. But the Tondaimân was not on this account free from anxiety. For some months past there had been disputes between the Tondaimán and Ramnad—evidently about the ownership of certain villages in the southern frontier of the State. The French had agreed to help the Sétupati and the Tondaimán naturally applied to the Nawab and the English for assistance. The Nawab pressed the English to send a detachment to help the Tondaimán. "At present the Tondaimân and the Maravars are at war with each other. Tondaimán is our Wellwisher and a true Friend to us; he has always supplied the Fort of Trechenepelly with Provisions. It is therefore highly necessary to assist him. If we order a small Detachment to join

Major Lawrence and
Nawab Mohammed Ali.

him, his affair will meet with Success, which will induce him to join us with his Army. You may therefore write to the Sardar here what you think proper on this Head."*

What the Nawab called "a war" between the Tondaimàn and the Maravars does not seem to have been a serious affair. Major Lawrence never liked this dispute and the very object of the mission of Ram Naick to Pudukkóttai was "to appease the Tandaiman" and advise him not to go to war with the Maravars. In June a reconciliation was effected between the Tondaimán and the Maravars by the intercession of Mánóji, the Tanjore general.

The Mysoreans and the Marattas retire. Dupleix recalled. The Tondaimán soon afterwards joined the Nawab at Trichinopoly and there were other engagements with the enemies for supplies of provisions. In July, 1754, Murári Row withdrew to his own country on a promise of payment of three lakhs of Rupees. The enemies had become weak and in December the Nawab received a *phairmand*† from the Nizam confirming him in the Government of Arcot and Trichinopoly. Dupleix was recalled to France (August, 1754) and there was a temporary suspension of war between the English and the French (October, 1754). And the war about Trichinopoly was brought to a close when Nandiráj, the Mysorean general, himself withdrew from Trichinopoly in April, 1755, leaving the French at Srírangam, (a place specially claimed by them as their territory), as the representatives of all their rights and pretensions in the Carnatic. After wasting three years he was obliged to return to his country, which had been attacked by the Nizam, without receiving any compensation for the expenses he had incurred.

The Tondaiman's services acknowledged by the Nawab. The Tondaimán received during the siege many letters from the Nawab for men and provisions. He was repeatedly requested to go to Trichinopoly personally "to give good counsel" and "for the proper disposition of the force in which the Tondaiman was well versed" and was told that his troops should be sent without delay as "forces had to be stationed in all directions—those under

* From the Nawab's letter to the Madras Presidency, June 14th, 1754.

† *Phairmand* or *Farman* (*Hind.*) means a mandate, an order, a command.

Manoji Row of Tanjore on one side, Nawab's men on another, Englishmen on the third and the Tondaiman's men on the fourth". The help that was rendered by the Tondaimán was warmly recognised, and the Nawab wrote to him to say, using the Oriental form of speech, that "even if all the hair in his body could be made tongues, he could not fully describe its glory" and that "the acquisition of the splendid name he had derived was due to the good wishes of all his friends but especially of the Tondaiman, who heartily desired his good". The Tondaimàn was further told that he had incurred much loss on account of the Nawab, but that "he would reap the benefit very soon". The Officer of Pudukkóttai that distinguished himself and won repeated praise from the Nawab was a relative of the King called "Nowniath" (நவநீத) or "Nonda" (நந்த) Tondaimân.

The Tondaiman empowered to attack palayams and annex them to his State. Both out of anxiety for further help to be received from the Tondaimán and out of gratitude, we may suppose, for assistance that had already been afforded, the Tondaimán was now empowered to attack the countries or pàlayams near his State that had not been helping the Nawab and annex some of them to his territory.

The rulers of Ramnad and Sivaganga helped Chanda Sahib against Muhammad Ali, for which act they apologised after the war was over. The Tondaimán considered them as the enemies of the Sirkar, sent an army to attack their countries and ravaged their territories. The Nawab was much pleased on hearing this and wrote to the Tondaimán, that "the Maravars (of Ramnad) and Nalkottai (Sivaganga) had broken their promises and joined the enemy", that in return "they received condign punishment at the hands of the Tondaiman", that "their country was ravaged so that the Nawab gained much through the Tondaiman", that "whatever places he might demand from the country of the Maravar and of Nalcottian would be given to him" and that "there would be no violation of the promise".

In April, 1751, the Tondaimán had the following two letters from the Nawab through Ahmad Shah, who seems to have acted as his Secretary.

"Since the Poliagar of Nattam has rebelled, the Poliam is entrusted to you. You should send a force against the Poliagar, conquer it and station a force there. Regard it as forming part of your country and the peishcush from it as a fund for the maintenance of a new army. You should assist in the affairs of the Sircar with your army. You should always be ready to render service withs out swerving an inch. Regard this as a Sunnad and what is written should be acted up to".

"Lecky Naik, Poliagar of Manapparai, has begun hostilities. He intends to take hold of isolated places and also your Taluq. He commits mischiet to ryots and merchants. You can extend your sway over the country of the Poliagar as requested by you. On receipt of this letter, you should march with your army and sufficient provisions against the Poliagar and punish him and subjugate the Poliam. You can nominate a Poliagar of your own, choosing one for the place without the consent of the Sirkar".

We do not know whether these pálayams were conquered by the Tondaimàn. The Tondaimàn must have considered the second letter as a document confirming his enjoyment of the portion of the Kumáravádi pálayam subjugated and annexed to the State by his predecessor and himself in accordance with the instructions they had received from the Náyak rulers of Trichinopoly. According to Yusuf Khan, the Tondaimán was causing "inexpressible troubles"* in July, 1756 to the pálayakárs of Kumáravádi and Marungápuri, had taken one of the forts of the latter and was attempting to conquer the whole pálayam, and was further trying to drive out the Lakki Náyak of Kumáravádi that was then in power and making arrangements to put in his place another Lakki Náyak who had absconded; and according to the Tondaimán, Lakki Náyak was giving trouble to the Tondaimán in 1760.

There is a record of a grant in October, 1753 to Vijaya Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimàn by the Nawab "of the villages of Melthuvakudi and Valavandiankudi in Walnadu Taluq". Probably these villages had been taken by the Tondaimán from the Pálayavanam Zamindar and the object of the grant was to confirm the Tondaimàn's title to the villages.

* See Letter No. 177 dated 10th July, 1756, *Military Country Correspondence.*

The Nawab's attempts to pacify Madura and Tinnevelly. After the subjugation of Trichinopoly, the Nawab thought of subduing the countries of Madura and Tinnevelly, which were under the partisans (Moodemiah * and two other officers) of Alam Khan, an adherent of Chanda Sahib (see p. 190). These were giving out that the countries belonged to the Nawab, but "never paid even a doodoo (a penny)". The Nawab applied to the English for help, and the English gave him the assistance that he required "under the expectation that the realisation of tribute would enable the Nawaub to reimburse the Company for the expenses during the wars of 1751–54". Colonel Heron was therefore ordered to march "with all his military and 1000 sepoys" to compel these people to pay the revenues justly due to the Sircar. Mahfuz Khan, Muhammad Ali's elder brother, followed with one thousand horse, and the Company's sepoys were in charge of Yusuf Khan.

The Tondaimàn's services. According to the "Tondaimàn Vijayamu",† a force was despatched by the Tondaimán to Madura to help the Nawab, and the Palace Records state that the Tondaimán's forces joined Colonel Heron at Manappárai, helped the Colonel in subduing Lakki Náyak of Kumáravádi and marched with the Colonel to Madura.

Colonel Heron forms an alliance with the Sétupati. In 1755, the Sétupati, who had till then been acting against the Nawab, apologised to Col. Heron for having sided with Chanda Sahib and requested to be permitted to be in alliance with the English, promising to cede to them two seaports in his country opposite to Ceylon. This offer Col. Heron considered so advantageous that without consulting the Presidency he entered into an alliance with the Marava chief. When news of this reached the Rájá of Tanjore and the Tondaimán, they immediately wrote to the Nawab in the manner following, protesting against the alliance.

* This is Orme's spelling. The word is spelt Mondemiah on p. 190 of this book. Dr. Caldwell suggests that *Moodemiah* might be a corruption of *Mohi-ud-din Mian*.

† The poem states that one Karna Víranna was sent to the Tondaimán by the Nawab to apply for help and that the English general appointed one Verde Mohideen to lead the army and attack the enemy. No information is available about these two persons in the books and papers that have been consulted on the subject.

The alliance violently opposed by the Tanjore Rájá and the Tondaimàn. "We have been your allies for a long time and exerted ourselves to the utmost. In the time of the troubles we used our endeavours and supplied the Fort with Provisions with very great pains and trouble, in return for which you have protected the Maravar (against our interest) and hindered us from retaking the Districts which he had possessed to the prejudice of our honour. If so We should be under the necessity of joining the Mysorean to do what we can and to quit our alliance with you. Should the Circar troops or those of the English assist the Maravar, we shall be obliged to fight them". We believe that the Tondaimán could not have written this strong letter, which must have been prepared and signed by the Rájá of Tanjore and sent over to the Tondaimàn for his signature also.

The alliance with the Sètupati given up. The Nawab sent a copy of the letter to the Madras Presidency with his remarks that, if they acted the part of an enemy to the Rájá of Tanjore and the Tondaimán, they would not be able to get even a grain of provision, that the Maravar had acted as an enemy during the past five or six years, that the English should not countenance the Maravars but on the contrary leave the affairs to be settled by both the parties, that the Nawab was particularly anxious "to avoid the animosity af the King and the Tondiman" and hoped that orders would be sent to Col. Heron to break off with the Maravar at once. The Nawab also wrote to Col. Heron that "they should not lose the King of Tanjore and Tondiman by giving their protection to the Maravar, as the support of the Fort of Trichinopoly depended on their friendship". Urgent orders were despatched to Col. Heron to give up his alliance with the Sétupati, and the Governor, Mr. George Pigot, wrote to the Tondaimán to say that he had heard from his predecessor Mr. Saunders of the Tondaimàn's firm friendship, that the Governor would regard the Tondaimán's affairs as his own, that the Maravar was very desirous of entering into an alliance with the Nawab and the English, but that, as he found that he was not only their common enemy during the war but also that there was a disagreement between him and the Tondaimàn, he had sent positive orders to Col. Heron to dismiss the Sétupati's

Vakil or agent, and by no means to enter into any agreement with him.* As a result of the orders from Madras, Col. Heron informed the army of Sétupati (5,000 men) that had followed him that their services were no more wanted, and that, if they did not immediately march back to their own country, they would be treated as enemies. They hesitated to withdraw at once, whereupon Col. Heron attacked them and they decamped with great precipitation. Soon after this, the Tanjoreans and the Tondaimàn attacked the Sétupati, but they were informed that that was a time of truce and that they should adjust their disputes by arbitration. The Governor desired that the affair should be inquired into by Captain Caillaud, who settled the matter amicably. Col. Heron who had for "a considerable present", appointed Mahfuz Khan the renter of Madura and Tinnevelly for the inadequate sum of 15 lakhs of Rupees, was soon after recalled to Madras, tried by a court-martial and dismissed the service.†

Dispute between the Tanjore Raja and the Tondaiman about the Kilanilai tract. About this time (June, 1755), the English were perplexed by a quarrel between their own allies, the Rájá of Tanjore and the Tondaimán, relating to the ownership of the Kílánilai and the Tirumayyam tract. The circumstances under which Kílánilai passed into the hands of the Tondaimàn (see p. 186) may show that the Rájá of Tanjore had some justification for his requiring the place to be restored to him. But the Tirumayyam tract had never been in his possession (see p. 134) except for the twelve years from 1686–1698, and it was a Sétupati that permitted Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán to occupy it (see p. 152). The claim of the Rájá of Tanjore to Tirumayyam was not however seriously maintained, and we find that later on the Tanjore Ràjâs were solicitous only about the restoration of Kílánilai. The Rájá of Tanjore now claimed both these forts as his and wanted the Tondaimán to surrender them to him.

* See the letter of the Madras Presidency to the Tondaimán dated 27th March, 1755.

† See Orme's *History of Indostan*, Vol. I, pp. 388 and 395, and Dr. Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly*, p. 96. Lieut. Col. Wilson mentions that "Major Heron was recalled in consequence of the approach of the Soubah (the Nizam) of the Deccan towards the Carnatic". See his *History of the Madras Army*, Vol. I, p. 75.

The Tondaimán refused to do this, whereupon the Tanjoreans seized a number of cattle in the Tondaimán's country. According to a letter written to Trichinopoly by the Tondaimán, it will appear that about this time the villages of Émbal, Irumbánádu, *etc.*, were also captured by the Tanjoreans. There was also a skirmish between the Tondaimán's party and the Tanjoreans, in which two or three men were killed on each side. The Madras Presidency had included both these rulers in the truce that they had concluded with the French in December, 1754, and the quarrel, if not properly settled, might bring about the defection of one or other of them to the Nawab's enemies. The Governor wrote to both the rulers to say that as they were both his friends and were strongly allied to each other during the whole of the last war, they should endeavour to settle their quarrel without bloodshed and that Captain Caillaud would use his endeavours to bring their dispute to an amicable understanding. The Tondaimán promised to do nothing without the knowledge of the Nawab and the English; but the Râjà of Tanjore informed the Governor that "he would wait a month or a month and a half" and that, if the Tondaimàn should not restore his tracts to him in the period, he would retake "the said two forts and countries". He further called the Tondaimán "a mere pollygar"* and said that it would not look well if he could not recover his own forts and countries from the "polligar". The time was soon to come when the Ràjá of Tanjore was himself to be called nothing but a *pàlayakâr* by the Nawab of Arcot. For the present the Governor was much concerned at receiving this reply from the Rájà of Tanjore, and, without noticing the disparaging remarks of the Rájá about the Tondaimán, once more wrote (28th September, 1755) to the Rájà of Tanjore and the Tondaimán, advising them to discharge all their supernumerary forces, as in the articles of the truce the English had promised that the Tondaimán and the King of Tanjore would also observe the truce and as the English and the French should conjointly oppose any one who might disturb the tranquillity. The Rájá of Tanjore was obstinate and peremptorily ordered Mànóji to march to the Tondaimán's country to retake

* One of the later Ràjàs of Tanjore also called the Ràjà of Pudukkòttai "a mere Zemindar" and received a spirited reply from Major Blackburne, contradicting the statement. (See the history for the year, 1822).

the two forts, whereupon the Tondaimán was naturally preparing to defend himself. "Caillaud, when he heard of this, made preparations at Trichinopoly, as if he intended to take the field against both of them. This stopped the progress of the Tanjoreans for some days more, when they moved again. But Mánóji, who bore the Tondaimán good-will for his having given shelter to him when he was in temporary disgrace, applied according to the orders of his master to the ruler of Sivaganga for help, but privately managed to make him withhold his troops. The non-arrival of any force from Sivaganga and the pretences of want of money and the fear of Caillaud caused him to protract his inactivity to the end of December, 1755, when he returned to Tanjore without having done the Tondaimán any harm".*

The Tondaimân stood very high at this time in the favour both of the Nawab and the English, and the Nawab informed the Tondaimán as early as November, 1752 that "he saw that the English gentlemen were as much familiar with the Tondaimán as with himself and that scarcely any man higher in rank would expect the respect and attention that the Tondaimàn's Vakil (agent or representative) received at the hands of the Governor Bahadur".†

The Tondaiman exempted from payment of tribute. It was about this time that the Tondaimán was formally exempted from the payment of any tribute to the Nawab. No copy of any document relating to such exemption is available, but there is not the shadow of a doubt that the concession was granted to the Tondaimán about this time. The Tondaimán must have represented to the Nawab that he had never paid any tribute to the Nàyak Kings, whose favourites the Tondaimáns were, that the Tondaimán had helped the Nawab and the English with unswerving zeal and fidelity, and that he should be treated differently from other chieftains. The Nawab must have thought that the Tondaimân deserved what he sought and gracefully complied with the request. The statement relating to the exemption from tribute is not, however, founded on mere surmise. Col. Fullarton, about

* See Orme's *History of Indostan*, Vol. I, p. 403.

† Letter from the Nawab to the Tondaimàn, dated 25th November, 1752.

whose connection with this State we shall hear a good deal later on, wrote as follows * about the Tondaimán in 1788—that is, only about 33 years after this date :—

"Tondiman is less uncultivated than his neighbours and has at all times proved himself the most faithful adherent of the Nabob and the Company. The father of the present chief, by his firmness and attachment in the days of General Lawrence, supplied the force at Trichinopoly with provisions at a time when their cause seemed *desperate. And the Nabob, sensible of the obligation, ever afterwards exempted him from tribute*". It may also be mentioned that in an account supplied to the Madras Presidency by the Nawab on the 16th of August, 1761, relating to the tributes due to him from the various country powers, we find the names of the rulers of Travancore, Tanjore, Ramnad, Sivaganga and various lesser chieftains, but not the name of the Tondaimàn.

The full signification of the exemption from tribute. The ordinary reader may not understand what the concession really and fully meant. He may suppose that it was a special privilege and honour accorded to the Tondaimán, and that it led to a saving of a portion of his money for other uses. But he cannot be taken to know that the exemption from tribute really meant the salvation of the State. Tanjore, Ramnad, Sivaganga, Udayàrpálayam and several other provinces were about this time more or less flourishing States like Pudukkóttai. But they have all disappeared as States, leaving Pudukkóttai as the only State in the Tamil country. It will be interesting to inquire into the causes of this.

It must be mentioned that no tributary State paid its tribute regularly in the eighteenth century and that a military force had always to be sent to collect payments of dues from the tributary States. It would appear that nothing was to be got except by force by the Nawab from any of the tributary chiefs, or indeed even from the ordinary landlords in the provinces under his control. This is clear from the numerous applications for help

* See Col. Fullarton's *View of the English Interests in India*, (London, 1788), footnote, pp. 86—7.

that the Nawab made to the English for collecting his revenues and tributes. With reference to the collection of ordinary revenues, we find that originally the English sepoy battalions had constantly to be broken up into detachments and sent over the districts for the purpose of supporting the Nawab's agents in this work. As this practice proved destructive of discipline and efficiency, eight "revenue battalions", each consisting of 520 men of all ranks, were raised in 1787 for the performance of duties connected with revenue collection. The first and second of these battalions were stationed at Tanjore, and the sixth was located at Trichinopoly. *

If a military force was required even for the collection of revenues from inoffensive landlords during the harvest season, it goes without saying that troops were required by the Nawab for the collection of *peshcush* from the tributary chiefs. Arrears of tribute were left by these chiefs to accumulate for a number of years, and no attention was paid to the pressing letters that were written to them for their payment. † So every one of the provinces had, as it were, to be invaded by the forces of the Nawab and the English, and when, after the last pie that could be got had been extorted, it was found that huge balances remained, the Nawab found it necessary to attach or annex the whole or portions of the provinces and keep them under his direct control. Some of the pálayakárs, unable to pay the huge arrears of tribute, occasionally revolted and joined the Nawab's enemies such as

* See Lieut. Col. Wilson's *History of the Madras Army*, Vol. II, pp. 180, 237 and 273. In 1790, six additional revenue battalions were formed. In 1792, eleven of these battalions were either broken up or reduced, and in January, 1793, the native invalids were formed into eighteen companies and distributed all over the Presidency to perform the duties of revenue battalions.

† *Vide* Letter to the Nawab from the Governor dated June 12th, 1761, wherein he says "In my letter to you ....I mentioned that I thought it best not to undertake anything against those who may owe arrears of tribute to the Circar until it can be done effectually.........If these people are indebted to the Circar, it will not cause any prejudice by waiting till a proper force can be spared to bring them to reason," and Letter from the Nawab dated August 16th, 1761, in which he mentions the amounts due to him from various chieftains and observes that "the recovery of the above-mentioned arrears of tribute wholly depends on the force of arms". See also Letter to the President and Council of Fort St. George from the Court of Directors dated 17th March, 1769, referring to "the wild independence of most of the Rajas and Pollygars from whom nothing could be collected but by a standing force".

Haidar and Tipu. These pálayams came into the possession of the Nawab and the English after the defeat of these enemies. It was in these ways that many of the pálayams were in the hands of the Nawab towards the close of the eighteenth century. When the Nawab ceded the Carnatic to the English in 1801, the English thought it best to hand over the pálayams to their respective owners, granting them permanent sanads, subject to the payment of *peshcush*, but depriving the pálayakárs of all their status as rulers. Nothing like this happened in the case of Pudukkóttai. Exemption of the Tondaimán from tribute really meant the non-arrival of forces in these parts for the collection of arrears of tribute, non-committal of ravages by the sepoys during the time of the so-called collection of tribute, non-annexation of the whole or any portion of the Tondaimán's country by the Nawab, and the non-reduction of the ruler of this land to the status of a petty Zamindar. Thus it will appear that the existence of Pudukkóttai as the sole Native State in these parts is due to the devoted attachment that was exhibited to the Nawab and the English in the eighteenth century by the rulers of this land as well as to the fact that the Tondaimâns had no tribute whatever to pay.

The Tondaiman applies to the Company for a deed of permanent protection. Relying upon the high regard and esteem that the English had for him, the Tondaimàn sought about this time to obtain from the Governor and through him from the King of England a paper promising him permanent protection by the English. He wrote to the Governor requesting him "to give a writing under the Governor's seal in the same manner as Major Lawrence* did and to be pleased to send for a letter from the King of England to him according to the contents of a separate paper", which he sent as an enclosure. The separate paper ran

* No copy of this paper is procurable. Very probably a letter promising permanent protection was sent to the Tondaimàn by Major Lawrence soon after he learned that the Tondaimân had received from the Regent of Mysore the letter containing the threat that "he would not fail to take the severest revenge for the service he had rendered to the English". See p. 193 of this book. We find it mentioned in Orme's *History of Indostan* (Vol. I, p. 286) that "Major Lawrence assured the Raja of Tanjore and Tondiman that he would never remove from Trichinopoly before he had provided for the safety of their countries".

as follows :—" I advise you to be perfectly easy in every respect and be mindful of the Nawab's affairs as also in wishing me well. If you at any time commit any fault as a soldier I shall not mind it; but on the contrary shall assist you. As the Sardar of Chinapatam (Governor of Fort St. George) is one of my subjects, he shall give duly his assistance to you upon every occasion without delay. He shall never neglect to assist you as long as our Government and your Posterity remain ". The Tondaimân seems to have been rather näive in applying for such a paper. But he simply gave expression to what he had long been thinking about, and felt justified in making the request, as he said that " he had left his family and people to secure the favour of the English and employed himself in prayers to God for their welfare ". The Madras Presidency could not think of getting from the King of England a paper such as the Tondaimán required, and to the letter of the Tondaimán that was received on the 18th of October, 1755, an evasive reply was sent on the 14th of November stating that " the union between the Tondiman and the English was so firmly established by his faithful alliance to the Nawab, that writing could not strengthen it ". It is clear from this reply that even the Madras Presidency did not bind itself in writing in the way in which the Tondaimán wanted it to do.

It may seem curious to one that knows these details to learn that there is among the Palace Records a document in Persian dated 28th September, 1755, under the seal of George Pigot, the Governor, promising the Tondaimán all that he wanted. The deed was accepted as genuine by Captain W. Blackburne, Resident of Tanjore, who, in 1803, " having received the commands of his Lordship the Governor in Council to ascertain the nature of the Tondiman's claim (to Kelanelly) and to report it with his opinion of the degree of consideration which it might deserve in consequence of Tondiman's general attachment to the interests of the Company ", examined all the letters that the Tondaimáns had received from the Governor and the British Military Officers and translated many of the letters in Persian to be sent as enclosures to his report. His rendering of the deed is given below :—

"Translation of Cowelnama* issued by the Governor, George Pigot Bahadur, to the Zemindar† of Trichinopoly on the 28th of September, 1755.

"From the beginning you have been faithful and attached to the English and have supported the interests of the Nabob. This engagement of cowle is therefore given to you. From henceforth you and we are firmly united and (we) will support and protect you in all time to come. Your aid also must be given to us whenever we require it. Your people shall receive batta. If any enemy should attempt to molest you we will immediately send troops and arms and ammunition to your assistance. In the event of any great reverse, you shall always find a secure refuge in Devanampatam or Madras. The titles of honour and the Jageers which may be conferred on you by the Nabob shall be confirmed and secured to you. The business which you may have with the Nabob whether he be in Trichinopoly or in Arcot we will arrange and settle for you. Your people who may be employed by the Nabob shall receive batta according to custom. If your people commit any faults, they will be sent to you to be punished. I will obtain and send to you a parwannat‡ from the presence of our King in confirmation of all that I have written. Be at your ease entirely therefore in regard to these points and consider this letter as a full and complete cowle. Given on the 22nd of Jillege in the year 1168 Hegiry.

A true translation.

(Signed). W. Blackburne,
Resident.

N.B.—The date of the beginning of the letter is the Christian era; at the end, the Hegiry and the Governor's seal is on the cover. (Signed). W. B. No. 6. Political, 5th July, 1803".

---

* *Cowle* (Hindustani) means a promise, an agreement or contract. The term is used in various deeds granted by superiors to inferiors, in which the engagement implies "an act of grace or favour". *Nama* is Hindustani for a written document or deed.

† "*Zemindar* is the general name given to the tributary princes, kelledars, polygars by the Princes and Viceroys of his Imperial Majesty". See p. 15, *Military Country Correspondence* for 1761.

‡ *Parwana* or *parwannat* in Hindustani means "a letter from a man in power to a dependant". Wilson's *Glossary*.

It is difficult to explain how this letter, in which the Governor promised to secure for the Tondaimàn a paper from the King of England, came into the possession of the Tondaimân. There is no paper in the Madras Government Record Office of the same import. Yet the letter bears, as was observed by Sir William Blackburne, the seal of the Governor on the cover. The fact seems to be that the Tondaimán's Vakil*, Narasinga Rao,† who must have been residing in Madras in September and October of the year, 1755, and who, we know, was treated with 'the highest respect' by the English, saw the Governor privately on the 28th of September, obtained from the Governor a promise that he would meet the Tondaimán's wishes, had a copy of the deed in question drafted, and got the document from the Governor with his seal (in Persian) affixed to the cover.‡ When the Tondaimán applied for the deed formally, the matter must have been discussed by the Presidency, and the letter stating that the Company and the Tondaimán were so firmly united that no

* *Vakil*=" A person invested with authority to act for another; an ambassador; a representative; an agent". That the Vakils exercised the functions of a modern ambassador may be seen from a remark of the Nawab in his letter to the Governor (December, 1762), that "it was customary in all places for the Vakeel to stay during the days of peace, but when the same was broke, they gave him leave to go away, that he might not be acquainted with the news"; and from the Sêtupati's letter to the Governor, dated 30th June, 1794, in which he informed the Governor that "he had till then deputed a Vakil to reside at Madras to deliver his *arzis* to His Excellency", that "through him the Governor directed anything relating to his place" and that "after Mr. Laudon was appointed Collector of Ramnad the Governor was pleased to direct that there was no further necessity for employing a Vakil at Madras".

† See the Letter from the Tondaimán, No. 179, *Military Country Correspondence* for 1755, wherein the Tondaimàn states, "I am certain that you are acquainted with all affairs from a verbal account given you by Narasinga Rao Vakile".

‡ It is very curious that, as in this case, no copy of an agreement stated by the Nawab of Arcot to have been made with him by the Governor, Mr. Pigot, could be found among the Office Records, and that the Nawab wrote on the 4th of November, 1770, a long letter on the subject to the Madras Presidency, from which we give the following extract. "You inform me that you have searched the records in order to trace the agreement I mention to have been made with Mr. Pigot but without finding any such, ...that it was Mr. Pigot's custom, as it is the duty of every Governor, to report to the collective body all his conclusive transactions which are to bind the Company, and it does not appear that Mr. Pigot ever reported any such agreement; you are therefore much inclined to believe that I might misunderstand, probably by means of a wrong interpretation, as a binding agreement what was only intended by Mr. Pigot as a general and sincere profession of friendship such as has been made to me in the name of the Company by every Governor". Letter No. 190, *Military Country Correspondence* for 1770.

writing could strengthen it must have been drafted and despatched to the Tondaimán according to the resolution of the Council.

We shall resume our account of the military transactions in which the Tondaimán was engaged. We have mentioned before (see p. 204) that before Col. Heron returned to Trichinopoly from Madura and Tinnevelly, he had nominally subdued the province and left Mahfuz Khan, the Nawab's brother, as the Renter of the Province. The Renters exercised formidable powers and the following account of the Renters, whom Dr. Caldwell calls "the rivals of the Poligars in oppression", is from Col. Fullarton's description of Tinnevelly.

The powers exercised by the Renters of Provinces. "The situation of the country rendered it necessary to continue the practice of renting extensive districts to the highest bidder. Although every precaution was adopted to prevent the abuse of power, still the collections could not be enforced *unless an unrestrained authority was vested in the renter.* His object too frequently is to ransack and embezzle, that he may go off at least enriched with the spoils of the province. Renters on the coast have not scrupled to imprison respectable farmers and to inflict on them extreme severities of punishment for refusing to accept of sixteen in the hundred as their proportion.........The unfortunate ryot must labor week after week at the repair of water-courses, tanks and embankments of rivers. His cattle and sheep and every other portion of his property is at the disposal of the renter and his life might pay the forfeit of refusal. Should he presume to reap his harvest without a mandate from the renter, whose peons, conocopolies and retainers attend on the occasion, nothing short of bodily torture and the confiscation of the little that is left him could expiate the offence. Would he sell any portion of his scanty portion, he cannot be permitted, while the Circar has any to dispose of...........

But these form only a small portion of the powers with which the renter is invested; he may sink or raise the exchange of specie at his own discretion. He may prevent the sale of grain or sell it at the most exorbitant rates. Thus at any time he may and frequently does occasion general famine. Besides

maintaining a useless rabble, whom he employs under the appellation of peons at the public expense, he may require any military force he finds necessary for the business of oppression........There are still some other not less extraordinary constituents in the complex endowments of a renter. He unites in his own person all the branches of judicial and civil authority, and, if he happens to be a Brahmin, he may also be termed the representative of ecclesiastical jurisdiction. I will not enlarge upon the consequences of thus huddling into the person of one wretched mercenary those powers that ought to constitute the dignity and lustre of supreme executive authority".

Troubles in Madura and Tinnevelly. The Tondaiman's help to the Nawab. Though Mahfuz Khan possessed such extraordinary powers, his administration was a total failure. The pàlayakárs except those of Ettayapuram and Pánjâlamkuricchi, who had given hostages to Col. Heron for the payment of their tributes, quite prevented Mahfuz Khan from establishing any Government. The adherents of Alam Khan succeeded in raising a confederacy against him and there was disorder everywhere throughout the province. Yusuf Khan (see p. 202) was therefore sent by the English in 1756 to help Mahfuz Khan in quelling the disturbances. Yusuf Khan marched to Madura through Pudukkóttai with the double object of taking with him the forces of Tondaimán, for which the Governor had applied in March, 1756, and handing over to him, as had been arranged, the hostages mentioned above of the two pálayakârs of the Tinnevelly province, who were to be redeemed on the payment by the pàlayakárs of the sums due from them. The forces of the Tondaimân not being ready, Yusuf Khan continued his march, requesting that these might follow him. He was joined on the 10th of April by some horse, peons (native footsoldiers) and Kallars that were sent by the Tondaimán under the command of his brother-in-law. Most of the pâlayakàr chiefs were soon reduced to temporary submission, but on the arrival of Mahfuz Khan at Madura from Tinnevelly, his men, with his connivance, it is supposed, "tore down the Company's Colors, turned the three companies of English Sepoys, which composed the garrison, out of the Fort and proclaimed Mahfuz Khan Governor of the two districts" of Madura and Tinnevelly.

Captain Caillaud is sent to Madura. In July 1756, the English Company got the management of the two provinces for three years and appointed one Tírttárappa Mudali as the Renter in the place of Mahfuz Khan. Mahfuz Khan grew indignant and actively leagued himself with the discontended pálayakárs and also sought an alliance with Haidar Ali, who was then rising into notice as a Mysore general and who had then a force at Dindigal. Captain Caillaud was therefore ordered in January, 1757 to march to Madura to support the Mudali and Yusuf Khan. The Tondaimàn was desired to make up his differences with the Ràjá of Tanjore with regard to Kilánilai, to assist the Company's affair in such manner as was in his power, and also write to his pálayakár friends to give the Mudali the necessary help (15th January, 1757). Captain Caillaud marched to Madura through the Tondaimán's country and on the 25th of March arrived at Annavásal, 10 miles to the west of Pudukkóttai, where he was joined by 1000 of the Tondaimán's horse and 100 of his Kallars.* During the march Captain Caillaud learnt that the Tondaimán, the Sétupati and the ruler of Sivaganga had entered into an alliance to attack the Rájá of Tanjore with their united forces on the very next attempt he should make against the territory of any of the three.

War between the English and the French. Troubles at Trichinopoly. The Tondaiman's services to the English. Meanwhile war had been declared (May, 1756) between the French and the English in Europe and news of this reached India early in 1757. The French assembled their forces at Sríangam, which had been granted to them by the Mysore Regent (see p. 199), and attempted to cause disturbances at Trichinopoly. The Governor applied for help to the Tondaimân stating (19th May, 1757) that the design of the French was to cause disturbance at Trichinopoly and in the Tondaimán's country, that he had ordered an army to march thither to oppose and punish them, that he doubted not that the Tondaimán would be ready to order his troops to join the English force on their arrival and that if the French should cross the Káveri, he should order his army to molest them continually by stopping their provisions, *etc.* The Tondaimàn

* Orme's *History of Indostan*, Vol. II, p. 198.

detached about 500 musketeers, *etc.*;* but they had to halt on the road near the Fort of Trichinopoly, seeing that the French were stronger in number. Meanwhile Captain Caillaud, who was then besieging Madura, leaving the management of the affairs at the place to Yusuf Khan, marched to Trichinopoly (May, 1757), and, during his halt at Ávúr in the Tondaimân's country, applied to the Tondaimán for fresh forces. The Tondaimán sent his "Divan" (Dewan) with a proper force; but before he could arrive, Captain Caillaud considering that a delay would be hurtful had marched away in great haste. Captain Caillaud skilfully entered the fort and on the next day the Tondaimán's troops got access into it likewise. The enemies, filled "with great fear, confusion and discouragement" retired to Pondicherry, and Captain Caillaud, in July, seeing that Trichinopoly was quite safe, marched back to Madura.

Captain Caillaud unsuccessful at Madura. He is recalled to Madras. Captain Caillaud was not very successful at Madura. Two attempts to storm the fort, one in May and the other in July failed, and in September, 1757, he concluded a negociation with the Jemadars of Mahfuz Khan, by which on payment of Rs. 1,70,000, which the Jemadars demanded as arrears of pay, Captain Caillaud took possession of the town. Owing to the expected war with the French, and in accordance with the opinion of the Council in Madras that "the branches ought to be sacrificed to save the root at which the French were striking", Captain Caillaud was recalled to Madras in October, 1757, and Yusuf Khan, who might have brought the country under control, was also himself recalled in July, 1758. Madura and Tinnevelly were again in a state of anarchy and the chief pálayakárs acted just as they pleased.

The Tondaiman's help against the Maravars. About this time the Nawab wanted to subjugate the Marava rulers of Ramnad and Sivaganga who had helped Chanda Sahib, and we find Yusuf Khan writing to the Tondaimàn in October, 1757 that "it was very good of the Tondaimán to have sent 1000 infantry against the Maravars" and the Governor informing the Tondaimán that the fort of Ramnad was captured on the 7th of February, 1759 and that a large number of the Sétupati's men were taken captives.

* See Letter No. 222 for 1757, *Military Country Correspondence.*

Dispute about Kilanilai. The quarrels between the Tondaimán and the Rájá of Tanjore continued in 1756 and 1757. The letters of the Presidency of Madras and the subtle delays of Mànóji prevented the renewal of hostilities till October, 1756, when the king insisted on Mánóji marching against Kílànilai. Captain Caillaud informed the Presidency of the preparations of Mànóji, expressed his opinion that any representations that might be made would be thrown away and that no regard would be paid "even to a positive order to the Ràjà from the Nabob to desist from his pretensions", and threw out a hint "whether it would not be best to feign ignorance of the Râjá's designs and let the parties decide it as they could between themselves" (September 18, 1756). The Presidency considered his suggestion and informed him that "the multiplicity of more important business rendered it necessary for them to avoid as much as possible engaging in any fresh disputes" and that "Captain Caillaud should not interfere in what might pass between the King of Tanjore and Tondaman".* On having information about the designs of the Ràjá of Tanjore, the Tondaimán wrote to the Governor in Madras acquainting him with the matter and referring him to Colonel Lawrence for details (17th of December, 1756). And the reply that the Governor got (February, 1757) to his letter to the Rájá of Tanjore to arrange the matter amicably was that the Rájá had taken the fort of Kílánilai and its country and that he would recall Mánóji to Tanjore. Mánóji wrote to the Governor to say that Captain Caillaud and the Nawab had decided the question in favour of Tanjore, that the Tondaimàn would not respect their decision, and that therefore he took possession of the fort and seized the country, as far as it belonged to Tanjore, but not beyond it. In May, 1757, we find Mànóji writing to the Madras Presidency that the Tondaimán "had yet in his possession ten or fifteen villages of the Rájá of Tanjore", that the Tondaimàn, not satisfied with this, was "preventing the people in the Tanjore country from planting, sowing and tilling the ground with the threat that if they did any of these things he would fall upon them by night, rip up their bellies and fill them with thorns", and that when the people "were persuaded by the Amuldars

* See Letter from Captain Caillaud to the Madras Presidency dated 18th September, 1756 and the reply to his Letter, dated 1st of October, 1756.

(Tahsildars) to carry on the cultivation, the Tondaman fell upon the inhabitants of one or two villages by night, beat them and carried away their cattle, paddy and seeds".* In August, Mánóji was thinking of making reprisals, and the only reply that the Madras Presidency, that must have found this a thorny question, could give the Tondaimán to his letters of complaint was that they had written very frequently to the Rájá of Tanjore and that they were then proposing to him that Captain Caillaud should be the mediator between the Tondaimán and the Rájá of Tanjore. There the matter rested for some time.

Lally attacks Tanjore. The Tondaiman helps the Tanjore Raja. In April, 1758, Lally, a brilliant but headstrong soldier of France, who had been appointed to conduct the war against the English in India, landed at Pondicherry. Soon after he landed, he captured Fort St. David and Devikottai. His next object was to strike a blow at Madras and capture Fort St. George. But not having the necessary funds, he thought of a deed which the Rájá of Tanjore had executed for the payment of fifty-five lakhs of Rupees to Chanda Sahib and which had been transferred to the French by the son of Chanda Sahib. With this deed, Lally marched against Tanjore to recover as much of this amount as he could. The Rájá promised to pay five lakhs of Rupees, but at the same time wrote to the English, the Tondaimán and the Maravar for help. The Governor wrote three letters to the Tondaimán (2nd July, 11th July and 19th July, 1758) that all should unite at that juncture to punish the common enemy, and that the Tondaimán, notwithstanding his disputes with the Rájá of Tanjore, should send an army to Tanjore to expel and punish the French. The Tondaimán wrote back to Madras to say that it was needless that the Governor should write to him often, that when at first Mânóji wrote to him for help he sent him a "plain answer" of refusal, but that Mánóji thereupon got Captain Caillaud to write to him for a force, and that he sent 1500 peons (native foot soldiers) to Tanjore, as he thought that "he, Captain Caillaud and Yusuf Khan had embarked in the same boat and that if anything happened it would equally affect all the three."†

* See Letter from Mánóji to the Madras Presidency received on the 12th of May, 1757.

† See Letters No. 139 and No. 142 of 1758, *Military Country Correspondence.*

Lally now received a message from Pondicherry that that place was in danger and was making preparations for retreating from Tanjore, when "a general sally was made from the Fort on the 9th (of August, 1758) consisting of all Tondimán's, Maravar's, Nalcooty's and other Polygar Peons with all the Tanjore Seapoys and horse and the men (a thousand Seapoys) from Tritchinopoly. After a smart firing of some hours, the French abandoned their camp, all their cannon, mortars, ammunition, *etc.*, and retreated towards Karical".* And the Tondaimán and some other chieftains were informed by the Governor (19th August, 1758) that "it was with inexpressible pleasure that he had received the news of the defeat of the French by the combined efforts of all".

Siege of Madras. The Tondaiman's forces in the Chenglepat country. Lally wanted to make a determined effort to drive out the English from the Carnatic. He captured Arcot and was making arrangements to march against Madras. The English found that it was quite necessary to keep the Chenglepat province from falling into the hands of the French, as they derived their daily supplies of provisions and other necessaries from the country behind Chenglepat. The English withdrew their forces (August, 1758) from the south, and wrote to the Rájá of Tanjore, the Tondaimán, the Sétupati and the ruler of Sivaganga (September, 1758) that it was not likely that the French, having been defeated at Tanjore, would cross the Coleroon again, that, if they made an attempt in the south, a proper English force would be sent to act with their forces against the French, and that, as the French intended to conquer the parts of the Carnatic near Madras, their forces were to March to the north along with those of the Nawab. Yusuf Khan was ordered (November, 1758) to march northwards immediately, without waiting for the forces from Tanjore and the Tondaimán. The Tondaimán was again informed (November 9, 1758), that he should send as large a force as possible and that "the more troops he sent the more reputation he would gain". The Tondaimán's forces, 200 horse, 1500 Kallars and 250 peons† soon afterwards joined Yusuf Khan at Tirukkóilúr in South Arcot District. Yusuf Khan was now ordered (December 2, 1758) to use

* See Minutes of Military Consultations of the 16th of August, 1758.

† Orme's *History of Indostan*, Vol. II, p. 399.

his endeavours to ruin the districts occupied by the French and cut off their stores and provisions, and informed that he could do this with his Sepoys and the Tondaimán's people, even if none of the Tanjore troops should join him.

In December, 1758, all the forts of any importance in the Carnatic were in the hands of the French with the exception of Fort St. George, Vellore, Trichinopoly, Tiágar and Chenglepat, and on the 12th of the month Lally appeared before Madras, took possession of the town and laid seige to Fort St. George. The siege continued till the 16th of February, 1759, on the night of which an English fleet appeared in the Madras harbour with six companies of soldiers. Lally, finding that further efforts were useless, abandoned the siege and retreated to Pondicherry, leaving behind him his sick men with about forty or fifty large guns and a great quantity of several sorts of stores. During the progress of the siege, Yusuf Khan was in the Chenglepat province with the forces of the Tondaimán and of Tanjore also. Yusuf Khan first ravaged and destroyed the country about Conjeveram, from which the French Government drew their revenues and their army before Madras got their provisions. He then moved to St. Thomas's Mount. Two of the enemy's guns were taken by Yusuf Khan and by Captain Preston; but the enemy retreated in good order to Saidapet. Yusuf Khan and Captain Preston, encamping at Tiruvambúr, a village two miles to the south of St. Thomé, then attempted (January 1st, 1759) to intercept a party of men advancing from the south with a large quantity of stores for the French. Lally, apprehensive that they intended to attack St. Thomé, sent a large European force against them. Yusuf Khan "had gained no warning of their approach, and the surprise and confusion was so great that Mahomed Issoof himself escaped at the back of his tent, and his troops fled every way under the enemy's fire, which lasted 15 minutes without interruption". On a review soon after the fight, it was found that out of 3500 foot and 500 horse under Yusuf Khan, only 700 Sepoys remained. All the rest of his troops, cavalry, Kallars and sepoys, on a supposition that Captain Preston's division had been as easily routed as themselves, fled across the country, nor thought themselves safe until they reached Chenglepat. Meanwhile Captain Preston

and Yusuf Khan, who had retreated to Vandalúr, were required to approach Madras and interrupt the siege operations of Fort St. George. But these officers found "that they were no longer masters of their own. Preston's division was unimpaired; of Mahomed Issof's, most of the Tritchinopoly Sepoys and 150 of the newly-levied horse had rejoined the rest of them who had fled to Chinglapat, who were the 1500 Colleries and 200 horse sent by the Tondaman, the 300 horse from Tanjore and the same number of his own levies; and all these troops refused to march from Chinglapat to Vendalur. The kind of warfare for which they were intended and only fit rendered their desertion at the present conjuncture of too much consequence to be neglected; and after several ineffectual messages the two commanders moved on the 6th (of January) from Vendalur and joined them. On expostulation the cavalry in general pleaded with much complaint the loss, although owing to their own cowardice, of their baggage and effects at Trivambur, and little less than declared that they had not engaged in the service with the expectation of exposing their horses against Europeans, but were willing to act in their usual modes; which Preston rightly interpreted plunder; and to gratify their wishes he consented to march with them into the French districts round Conjeveram, in which they continued several days employed in plunder and ravage; and no shelter ground protected the cattle from the search of the Colleries. On the 13th (of January), Preston thinking that they had been sufficiently indulged with booty, began his march back from Conjeveram, intending to come again in sight of Madras. But on the first halt, all the troops which he had endeavoured with so much complacence to conciliate, Colleries as well as cavalry, left him and crossed the Paliar".* The siege of Madras was going on during all this time and soon after the abandonment of the place by Lally on the 17th February, preparations were made for recovering possession of the districts that had been taken by the French. Some more horse were now sent by the Tondaimân.† Yusuf Khan marched with his own sepoys and the horse and Kallars of the Tondaimàn to Conjeveram, where he attacked some French cavalry and drove it back. Conjeveram was soon afterwards

* See Orme's *History of Indostan,* Vol. II, pp. 407–8, 414–5 and 461–2.

† Letter from the Governor to the Tondaimán, dated 28th February, 1759.

taken from the French, and in the capture of this place the Tondaimán's men took an active part. From this time the tide turned steadily in favour of the English, and so continued till April 1761, when the war was brought to a close by the surrender to the English by the French of their last remaining possessions in Southern India.

Troubles in Madura and Tinnevelly. During the absence of Yusuf Khan in the Chenglepat country, disorder and anarchy in the Madura and Tinnevelly countries had increased to such a degree that it was resolved to send back Yusuf Khan to Madura and permit him to take with him the Tanjore and the Tondaimán's forces. These set out on the 26th of April, 1759. After the first day's march, the troops of Tanjore (300 horse) and of the Tondaimán (250 horse and 1100 Kallars) declared that they would not expose themselves to the risk of passing through the enemy's districts. Yusuf Khan, impatient to arrive at his destination, consented to go the way they chose. During their march they burned some seven or eight villages under the fort of Tirukkóilúr, which were held by the French renters, and then arrived at Tiágar. The Tanjoreans and the Tondaimán's people, thinking the country to the south of Tiágar safe, proceeded home "more like travellers than troops". Yusuf Khan's troops arrived at Trichinopoly on the 14th of May. The Nawab was then ill at Trichinopoly, and Yusuf Khan, having taken leave of him, continued his march (16th May) to Madura. The Mudali's administration having proved a failure, Yusuf Khan was now appointed the Renter of the Madura and Tinnevelly countries for the modest annual sum of five lakhs of Rupees.

The Tondaiman's pilgrimage to Ramesvaram, marriage of his son, etc. We may refer to some of the domestic concerns of the Tondaimán before we narrate the military operations of his forces at Madura. In May, 1758, he wrote to the Governor that he was thinking of making a pilgrimage to Rámésvaram and other places. He desired the Governor to get for him a house and a garden in Madras 'at a moderate rate', as also a village for rent, so that he, who was desirous of seeing all the places within the limits of the Governor's jurisdiction, could spend some days

in Madras, whenever he pleased. In November, 1760, the Tondaimán sent as a present to the Governor three pieces of cloth, probably woven at Tiruvappúr, a suburb of Pudukkóttai. The Tondaimán celebrated the marriage of his son Ráya Raghunàtha Tondaimán on the 25th of April, 1761, and "agreeably to old custom sent the Governor a wedding garment and betel by one of his relations and his agent". The Governor in return sent two pieces of broadcloth and a carpet to be presented to the bridegroom in his name. The Tondaimán expressed once more (see p. 209) his anxiety to the Governor "to have the consent of the King of England in confirmation of his rights and privileges" and requested that the Governor would "show his favour and countenance to his son, brother and people" and that, if his son went to see him, he "would distinguish him with particular marks of his esteem, after the Indian manner, from those in the pálayams". The Tondaimân seems to have been materially well off and we find him writing to the Governor that the ruler of Sivaganga was in debt to him "to the extent of two lakhs of *chakrams* and for another sum for which he had signed a note".* In April, 1764, the Tondaimán sent a dress specially prepared to the Governor "as an outward mark of his inward friendship", which the Governor kindly accepted.

Dispute with the Raja of Tanjore. There were some troubles in 1759 and 1760 with the Rájá of Tanjore in connection with certain boundary disputes. According to the Rájá of Tanjore, the Tondaimán intended to build a fort on the Tanjore frontier. The Rájá, uneasy at this, seized 3000 cattle in the Tondaimàn's country, and also plundered the villages of Vadakkalúr and Kilánkádu in the north-eastern frontier of the State. The Tondaimán, unwilling to begin hostilities without the Governor's permission, wrote to the Governor on the subject (January, 1760) and requested that either the Governor should prevent the Tanjoreans from continuing their hostilities or that he should permit him "to serve the Tanjoreans in like manner". The Tondaimán, after waiting for a month or two, seems to have made reprisals. The Governor wrote both to the Rájá of Tanjore and the Tondaimán

* See Letter from the Tondaimán to the Madras Presidency, received on the 20th of November, 1759. A *chakram* is a coin stated to have been of the value of 2½ Rupees.

(25th April, 1760) that Mr. Bourchier, a gentleman of the Madras Council, was going to Tanjore, and that, if the matter should be represented to him, he would adjust it amicably. The Tondaimán wrote to the Governor that he paid Mr. Bourchier a visit, gave him a full and true account concerning the fort of Kílánilai and showed him the sanad* under the seal of the Ràjá of Tanjore (see p. 186) which was in his possession, but that the gentleman wanted to consult the Governor before coming to a decision. He desired that the fort should be put in his possession by the Governor or that he should be permitted to do what he could, in which case the Tondaimân said that he could take the fort "in the twinkling of an eye". No reply was received to this letter, and, agreeably to the wishes of Mr. Bourchier, the Tondaimàn consented "to forget for a while his private differences and unite his forces with those of the English that they might be the better enabled to destroy the common enemy, the French".

Mr. Bourchier's report on the relations between the Raja of Tanjore and the Tondaiman. The explanation for the silence of the Madras Presidency referred to above is that the English found the Rájá of Tanjore most uncompromising and did not really know how they could satisfactorily dispose of the Kílánilai affair. Their opinion of the Rájá of Tanjore is seen in their remark † to Captain Caillaud in 1756 that they "should curb the king of Tanjore's haughty disposition without driving him off from their alliance". The following note ‡ of Mr. Bourchier on the attitude of the Rájá of Tanjore and his relations with the Tondaimán will shew how good and conciliatory the English found the Tondaimán and how hard they found it to deal with the Rájá of Tanjore.

---

* In a palace document, it is mentioned that "in the time of Tukoji Maharaja (1729–36), on account of the favourable representation of Manoji Row .... the fort Keelanelly with its Jaghire and villages to the value of 30,000 chackrams, with a khillat (or robe of honour), a sword, a bow, an arrow a padakkam, a cap, a khalgi (or a plume of feathers to be worn on the helmet), a chain and a horse were given to Vijaya Raghunàtha Ràyá Tondaimân", that the Tondaimán afterwards sold it to the Râjâ of Tanjore on account of some pecuniary difficulties under certain conditions, that the conditions were violated, that he therefore captured the fort and occupied the tract (see p. 186), and that "Raja Pratapsing granted a sanad like a medal".

† See Letter to Captain John Caillaud from the Madras Presidency, dated 8th of January, 1756.

‡ See Mr. Charles Bourchier's memorandum on his negociations with the Tanjore Râjà, dated 28th May, 1760.

"The conciliating the point in dispute with Tondaman, seems to be as little agreeable to the King of Tanjore as the preceding proposals; for he is determined not to give up the fort of Killee Nelly which he took from Tondaman; alleging that Tondaman had forfeited all engagements, by assisting his enemies; but this is a circumstance that is not very clear; and he can't but acknowledge that when the French besieged this place (Tanjore) Tondaman readily came to his assistance, and was of some service; notwithstanding which Tondaman has obtained no other satisfaction than the merit of having done a good action; for the King, as the danger is past, thinks no more how much Tondaman was his friend at that time, nor will he listen to any terms of accommodation, when the restoration of Killee Nelly is mentioned; declaring he will as soon part with Tanjore. On the other hand Tondaman, who has wrote to me very particularly on the subject, and has also sent his Vakeel to me to explain matters further, says he has been very ill-used by the King in this affair; and indeed there is some appearance of it. He can't therefore be satisfied unless the fort is delivered up to him; however, as he has always held our friendship and alliance in the highest esteem, he refers to our consideration whether he is in the right or not; and if we judge his pretensions are unjust, he will submit to this and give up everything the King requires; and on the contrary relies on our endeavouring to obtain justice for him, if we think him entitled to it. I have represented to him that, as affairs are circumstanced at present, it is necessary we should at least for a while forget our private differences, and unite all our forces that we may be the better enabled to destroy our common enemy the French—which he is so perfectly sensible of that he is determined to be quiet at this juncture, and not attempt anything further upon this (matter) till a more favourable opportunity".

Troubles at Trichinopoly. The Tondaiman's services. The Nawab about this time reported to the Madras Presidency that the French had designs on Trichinopoly, and the Tondaimàn, who was required "to assist with his forces in disturbing the enemy at Syringham by intercepting their supplies of provisions and stores", sent "troops consisting of horse and foot" (January,

1760). The French at Srírangam, finding that they were powerless, abandoned the place (February 8th, 1760), leaving behind several guns and a large quantity of ammunition. In their distressed situation, they made an alliance with the Mysoreans and contrived to bring them to their assistance; so that the Mysoreans, under Haidar Ali's brother, made now an attempt to take Srírangam and Trichinopoly. The Rájá of Tanjore and the Tondaimán were informed that the designs of Mysore against Trichinopoly were of long standing, that if the Mysoreans succeeded they would prove very dangerous neighbours to them, and that therefore they should lose no time in assembling their forces and acting conjointly against Mysore (July, 7th 1760). Captain John Clive, who seems to have been doing duty at Trichinopoly, also wrote to the Tondaimán that he should send 500 matchlockmen of tried ability under one Sinna Anna Sérvakàr, who had already "behaved himself to Captain Clive's satisfaction", as also 500 pioneers or labourers to be retained in his service, and that, "if the enemy should come, he would arrange for fuel, betel-leaves and such other ordinary things to be brought from his country and sold at Trichinopoly". The Tondaimán helped the English officer at Trichinopoly with 100 horse and 1000 musketeers * and must have complied with the other requests of Captain Clive. He also "detached a part of his forces, upon Captain Smith's application, to assist his operations in the Mysore Districts". The English marched against Karúr, which was "a place of the greatest importance to the King of Mysore", and which, in the words of the Tondaimán, "might be deemed next to the fort of Trichinopoly", with 50 Europeans, 700 sepoys from Trichinopoly and 600 horse and "1000 peons armed with matchlocks mostly sent by Tondaimán",† and after the auxiliaries had most effectually plundered and destroyed the districts dependent on Karúr, "by the blessing of gods and the brave endeavour of Mr. Richard Smith", they captured the Fort (September, 1760).

Disputes with Ramnad and Sivaganga, etc. We find that in August of this year (1760), the Tondaimàn was engaged in some disputes with the Sétupati of Ramnad and the ruler of Sivaganga,

* See Letter No. 355 of 1760, Madras *Military Country Correspondence.*

† Orme's *History of Indostan,* Vol. II, p. 673.

relating probably * to the boundaries between the Tondaimàn's country and the Ramnad and Sivaganga estates. The Tondaimán was willing to come to an amicable settlement and wrote to Sayyid Mukdom Ali Khan, the Nabob's Killedar † at Trichinopoly, to act as arbitrator. In September of the same year, Sayyid Mukdom Ali Khan applied to the Tondaimán for a force against the Mysore troops, and, entering the Mysore country, seized several villages. In January, 1761, we find the Tondaimán complaining to the Governor that a Sirkar (Nawab's) Jemadar Yasim Khan had made excursions into his territories. The Governor remonstrated with the Nabob for permitting the Tondaimàn, his ally, to be injured, and the Nabob wrote back to say that the facts were not as represented by the Tondaimán. Yasim Khan seems to have been a dismissed officer of the Nabob, who committed ravages in these parts. According to the Telugu poem, *Tondaimán Vijayamu*, he was defeated by Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán, the ruler's son.

Mahfuz Khan persuaded to leave the Madura country. We must turn our attention now to the affairs in the Madura country. Yusuf Khan's attempts to restore order did not quite succeed, as Mahfuz Khan, the Nawab's brother, actively allying himself with the pálayakárs, succeeded in harassing Yusuf. The Tondaimán sent a large force to the help of Yusuf who seems to have thoroughly relied upon the Tondaimán's men, as we find the Tondaimân writing to the Governor that, believing that others would "deceive him in time of business", Yusuf Khan in this expedition placed the troops of horse under the Pudukkóttai Jemadar Rahiman Khan.‡ The Governor, finding that all the efforts of Yusuf Khan to settle the country would be of no avail so long as Mahfuz Khan remained in the Tinnevelly country, prevailed upon him to leave the country for Trichinopoly, promising to

* Captain Richard Smith, who was stationed at Trichinopoly, sent as an enclosure to his letter to the Madras Presidency dated 29th of July, 1760 "a letter from the Tondaiman to the Hon'ble President concerning the Maravar and Nellcotah's disputes". This letter of the Tondaimàn has not been examined.

† *Killedar* (Hindustani) means 'the Governor or Commandant of a fort".

‡ See Letter from the Tondaimân received by the Madras Presidency on the 20th of November, 1759. Orme states (*History of Indostan*, Vol. II, p. 561) that the Tondaimán and the two Maravars sent "3000 men, horse, Colleries and Sepoys".

effect a reconciliation between himself and his brother, the Nawab, and to get a decent annual allowance settled upon him. Captain Clive also wrote to the Tondaimán to say that, if Mahfuz Khan was anxious to be a friend to the Company, they would treat him according to his wish in case he should retire from the service of the pàlayakár Puli Tévan and take up his residence at Madura, that if the Khan had any objection to remain at Madura, he might reside at Pudukkóttai, and that as the Tondaimán was useful to the English he might write to Mahfuz Khan what he thought proper. The Tondaimán seems accordingly to have written to Mahfuz Khan, who set out from Madura and arrived at Pudukkóttai. But he would not proceed north of Pudukkóttai without an escort, and, halting at the capital of the Tondaimán, "full of suspicions of the evil intentions of the Nawab", sent his Vakil to the Governor (February, 1760) to despatch a gentleman to him so that he might effect a reconciliation between the two brothers. On receiving assurances of safety from the Presidency Mahfuz Khan soon afterwards left Pudukkóttai, and we find him writing to the Governor that he had "renewed his friendship with the Nabob, which it was his intention to preserve thereafter".

Yusuf Khan's attempt to make himself independent. After the departure of Mahfuz Khan from Madura, Yusuf succeeded in restoring order in the country and introduced a system of equitable government almost without a parallel among native rulers.* The rent was raised to nine lakhs of Rupees in 1761, but Yusuf Khan was not able, after defraying the charges of collection, to pay the rent for which he had engaged, especially as he was averse to adopt the means which other renters would have pursued. He therefore decided upon casting off his allegiance to the Nawab and the English, and making himself independent. The consciousness of great military talents, the strength of his position and the successful example of Haidar, who had made himself the ruler of Mysore in 1761, seem to have induced him to make such an attempt. He omitted to make payments of his rents, but maintained a force which was much superior to what

* See Mr. Lushington's Report on the Tinnevelly Country, dated 28th May 1802, which gives an excellent historic sketch of the Revenue Administration of the country from 1744 to 1802.

he actually required. He had purchased many firelocks from the Dutch at Negapatam and the Danes at Tranquebar, was intriguing with the Rájá of Tanjore and Haidar, and was enlisting men everywhere. The Rájâ of Tanjore, according to the Nawab, sent Yusuf Khan 500 horse and 1000 sepoys (December, 1762), and the Sétupati and the Sivaganga ruler, 2000 peons each with two Sardars. In February, 1763, Yusuf Khan hoisted French colours in his camp and in the several forts in his possession.

His troops in Madura consisted of 5000 sepoys, 7000 Kallars of Madura, 1700 black horse, 200 Europeans and 12 field pieces. The English had therefore to make preparations to punish Yusuf Khan and wrote to the Rájà of Tanjore, the Tondaimán and others not to permit him to enlist men in their territories (December, 1762). The Sétupati was required to seize all "Frenchmen, soldiers or stores" that might pass through his territory to join Yusuf Khan, make the men prisoners and keep the stores for his own use. The Nawab was informed that an army would soon be sent which would have to pass through "Tondimán's country which was best supplied with water at that season of the year", and that he should get the necessary provisions ready (March, 1763). Yusuf Khan blocked the roads and attempted to stop all communications. The Nawab wrote to the Governor (1st of May, 1763) that "no letters were permitted to pass", that "a certain person sent a letter and a cadjan covered in boiled rice in a private manner", but that "they were seized at the gate of Madura and delivered to the Killedar there, who forwarded those letters to Usoff Cawn and made the bearer prisoner".

Yusuf Khan declared a rebel. The Tondaiman's help to the English. In July, 1763, Yusuf Khan was declared a rebel, and in August a combined English and Native army set out for Madura. The Tondaimán's forces were sent, under Sardars Sadásivaràyar and Annâvayyar, with Major Preston. Yusuf, who found negociation unavailing, resolved to give himself the choice of a struggle in his own defence. He threw himself into the Madura Fort and baffled all the efforts of the Nawab and the English until October, 1764. In the meanwhile Major Preston wrote to the Tondaimán to go to Madura in person and suggest the adoption of such measures as he might deem necessary.

We transcribe below Major Preston's letter to the Tondaimán.

"After usual compliments.

After having a personal interview with you in your country, I arrived here with my corps and yours. In two hot battles in which we engaged with the enemy to this time, there was on both sides a great loss of men. Your force afforded also much assistance.

When we reflect upon the strength of the enemy, it appears expedient we should recruit our army; and bringing the enemy to subjection appears to depend partly upon the strength of our army and partly upon the adoption of prudent measures.

I have therefore to request that, if you would come here once more as you promised in person, it would be of great avail. Being confident that you would do so, I write this to you.

By the assistance which you now afford to us, all the English gentlemen will be fully gratified and pleased, and they cannot forget this so long as their power shall last.

Write to me often the news of your health, who are our trustworthy ally.

What more?"

Yusuf Khan might have prolonged his resistance "for an indefinite time"; but he was treacherously seized on the 13th of October, 1764, by one Marchand, (one of the French troopers he had received from the Ràjá of Tanjore) and handed over to the English. The place was surrendered the next day, and on the 15th of October, Yusuf Khan was hanged as a rebel. A small square mosque still known as "Khan Sahib's pallivásal" was afterwards erected over his tomb. According to the Palace records "The Tondaimân's forces, after remaining for one year in the field and helping Major Charles, Campbell (the senior officer of the Company's troops at Madura), returned to Pudukkóttai".

The Nawab against the Udayarpalayam and Ariyalur Palayakars. The Tondaiman's services to the Nawab. After the conclusion of the war with Yusuf Khan, the Nawab wanted the English to help him in subjugating the pálayakárs of Ariyalúr and Udayárpálayam in the Trichinopoly country. These had arrears of

tribute to pay and were suspected of having hidden treasures.* In December, 1764, the Nawab wrote to the Governor that the Zamindar of Udayárpàlayam had not paid his tribute and was further committing ravages in the Sirkar country. The Governor informed the Zamindar in January, 1765, that it gave him concern to find himself under the necessity of having recourse to force to oblige him to pay his obedience to the Nawab, that the non-payment of arrears for a long time and his inattention to the orders sent to him to despatch a force for the reduction of Yusuf Khan would be sufficient motives for him to carry his resentment to the greatest length, but that, as his wishes were to see all the country under the blessings of peace, the Zamindar would in his own interest settle matters with the Nawab amicably. Similar charges were brought also against the pálayakár of Ariyalúr. When it was found that the Zamindars of these places had no idea of arranging matters smoothly, the Nawab applied to the Tondaimán for help, who sent "200 horse and 4000 Kallars and Sepoys under Sadásivaráyar, Annâvayyan, Annayyan and Ádinârâyanayyan". With the help of these and the British troops, the places were attacked in January 1765 by Colonel Charles Campbell and Umdat-ul-umara, the Nawab's son, and were easily captured. The pâlayakárs fled to the Tanjore country, whereupon the Ràjá of Tanjore was ordered to stop the persons and effects belonging to these. They found the Rájá's country too hot for them, escaped from his dominion and afterwards took shelter in Mysore, and returned to their pálayáms with Haidar in 1780.

The Nawab against Tanjore. We must turn back a little and mention that in 1762 the Nawab brought a series of charges against the Rájà of Tanjore, pointed out to the Governor that large arrears of tribute were due from him, that the Tondaimán was ready to send him the help he had applied for and that an English force should be sent to conquer Tanjore. The Governor, not approving of the Nawab's proposal, explained to him that the English were in India not to make conquests, but "to support every lawful government and to maintain peace in the country so that the people might be happy and their trade flourish". The

* Orme's *History of Indostan*, Vol. II, p. 725.

Rájá of Tanjore agreed to pay 22 lakhs of Rupees in three years with five lakhs as Darbar charges (or fees and presents to the officers of the Nawab's court) as the total sum due to the Nawab as arrears, undertook to pay him as the Emperor's deputy a tribute of four lakhs of Rupees every year from 1763, and desired that the Kóviladi tract containing the Grand Anaikkat (see p. 147) should be confirmed to him. These terms, guaranteed by the Governor of Madras, were accepted by the Nawab. There was thus no necessity for the Tondaimán to send a force now against Tanjore.

Towards the close of 1766, the Tondaimán, according to a letter written to Madras by Col. Wood, plundered several villages in the Tanjore country, evidently in the Kílánilai tract, which the Tondaimán must have considered as his, and drove off into his territory large numbers of cattle, sheep and horses from that country. The Nawab admitted the Tondaimàn's ownership of the tract in a letter which he wrote to the Governor on the 17th July, 1762, remarking that "in the truce concluded between the the French and the English for eighteen months (see p. 199), the Raja, though forbid by the English and himself, took the Tondyman's country from him by arms" and that "if any attention was to be paid to a Sunnad, the Raja should return to the Tondyman Hiranelly (Kílànilai) and other countries he took from him". The Tondaimán must naturally have thought that reprisals were quite justifiable, and what was described by Col. Wood as a plundering expedition was probably nothing more than an attempt by the Tondaimán to collect revenues from the Kílánilai tract.

The Tondaiman against Sivaganga. The Tondaimán, according to the Palace records, engaged now in a war with "Udaya Tévan of Sivaganga and Tándavaràya Pillai", his minister. No details are given of the war, which we believe was nothing more than an attempt on the part of the Tondaimân to recover from the Sivaganga ruler certain sums that had been lent by the Tondaimán to him. The Tondaimàn had been making efforts to recover these amounts from the year 1759, in November of which year he wrote to the Governor to state that he had sent people to recover "the remaining portion of a debt of two lacks of checkrams" due to him from the ruler of Sivaganga, but

recalled them on receipt of the Governor's letter "to be in readiness with his troops", that another sum was also due to him from the ruler of Sivaganga, who had signed a note for it when Chanda Sahib undertook an expedition against Sivaganga and the ruler of the place applied to the Tondaimán for help, that the Tondaimán had not yet demanded the payment thereof, and that after the war was over the Governor should cause the same to be paid to its just owner or to the Sirkar, (if the Nawab needed the money).* The amount could not have been repaid and a force must have been sent against Sivaganga for the recovery of the amount.

Haidar's invasion of Tanjore, 1769. We next turn to the disturbances caused in these parts by Haidar Ali. The Nawab had been claiming Mysore and Travancore as tributary to him, and when he found that Haidar Ali, who was once an ordinary Sepoy "not fit to sit before him", had raised himself first to the position of a General and afterwards to the high rank of the Rájà of Mysore, he desired to conquer the Province. Further "the Nizàm and the Maráttás invited the English to assist them in clipping the wings of Haidar, who was encroaching upon their territories. Haidar however brought off both Musalmans and Maráttás, and then made a descent upon the English possessions in the Carnatic" in 1767. Repeated applications were made to the Rájá of Tanjore for help by the English and the Nawab, but the English did not receive (December, 1767) "so much as a single man from him". In February, 1768, some troops, which were sent by the Rájá of Tanjore after the enemy had been defeated merely "to save appearances", plundered the provinces of the Nawab to the north of the Coleroon, thus "rubbing salt over wounds". In 1769, Haidar invaded the Tanjore and Trichinopoly countries, and the Rájà of Tanjore was told (14th January, 1769) that he had then an opportunity of demonstrating his sincerity and that he should send against Haidar 2,000 horse, 2,000 Sepoys and a number of Kallars.

The Tanjore Raja concludes a peace with Haidar. Haidar mentioned to the Rájá the loss of 30 or 40 lakhs of Rupees he had been subjected to by the Rájá's sending a force to help Captain Richard Smith in taking Karúr (see p. 226), and threatened, unless

* See No. 348 for 1759, *Military Country Correspondence.*

a large sum was paid to him, "not only to burn the whole country but to cut off the whole body of the inhabitants and Brahmins". The Rájà wrote to the Governor that "to save his people's lives he finished the affair with Haidar by paying a trifle" (*i.e*, 4 lakhs of Rupees and four elephants). He proposed to the English that Haidar should be punished, and promised to send his troops against him if a proper force should arrive from Madras. The Company shared in the doubt "that the Raja expressed to his Vakeel that he might be taken to have been in friendship with Hyder Ali Cawn from the beginning", promised to suspend their judgment, supposing that it was real necessity to save his country and gain time to collect troops that drove him to offer terms to Haidar Ali, and required him to send immediately 3,000 horse and 2,000 foot to the English against Haidar Ali. The Tanjore Rájá sent only an evasive reply to this pressing request. The Rájà seems to have been intriguing with Haidar Ali, to whom he wrote "that he was depending on his firm friendship" and by whom he was informed that "he should not imagine that he (Haidar Ali) attended to anything but the destruction of their common enemy (the English), to whom he should send no money or troops".

We may contrast with this conduct of the Rájá of Tanjore the action of the Tondaimán. Hearing that the Tondaimán had received a letter offering friendship from Haidar Ali, Col. Wood wrote to the Tondaimàn in August, 1767, to request him to let him know the contents of the letter, adding that, as he was an unchangeable ally to the victorious English nation, he would not hesitate to let him know the secrets of the letter. We dare say that the Tondaimàn complied with the request. Like the Râjá of Tanjore, he also received a letter for help in 1767, and whereas Tanjore did not send in that year "so much as a single man" the Tondaimân set out at once to fit out a force and send it on to help the English. The Governor, Mr. Charles Bourchier, was very much gratified with the readiness which the Tondaimân displayed and wrote as follows * to the Tondaimàn :—

"The kind asylum of the friend (friends), Wajih Raghunath Rai Tondiman. May the great God keep him safe.

* We quote the very words to show the Persian style of writing letters. The translation is that of Captain A. R. Nethersole, Persian and Hindustani Translator to the Madras Government (1905).

After displaying the desire of meeting, let it become manifest that your kind and friendly letter has arrived and has afforded me pleasure beyond description. The letter states that measures have been adopted for improving the affairs and concentrating the army and joining with our troops, and punishing the Melurians (for *Mysoreans* *) who have joined the infidel French. These have been taken as acts of friendship. It is believed that our troops will be kept ready to advance on receipt of the news of the enemy coming towards this direction. You will also be ready............It is hoped that these victories will be considered by you as your own.

It is hoped that the great God may keep you and your sons safe, and increase your life, prosperity and dignity. The days may be according to your wish.

To the kind asylum *etc.* "

Troubles in the State caused by Haidar's men. In 1759 there were, according to the Palace records, disturbances in the country by Haidar Ali. And this is no wonder as, in the plunder of the province attached to Karúr, the Tondaimán's men did more injury (see p. 226) than those of the Rájá of Tanjore, from whom Haidar Ali wanted to exact 30 or 40 lakhs of Rupees. The Tondaimán must also have incurred the enmity of Haidar by the force that he sent to the help of the English in the northern parts of the Carnatic. What ravages were committed by Haidar or how the Tondaimàn saved his country from Haidar, we have no means of knowing for reasons which we may explain now.

The Nawab jealous of the power of the English. From about 1767 to 1780, we find very few letters written by the Tondaimàn to the English or by the English to the Tondaimân. The circumstances which led to this absence of correspondence are the following :—The Nawab was jealous of the interference of the English in what he considered his affairs, and as early as in the time of George Pigot, the Governor (1755–1763), had got a proclamation issued that the whole country of the Carnatic from

* The correct word *Mysoreans* is found in the printed book of letters to the Tondaimáns from the Governors and other public Officers of the East India Company.

Nellore to Tinnevelly had fallen into the hands of His Highness the Nawab, that "the Company's servants were by no means to meddle in the affairs of his country" and that "all the tributary chiefs were to implicitly obey His Highness' orders". In August 1765, the Nawab was confirmed by the Emperor as the Subahdar of the Carnatic and made independent of the Nizam of the Dekhan, and in March, 1768, Umdat-ul-umara, the eldest son of the Nawab, was appointed, with the permission of the Madras Presidency, as the Viceroy of the districts of Trichinopoly, *etc.* The Nawab wanted that the tributary chiefs should look up only to him through his son, and he wrote to Madras in August, 1766, to say that "the country people (chieftains) should not correspond with different people (even with one another)". In a book published in 1779,* we find the following. "Formerly the Vakeels or Agents of the Indian Princes were admitted to Madrass; their complaints were heard and their claims were considered. If justice was not always done, it was never formally denied. And the English Company appeared as a power of dignity in India. But at present they are taught to direct their eyes to the Nabob as principal. Of late almost every agent from every state in India has been excluded from the least correspondence with our Presidency; whilst the Durbar of the Nabob was surrounded with such a crowd of foreign ministers, as gave it the air of an imperial court".

In the circumstances mentioned above, we find the Tondaiman's Vakils residing at Trichinopoly and the letters written by the Tondaimán addressed to the Nawab's deputy or other officers at that place. Copies do not seem to have been kept of all the letters that the Tondaimán wrote, and we have no means of knowing the contents of letters other than those of which copies have been preserved here, or of which the Nawab chose to send copies or communicate the purport† to the Madras Presidency.

* *An Analysis of the Political History of India*, (1779), p. 127. The writer adds that things stood in 1773 as described above and that he was not acquainted with what had been done in the years 1773-9 to remedy the defect.

† The author of the pamphlet, "Restoration of the King of Tanjore Considered, 1777", calls (p. 73) the correspondence 'mutilated', and observes that "the Nabob often gives the *purport* of letters, sometimes as a copy of a part, rarely the whole letter even of his own officers".

We have now come to the closing period of the rule of this Tondaimán and before we actually take leave of this ruler, we may offer some remarks on a question or two which might appear important.

The formation of an Asiatic army. How was the Tondaimán able to send at very short notices armies after armies to the help of the English? Large armies were often sent according to the testimony of the English military officers and historians, though not such large bodies of men as are recorded to have been sent in the Inam Office Accounts. For example, the entries in the Inam Office Accounts that 8000 men were sent to quell the revolt of Yusuf Khan and 4000 to capture Udaiyàrpálayam, seem to say the least, very suspicious. These numbers will not, however, be found incorrect, if we take them as referring to all the men that set out from Pudukkóttai including bazarmen, grass cutters, and other men, if not also the wives and children of the fighting men. To explain what we mean, we quote the following extracts from an interesting account of *the formation of an Asiatic army* by Innes Munro.*

Military bazaars. "A bazar is also an indispensable appendage† to an Eastern army; it consists of a whole camp of sutlers, generally provided by order of the Nabob, as his people are best acquainted with this kind of business. They provide and sell to the best advantage all the necessaries of life, which it would be highly inconvenient for the soldiers to carry about with them, such as currystuffs, tobacco, rice, meat, cotton cloth, and gram for the officers' horses; in short they furnish out an excellent market where one may get anything at a certain price. Care is taken by the Regulator of this motley crew that a necessary proportion of them accompanies every detachment that is to remain for any length of time from camp.

Bullocks. "Bullocks of the stoutest kind are substituted instead of horses in Indian armies to drag their cannon..........

---

* See *A Narrative of the Military Operations on the Coromandel Coast by* Innes Munro, 1784.

† *Vide* the following extract from a letter written by Col. Stuart to the Tondaimán on the 28th of March, 1789:—" Upon the Tahsildar's informing me that your army has been kept ready at Trimayam, I was exceedingly satisfied.................You are requested to issue orders to the inhabitants and the shop-keepers, directing that they may bring and sell all the things which may be necessary for the camp".

They are also used for carrying all the stores of an army, such as rice, casks of gunpowder.........all the tents in camp..............so that without prodigious droves of these useful animals* it is nearly impossible for an army to take the field. If the contractor or commissaries cannot procure a sufficient number of bullocks to carry all the stores and provisions......, detachments of sepoys are sent out to press coolies in order to supply their places, and should they be hard pushed for means of conveyance, the press becomes as hot and general as upon the River Thames for seamen in times of war; and no distinction is made among the blacks, women as well as men being seized upon for this purpose.

Hircarrahs. "*Bullocks, money,* and *faithful spies* are the sinews of war in this country. Hircarrahs † or spies are necessary attendants upon the General...........These have various means of conveying intelligence from one place to another. They most commonly go in disguise, and their information is marked in small characters upon a slip of paper, about six or seven inches long and one broad, which is rolled up quite tight and sometimes put into a quill or hollow stick. It is also frequently

---

* We know of several cases in which the Tondaimàn was required to supply bullocks to the English army. For example, during the third Maisûr war, the Resident at Tanjore wrote to the Tondaimàn that 10,000 kalams of paddy were ready at Sivaganga to be sent to the camp of General Medows, that it was difficult to transport it for want of draught bullocks, that he would send 1000 bullocks through the Hircarrah that carried the letter, and that, whether the bullocks belonged to himself or the merchants, they should be sent to him". The matter was considered so important on another occasion that the Governor, Sir Archibald Campbell, wrote to the Tondaimân supporting the Tanjore Resident's request for bullocks (24th June, 1786). We find that Tipu Sultan paid particular attention to this subject, and among his "Mysore Revenue Regulations" we find the following instructions to his Amildars.

"You are to keep an establishment of bullocks in the service of Government in your district.........and to consider the care of the Government-*stamped* cattle as a charge of first importance ....Whatever goods or articles are required for the service of Government are to be transported upon these bullocks. You are to provide pads and saddles and one man to follow two bullocks for the care of them".

† *Hircarrah* or *Harkára* in Hindustani means "a messenger, an emissary, a spy". The word is still in use at Pudukkòttai, where there are *Harkàras* attached to the Palace. In those times every man of note had two, three or more Harkâras. We find the Nawab's Vakil at Tanjore complaining in 1771 that all the Vakils had got "two or four hircarrahs except himself who had not got one". We find that in 1787 was formed in connexion with the Madras Army (see Wilson's *History of the Madras Army*, Vol. II, p. 179) a *Corps of Guides* or *Hircarrahs*, who "were either to be Brahmins or of some good caste, to enjoy rent-free pieces of land yielding 24 star pagodas a year", and also to receive payment at certain rates while employed in service.

carried in his turban, his nostril* or a still more secret place. Should the hircarrah be very closely searched and conceive himself in imminent danger, he is sometimes known to swallow the *chit*, as the paper is called; and if the enemy, by whom he is taken, chance to suspect his having adopted this measure, a surgeon is immediately called to administer some strong purgatives †; but where despatch is necessary, I have heard it said that Hyder Ally makes no scruple of ripping up ‡ the belly of an hircarrah to get at any important intelligence. It was alleged that an officer of distinction in our service tried to employ a female hircarrah, who rendered him very essential benefit in the course of his operations; but this faithful old woman would never discover where she hid the chit in the hour of danger, and various were the conjectures upon the subject.

* Speaking of the Persian letters received in the last century by the Tondaimàns, which Captain A. R. Nethersole, the Persian and Hindustani Translator to the Madras Government has translated, he remarks that "some of the letters, especially those written by Sir Eyre Coote, are so small that they could doubtless at times have been concealed in the ears or the nostrils of the messengers in those troublous times; and as the letters are in some cases 150 years old (in 1905), the durability of paper and ink is certainly worth of note". These letters have been sent to Calcutta to be placed in "the *Victoria Memorial*" Building.

† The hircarrahs were generally respected. Barbosa, the well-known Portuguese Captain, in his description of "Malabar" (so South India was called in those days) in the beginning of the sixteenth century, says "They (the Brahmins) are the messengers who go on the road from one kingdom to another; with letters, money and merchandise; because they pass in safety in all parts, without any one molesting them, even though the kings may be at war". In Dr. Gilchrist's *East India Vade-mecum* (1825), it is mentioned (p. 151) that "many most extraordinary journeys have been made by hurkaras", and that "instances have been adduced of their travelling full a hundred miles in the four and twenty hours". From the Madras Government records we find that they recovered the distance from Trichinopoly to Madras in five days.

‡ We find frequent mention in the correspondence of the last century of letters having been intercepted. See p. 229 for an example. When the French officer, M. Maissin, was committing ravages in this country in May, 1754 (see pp. 196–7), the Governor's Vakil at Tanjore, Ram Naick, who was then at Pudukkóttai, being unable to send his letters to Madras, forwarded them to the Tondaimân for despatch. The troubles caused by the French were so great that the Tondaimân found it impossible to comply with his request. Occasionally duplicates of letters were sent, so that, if not the originals, the duplicates might reach the addressee. We find Captain J. Caillaud writing to the Madras Presidency on June 10, 1758, "I was honoured yesterday with a duplicate of your favour of the 31st. The original is not come to hand", and again on June 18, "The originals not having yet reached me, I suppose must have fallen into the enemy's hands". On the 3rd of September, 1758, he wrote "My originals go by the Nabob's Tappies (Express post), the duplicates by the Company's messengers". We may mention in this connection that a cypher was adopted in November, 1780, by the English in their war with Haidar, and that it was communicated to the officers commanding at Tanjore, Trichinopoly, Madura and Palamcottah.

"In addition to the superabundant multitude of attendants already described, *every Sepoy in the army carries with him to camp his whole family, be they ever so numerous*, who live upon his pay and allowances of rice from the company...........

"The cavalry next come under our consideration.........If at any time a regiment of them should be ordered to do duty in our camp, they must necessarily bring along with them a vast number of attendants. Every trooper, besides his family, has a grass cutter attached to him..........."

The extracts that we have given above will show that in every army there were besides fighting men a vast multitude of camp followers. And when we find mention in the Pudukkóttai office records of 5000 or 8000 men having been sent as against the more modest numbers mentioned by historians and military officers, we have naturally to conclude that the entries in the Inam Office Records include *all* the *men* that set out from Pudukkóttai. We find no room for doubt in the entries relating to cavalry.

After making every allowance for the facts mentioned above, we find that large armies—often as many as one thousand sepoys, hundreds of cavalry and thousands of Kallars—were sent repeatedly by the Tondaimán. And the question for our consideration is how the Tondaimán was able to do this.

How armies were raised and equipped by the Tondaiman. The answer to the question proposed above is that all the cavalry and the infantry were at no time in regular State service, but that most of them were maintained and provided by the Sardars* and Servaikars of the State, who enjoyed rent-free lands for performing such service. For example, Pórum Ràyan Pallavarâyar and his three brothers maintained 382+110+80+130 or 722 men in all, and Rámaswami Rángia Tevár enjoyed lands for keeping 130 men armed with swords and targets and about 210 matchlock men. As soon as a message for help was received from the English, all that the Tondaimán had to do was to communicate it to such of the Sardars as could provide the

* See Chapter I on 'Mode of Recruiting' in Mr. Irvine's "Army of the Indian Mughals".

requisite force and send it on often under the command of these Sardars themselves to the English camp. If the Tondaimán had not adopted this principle of the feudal system, he would often have been perplexed and could not have helped the English as effectively as he did.

In connection with this subject we may mention how the Tondaimân's fighting men were armed and trained. We find a difference constantly made between well-drilled Seppys and Kallars who had received little or no training. According to tradition, arrangements were in existence in those times for the necessary practice being given to the cavalry and the infantry. It is said that Owk Rájá, a military officer of rank (of the Vijayanagar royal family) was, during his temporary stay here on his way to Rámésvaram from Owk, his birthplace in the Bellary District, prevailed upon to settle down here and give the fighting men of the Tondaimán the necessary military training and that he was assisted in this work by Bódi Rowth, a Telugu military officer. The men that were trained by these afterwards gave the requisite training to others.

Among the weapons of war that were in use, we may mention the sword and target, the spear, the dagger, the pike, the matchlock, the sling (for throwing stones), the bow and arrows,* the bow and clay pellets specially prepared by mixing the clay with the white of the egg so that "the bullets became nearly as good as metal bullets".

"The matchlockmen used long-barrelled guns which were cumbrous and probably ineffective. The matchlockmen are generally accompanied by poligars (*Kallars* for Pudukkóttai), a set of fellows who are almost savage and make use of no other weapon than a pointed bamboo spear eighteen or twenty feet long. When the poligars are attacked by horse, they form themselves into a close ring, placing the matchlockmen in the centre and pointing their pikes at the enemy. In this order they

* See p. 132 of Innes Munro's "Narrative of the Military Operations on the Coromandel Coast". Lt. Col. Wilks remarks in speaking of the arms and armour of an Asiatic army that "it is probable that no national or private collection of ancient armour in Europe contains any weapon or article of personal equipment which might not be traced in this motley crowd".

all sit down and fix the nether end of the pike into a hole in the ground betwixt their legs, whilst the matchlockmen keep up an irregular fire over their heads; and in this manner they will resist the most violent charges of cavalry and sometimes of infantry ". *

A peculiar weapon used by the Tondaimán's people was the boomerang (வளைதடி). It is described as follows by Mr. Thurston,† according to information supplied to him by "the Dewan of Pudukkóttai". "The *valari* (or *valai thadi*) is a short weapon, generally made of some hard-grained wood (Vadathala, *etc*). It is also sometimes made of iron. It is crescent-shaped, one end being heavier than the other, and the outer edge is sharpened. Men trained in the use of the weapon hold it by the lighter end and then hurl it with great force against the object aimed at. It is said that there were experts in the art of throwing the valari, which could at one stroke despatch small game and even men. No such experts are now forthcoming in the State, though the instrument is said to be occasionally employed in hunting hares, junglefowl, *etc*. Its days, however, must be counted as past. Tradition states that the instrument played a considerable part in the Poligar wars of the last century........" The boomerang measured about 24 inches long along the outer curve, and the chord of the arc was about 18 inches. We know (see p. 110) that the weapon was used to injure and kill men in the 14th and 15th centuries. A peculiarity of the boomerang is said to be that, "when thrown, a whirling motion is imparted to the weapon, which causes it to return to the place from which it was thrown".

So that the fighting men might not fritter away their energies in learning the use of too many weapons, it appears from the Inam Office Records that it was arranged that the men under each Sardar were to be trained in weapons specially prescribed for them. Thus we find the sword and target

* Mr. Irvine in his "*Army of the Indian Mughals*" (p. 90) says that, according to the Mughals, "the sword was better than the dagger, the spear better than the sword, and the bow and arrow better than the spear" and that the use of the bow persisted in Upper India throughout the 18th century and was even used at Lucknow in the time of the Great Mutiny (1857).

† See *Ethnographical Notes in Southern India*, pp. 556-7. வளைதடி means 'a bent stick'.

as the weapon of 130 men and matchlock as the weapon of 210 men under Sardar Ramaswami Tévar, the boomerang and the vallayam (?) as the weapons of Andakkuiam Periya Manna Vélár, the sword and target and the dagger and the matchlock as those of Pórum Pallavaràyar, *etc.*

Occasionally the Tondaimán's men were taught the rules of discipline and other military regulations by the English military officers. We learn this from a letter of Col. Stuart to the Tondaimàn (28th March, 1789), in which he requested that the Tondaimàn would "direct his men to march so as to arrive on Tuesday at Tripatoor" and informed him that "he would have them well inculcated in the articles of war, after their arrival at the place aforesaid". After all, these Sepoys must have made a poor show. The following remarks by Orme, the historian, on warfare in Southern India, apply as well to the Tondaimán's country as to other parts of Southern India.

"The rudeness of the military art in Indostan can scarcely be imagined but by those who have seen it. The infantry consists in a multitude of people assembled together without regard to rank and file: some with swords and targets who can never stand the shock of a body of horse; some bearing matchlocks, which, in the best of order, can produce but a very uncertain fire: some armed with lances too long or too weak to be of any service, even if ranged with the utmost regularity of discipline ....Armies more encumbered with the conveniences of life than with the preparations for war, form loose, straggling and disorderly camps, and make irregular dilatory marches. The *mutual inactivity* becomes the general security...........".* General Neill therefore very properly observes† that "the fate of a battle almost depended on the Europeans" (with their discipline and improved weapons of war), and that "any affair in which only a half or a quarter of a company were engaged was considered of as much consequence as that of a division of an army in European warfare".

---

* See Robert Orme's *General Idea of the Government and People of Indostan* (1753), p. 417.

† See General Neill's *Historical Records of the First Madras European Regiment*, p. 65.

Was the Tondaiman tributary to the Nawab? The next subject that we take up for consideration is the relation in which the Tondaimàn stood to the Nawab. The question whether the Tondaimân was a tributary chief who owed allegiance to the Nawab, or whether he was an altogether independent ruler, is discussed at some length in a pamphlet that was published in 1779.* After quoting the spirited letter from the Râjá of Tanjore and the Tondaimán against the English alliance with the Maravars, which will be found printed on p. 203, the author of the pamphlet remarks that the letter has very little the style of subordination, much less of subjection, that it is written in a high style of displeasure, that not a word, not a hint, on their part, of any sort of dependency or subjection is found in the letter, and that their connection with the Nawab is treated by them as an *alliance* which they threaten to withdraw from him in case of his continuing to assist their enemies. "The Nawab also, in forwarding the letter to the Madras Presidency, drops no hint of any sort of dependence to him of the Rájá of Tanjore and the Tondaimán, does not controvert their statement that their connection with him was one of alliance, calls the Tondaimán and the Râjâ of Tanjore "neighbours to the fort of Trichinopoly" and not *dependents*, and is very solicitous *to avoid their animosity* as he must depend on the *friendship* of these for the supply of provisions in times of difficulty." So anxious was the Nawab to retain their friendship that he urged the desirability of an immediate answer, and, when an answer was returned, he acknowledged the compliance of the Governor as a favour conferred upon himself. After mentioning these facts, the writer of the pamphlet arrives at the conclusion that both of these—the Rájá of Tanjore and the Tondaimán—were independent rulers, in no way subject to the Nawab.

The humble style in which the Nawab wrote about these rulers was what the Nawab thought fit to adopt when he was in difficulties. When, however, through the help of the English, he found himself firmly established as the ruler of the Carnatic, he changed his tone and did not hesitate to call even the Rájàs of Travancore and Mysore—in fact, all the kings and chieftains,

* "An Inquiry into the Policy of Making Conquests for the Mahometans in India with the British Arms, 1779."

powerful and weak, who were found in any part of the once extensive kingdom of Vijayanagar—as his "Zamindars" or "vassals". So far as the Tondaimán was concerned, he had made himself practically independent of the Náyak Kings of Trichinopoly about 1728 (see p. 157), and was acting in the first half of his reign for his own hand in the various wars in which he took part.

The question of the dependence of the Tondaimán on the Nawab was also considered by the Madras Presidency. In 1771, the Rájá of Tanjore claimed Ramnad and Sivaganga as States tributary to him, whereupon the Nawab wrote to the Madras Presidency to state that it was "as plain as the sun" that Ramnad, Sivaganga and Pudukkóttai were States that had long been dependent on Trichinopoly (*i. e.*, on the Náyak kings at first and afterwards on the Nawab). A Select Committee consisting of Josias Du Pré, Governor of Madras, Warren Hastings, Member of the Madras Council at the time and afterwards Governor-General of India, and Samuel Ardley, another Member of the Council of Fort St. George, was appointed to consider how far the three principalities mentioned above were subject to Tanjore or Trichinopoly. The Report of the Select Committee, dated 3rd April, 1771, shows that the Tondaimán was independent of both. The following extracts from the Report bear on this point.

"With regard to Tondiman, who is generally talked of as being dependent on the Government of Trichinopoly, he has continually had some disputes and skirmishes with the Tanjoreans, concerning the bounds of each other's districts; which were settled or dropt by either, according to the opportunities and conveniences they met with: sometimes the Tanjoreans disturbed Tondiman's country, who on his part did the same when he found a favourite opportunity.

"Upon inquiry it appeared that neither Marawar (Ramnad) nor Nalcooty (Sivaganga) ever paid any regular or yearly tribute to the Government of Trichinopoly, which, according to the power and opportunity they met with, received sums of money from them by way of Nazirs or presents: with regard to Tondiman they did the same.

"From the foregoing account, which, from the best information we have been able to procure, we believe to be true, it appears that power is the only arbitrator of right, and that established usage or titles cannot exempt one State from a dependence on another, when superior force prevails; neither can they enforce such dependence where power is wanting".

The Report was considered at a meeting of the President and Council of Fort St. George on 6th May, 1771, and the following Proceedings were passed:—

"A sketch of the case of the Marawar, Nalcooty and Tondiman, entered on the Minutes of the Select Committee, will show in the best manner we can trace how far these Polligars are dependent either on Trichinopoly or Tanjore; *it appears that the only right over these is power* and that *constitutionally they are independent of both*". *

In spite of all that is written above, we must observe that the Tondaimán seems to have found out after the alliance of the powerful English Company with the Nawab that it was well for him to call himself a prince under the protection of the Nawab, and this seems to us to be the view that we should take.

Character of Vijaya Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman. We have now to close our account of the very eventful rule of Vijaya Raghunatha Ráya Tondaimàn. After an unprecedented career of almost incessant warfare for about forty years, he expired towards the close of the year, 1769. The month and the date of his death are not known. † If his predecessor, Ráya Raghunatha Tondaimân, was the founder of the State, Vijaya Raghunàtha Ráya was its consolidator. It was he that established Pudukkóttai as a State that counted as a power—almost equal to that of Tanjore. That he was able to accomplish this difficult work was due to the extraordinary shrewdness that he possessed. He perceived almost

* See Rous's Appendix (of papers relating to the affairs of Tanjore), No. XXII, pp. 682 and 682 (*).

† Mr. Venkat Row has, in his Manual, without any justification given 1776 A. D. as the year of the death of this Tondaimàn. There are several Palace records giving *Viròdhi* year *Tai* month (January, 1770) as the date of the installation of his successor. Further, the rule of Vijaya Raghunàtha Ráya Tondaimân is explicitly stated to have been of 39 years' duration.

instinctively that the showy French people could never hold their own before the solid Englishmen and served the English cheerfully and zealously, without caring even for his private interests (see p. 197). The result was that he enjoyed the highest regard of all the Company's officers from the Governor downwards. We can quote any number of letters in support of this statement. It will be enough however if we transcribe a portion of a letter of appreciation of the Tondaimân's services written by Col. Lawrence, the distinguished General, for whose glorious services in India, a statue, dressed in a Roman habit, was erected (in his life-time) by the Company in the India-house in 1764, and "in memory of whose uncommon services for Discipline Established, Fortresses Protected, Settlements Extended, *etc.*,* a monument was put up by his grateful masters". Before his departure for Europe in April, 1759, Col. Lawrence wrote to the Tondaimán to say that "he would lay before His Majesty and the Court of Directors all the pains and trouble that the Tondaimán had taken for the English and the assistance which he had afforded, to which *they owed their victory*", that "he would not forget at all the friendship that the Tondaimàn sincerely and manifestly avowed to him in every point" and that, "though he might appear to be gone to a distant country, the assistances and benevolences which his friend (the Tondaimân) had bestowed would always appear uppermost in his recollection". After his return from England, we find the General presenting the Tondaimàn with two good pictures, which may be taken to indicate his sincere regard and affection for the Tondaimàn.

The Tondaimán's private character was also very attractive. He was a very devout ruler, who passed much of his available time in contemplation, especially after his spiritual initiation by his Guru Sadásiva Brahmam. Holding as he did the view that

---

* "On the top of the monument is the bust, expressive of his brave countenance. The *Genius* of the Company is pointing to it and *Fame* is proclaiming his noble exploits, holding in her hand a shield on which the inscription is placed. On a tablet is represented a large city besieged and beneath is the word *Trichinopoly*, the foundation of his glory and that of the safety of India". See p. 47 of Col. J. Biddulph's *Life of Major-General Stringer Lawrence*, Vol. II.

"the world is a dream" (see p. 181), he could not have been otherwise than just and equitable in his dealings with his people and others. He seems to have been particularly attached to his son, for whom he requested special treatment from the English more than once.

In spite of his contemplative nature, the Tondaimán seems to have paid great attention to the internal affairs of the State and improved the resources of the country. We infer this from the large sums of money that he was able to lend to the ruler of Sivaganga, after setting apart separate funds for the maintenance of the charities instituted by him.

We may conclude the sketch of the character of this ruler with the observation that the existence of Pudukkôttai as a State is due to this ruler (see p. 209), and that, if he did not possess the shrewd insight that he displayed, Pudukkóttai would not now enjoy the proud distinction of being the only Native State in the Tamil land.

Raya Raghunatha Tondaiman (1769—1789).

Ráya Raghunátha Tondaimán was born in 1738 and was 31 years of age when he was installed as the ruler of Pudukkóttai. "He had eleven wives, one of whom gave birth to a daughter. He had no son. His ministers were Muthukkumaru Pillai and Venkappier, otherwise called Venkat Row".*

He inherited from his father his attachment to the English and the Nawab, and we therefore find him engaged in the wars which these found it necessary to wage.

We have nothing of importance to record in connection with the first year of his rule.

Invasion of Ramnad by the Tanjore Raja. In January, 1771, the Rájá of Tanjore fitted out an army and despatched it against Ramnad, to recover from the ruler of that country certain tracts which the Rájá said had been taken by his General from him. He obtained the help of the Dutch at Negapatam by promising to cede to them two seaports (Tondi and Kílkarai, where they had a factory) in the Ramnad country.

* From Mr. Venkat Row's *Manual of Pudukkòttai.*

Raya Raghunatha Tondaiman
(Sivanandapuram Durai)
1769—1789.

It was believed that he had designs also against the Tondaimàn's country, but, for the time being, the Tondaimán was requested not to help the Maravars. The Sétupati was then a minor, and the Ráni, who was the Regent, made every preparation for resisting the Rájà. The Nawab was informed by the Ramnad Dalavái (General and Minister) of the designs of the Rájà and requested to send a force to oppose him. The Tondaimán also wrote to the Nawab (February, 1771) that the Rájá himself had started against Ramnad, that he was plundering the whole of the Maravar's country, that it was not in the power of the Ramnad Dalavái to cope with the Rájà, and that, if the Nawab should not send a force to help Ramnad, the Sétupati would lose his country.

The Nawab reported to the Madras Presidency that the Marava rulers of Ramnad and Sivaganga were dependent on and tributary to the Nawab, as the successor of the Náyak Rájás of Trichinopoly, that they were bound to help the Sarkar in times of war or danger, and that on the other hand he was bound as their superior to protect and defend them against every power invading their rights or disturbing their tranquillity, that the Rájá of Tanjore, renewing an ancient dispute regarding the boundaries* and under other pretences, had taken up arms against the rulers of Ramnad and Sivaganga, that the Rájá of Tanjore was himself a tributary of the Nawab, and that the Râjá should be called to account for committing hostilities against the Maravars. The Governor agreed (20th February, 1771) with the Nawab that the conduct of the Rájá in commencing hostilities without the knowledge of his superior, the Nawab, was unjustifiable, promised to support the Nawab and vindicate his honour, but informed him that, unless he undertook to defray the charges, he would not think of engaging in any attempt which could be avoided. The Nawab, who did not really care to protect the

* We do not know Mr. Nelson's authority for his statement that "in 1770 the Rájà of Tanjore was defeated most decisively by Thamotheram Pillai, Ramnad General". (See *Madura Country*, Part III, p. 294). So far as we know, there was no war between Ramnad and Tanjore in 1770. Mr. Nelson was probably thinking of the war in 1763, when Dâmódaram Pillai seized all the country which Mànóji had annexed to Tanjore in 1749.

Maravars, was unwilling to bear the expenses of the war. He merely wanted a pretext for conquering Tanjore, a fact borne out by his suggestion to the Governor (12th February, 1771) that the English should merely put on an appearance of hostility, that they should disband some of their Sepoys so that they might be enlisted by the Maravars to be employed against Tanjore, and that he would instigate the Tondaimán and others to unite against Tanjore, *etc.** Nothing however was actually done.

Meanwhile Ramnad was being pressed. The Dalavái wrote to the Nawab that help was urgently needed and that the Tondaimán, to whom he had applied for help, had not sent any. About this time 300 horse of the Tanjoreans went to the Tondaimán's country which they plundered, and the Tondaimán's peons in return plundered (February, 1771) three or four villages belonging to Tanjore. The Tondaimán further sent a force of 2000 peons to the assistance of the Sétupati "under the command of Ràmaswámi" Rangiar (?), with instructions, however, that they were to remain within Pudukkóttai State limits until he received orders from the Nawab to help Ramnad. He had not forgotten the affair of Kílánilai and he now requested the Nawab to permit him to recover that country from Tanjore. The Rájá of Tanjore, against whom the Maravars by themselves were powerless, went on capturing one fort after another, and we find the Tondaimán writing repeatedly to Trichinopoly that not a moment should be lost in despatching a force. No help was however sent by the Nawab, and the Rájá therefore found it easy to reach Ramnad and besiege the fort. Terms of peace were proposed by the Ráni, which were accepted by the Rájá of Tanjore. The Rájá, according to the treaty, was to remain in possession of the tracts conquered by him and to receive one lakh of Rupees in *specie* and thirty thousand Rupees in jewels, two large elephants and two pieces of cannon, *etc.* "Having thus settled the Ramnad affair", the Rájá of Tanjore next turned his attention to Sivaganga, requiring from its ruler the restoration of some elephants, *etc.* The Sivaganga ruler was instructed by the Nawab "not to follow the example of Ramnad, but to stand firm and steady, and thus show his fidelity to the Circar". The Rája soon

* See Rous's *Appendix*, No. XXII, pp. 651–2.

afterwards returned to his capital, which he found was to be attacked by the Nawab.

In May 1771, the Governor wrote to the Nawab to communicate to him the complaint of Haidar Ali Khan that a pâlayakár, Swámi Náyak of Rámgiri, was committing depredations in his territory. A British force was ready to act against the pálayakár and the Tondaimán was asked by the Nawab (June, 1771) to send "with all possible expedition" a force against Swámi Náyak. The pàlayakár was reduced to obedience for the time being.

The Nawab's policy. We have next to deal with two wars against Tanjore and a war against the Maravars, in all of which the Tondaimân's forces took a very active part. The object of the Nawab in making these wars has been stated to be his ambition to become the direct ruler of the fertile province of Tanjore and the extensive dominions of the Maravars. It has been remarked that "the train of the Nawab's policy and the method in which he linked war into war and conquest into conquest are extremely curious. He first incited the Maravars (by promising them help) to hostilities against the King of Tanjore; then he made war against the king of Tanjore for his hostilities against the Maravars; he undertook a third war—against the Maravars—for not assisting him against Tanjore; and a fourth war against Tanjore—for not assisting him against the Maravars". *

The Nawab's first war with Tanjore. The Tondaiman's services to the Nawab. The reasons assigned for the first war with Tanjore (in 1771) were that the Rájá did not send his forces to help the Nawab in the war with Haidar Ali (see p 233), but allied himself with Haidar, that the Rájá, a tributary prince, without his permission, attacked Ramnad and Sivaganga which were under the Nawab's protection, and that the payment of the tribute had been delayed beyond the usual time. The Rájá was also said to be intriguing with the Marattas. The Nawab desired that for his failure to send any help against Haidar the Rájá should pay 25 lakhs of Rupees, and that along with this amount, the annual tribute should also be paid. The Rájá and the Nawab

* See p. 96 of "An Inquiry into the Policy of Making Conquests for the Mahometans in India by the British Arms, 1779".

could not come to an agreement,* and the English, who thought it "most unreasonable that the Rajah should possess the finest part of the country and yet pay nothing for its defence", determined to support the Nawab. Thereupon Umdat-ul-umara, the Nawab's son, and General Joseph Smith marched against Tanjore from Trichinopoly in September, 1771. The Tondaimán, who was applied to for help, sent, according to the Inam Office Records, under "the Sardars Bápu Row and Rámaswámi Servaikar, 200 horse and 4000 infantry". Umdat-ul-umara wrote to the Nawab (22nd September) to say that the Tondaimàn, when he heard that his men were to receive batta (as usual), was pleased and that he had agreed to send to the camp a large supply of provisions also. The Tondaimán was requested to send 20,000 bundles of hay also to Vallam for the use of the army. The army arrived at Vallam, five miles from Tanjore, and captured the place. Tanjore was next attacked and was bravely defended, Col. Joseph Smith remarking that "whoever had the direction of these works and defending them was neither deficient in knowledge nor activity".† On the 27th of October preparations were made for an assault, when the Râjá agreed to surrender on terms that had been arranged between him and Umdat-ul-umara, the Nawab's representative in camp. The Rájá undertook to place Vallam and Kóviladi in the hands of the Nawab, to restore whatever lands, money and effects he had taken from the Maravars, to be in friendship with the friends and in enmity with the enemies of the Nawab, and to pay a large sum of money (about 48 lakhs of Rupees) as arrears of tribute, expenses of the expedition, and Nazar (present) to Umdat-ul-umara.

The Tondaiman helps the Nawab in conquering Ramnad and Sivaganga. The Nawab's next object was the subjugation of Ramnad and Sivaganga. His son, Umdat-ul-umara, wrote to him on the day next to that of the surrender of the Rájá of Tanjore that the Ramnad and Sivaganga people were "insolent beyond description",

* The Rájà explained that batta was not being paid to his men as was done to the men sent by the Tondaimàn, that to save his country and his people he had to pay Haidar Ali, from whom he should have been protected by the Nawab, a large sum of money, *etc.*, and requested that an abatement might be made in the sum required to be paid. He was merely informed in reply that "he who had found so much to pay to an enemy ought to pay a great deal more to a friend".

† Major Vibart's *Military History of the Madras Engineers*, Vol. I, p. 115.

that they neither themselves came to the army nor sent any provisions, that they had designs of taking from the Rájá of Tanjore "their own country", and that, if the Nawab proposed to take Ramnad and Sivaganga, a finer army could not be collected than the army that he then had with him. The Nawab wrote (March, 1772) to Madras representing that the Dutch had been permitted without his permission to occupy seaports in the Ramnad country, to raise fortifications there, and store war materials, that the Generals of Ramnad and Sivaganga were assembling forces and that an English army should be sent against these countries for their subjugation. Some other charges also were brought against them, *viz.*, that they were not paying their *peshcush*, that they held in possession some Sarkar districts, and were harbouring in their woods the notorious thieves of the Madura and Tinnevelly countries. As requested by the Nawab, the English determined to send a force against Ramnad and Sivaganga. General Smith assembled his forces in March, 1772, near Trichinopoly, and accompanied by the Nawab's son, Umdat-ul-umara and with "an army sent by the Tondaiman of 200 horse and 5000 infantry under the Sardars Sadásivaráyar, Annâvayyan, Annayyan and Adinàràyanayyan" entered the Ramnad territory in May "before the men of Ramnad knew that there was any complaint against them". The fort of Ramnad was stormed and captured in a few days, and the country reduced. The Sétupati, who was a boy nine years old, with his mother and sister, was removed by the Nawab to Trichinopoly and kept under surveillance.

The force then marched against the Sivaganga country and encamped before the barrier which led to Kàlaiyârkóil, the ruler's stronghold, into which the ruler had thrown himself on the advice of two of his favourites, Periya (or Vellaya) Marudu and Chinna Marudu. The Nawab wrote to the Tondaimàn to say that "it was really astonishing that the Tondaiman did not take any steps to punish the offender" (of Sivaganga), that "it was the wish of the Tondaimán's father to capture the fort of Sivaganga", that such an opportunity had offered itself then and that the Tondaiman should send a sufficient force to co-operate with his son. The Tondaimán was also desired to send 5,000

sickles to clear the forests. In accordance with these instructions, another force "of 300 horse and 5000 infantry were sent by the Tondaimân under a "Sardar of the name of Krishna". Lieutenant Col. Bonjour, making a detour, fell upon the enemy's rear and easily entered the unguarded gates of the fortress. The enemy were immediately dispersed with severe loss, the ruler of Sivaganga himself was killed, and the country subdued. The widow of the ruler with the two Marudus escaped. The Tondaimán was informed that the party with 2000 men were in Púchi Náyak's country, that "Púchi Nayak himself had not men enough to oppose them" and that "the Tondaiman should therefore send a sufficient force of two or three thousand Sepoys under one or two intelligent Sardars". The Marudus with the Queen had, in the meanwhile, fled to Dindigal, where they placed themselves under the protection of Haidar Ali. Both Ramnad and Sivaganga thus fell under the direct management of the Nawab and were handed over to a Renter.

The Nawab's second war with Tanjore. The Tondaiman's services. The Tanjore Raja deposed. The Nawab next thought of annexing Tanjore to his dominion and brought forward a series of charges against the Rájá.

1. That he had endeavoured to bring the Marattas of Poona into the Carnatic for helping him against the Nawab.

2. That the Rájá of Tanjore refused to give him any help in his wars with Ramnad and Sivaganga, but that he helped the people of these countries "with men, money, powder and shot" and so hindered the pacification of the two countries.

3. That he had taken the runaway pálayakárs of Udayárpálayam and Ariyalúr (see p. 231) under his protection, giving them the district of Kumbhakonam for a residence.

4. That he had, under the plea of borrowing money, mortgaged some districts of the Tanjore country to the Dutch and the Danes.

5. That he refused to pay the money as agreed upon by the treaty of 1771, ten lakhs still remaining due.

All these charges could not be substantiated and the real object of the Nawab, who "had all along looked to Tanjore as an

el Dorado", was to secure possession of the long-coveted fertile province of Tanjore that was under the rule of a Rájá, whom the Nawab called "his Zamindar or tenant-at-will".* He made a complaint against the Rájá to the Governor (June 18th, 1773) mentioning chiefly the points noted above, and requested that, if an English army should be sent for the reduction of Tanjore, he would of his own accord pay to the English ten lakhs of pagodas as a present. "The Presidency viewed the question entirely as one involving the safety of the Karnátak and the interests of the Company. Humiliated and reduced to entire subjection to the Nawàb, and able no longer to look to them for support, the Rája, they thought, would naturally court the intervention and aid of other powers, European as well as native, in order to throw off his yoke, and was, in the peculiar position in which he was placed, a source of danger to their government. They accordingly, after much discussion, came to the resolution that Tanjore should be reduced". A force was accordingly assembled in July, 1773, at Trichinopoly for the subjugation of the country, and General Smith again commanded. Application was once again made to the Tondaimán for help, the Tondaimán being informed by the Nawab that "the Ràjá of Tanjore still entertained the *mania* of invading his country", that "a large army had been sent to punish the Rájà for his madness" and that he should send a sufficient force and provisions. Accordingly "a force consisting of 400 horse and 7,000 foot was despatched under Rájàgópála Tondaimân, the uncle of the ruler, and Sadásivaráyar to join (the Nawab's son) Madar-ul-Mulk, the Muhammadan General". The army encamped near the fort of Tanjore on the 6th of August, and "though there were 20,000 men within the fort, ready to defend it to the utmost", the place was taken on the 17th of September without loss, the assault having been made unexpectedly about noon. The Rájá and his family, Mánóji the General and a great many people of consequence, were taken prisoners, and articles were seized, including the jewels of the Ránis, amounting in value, according to the Rájà, to "one crore,

* Mr. J. Wallace, Collector of Trichinopoly, writing on May, 30th, 1802, to the Board, observed that the expulsion even of the Udayàrpàlayam and Ariyalúr pâlayakárs in 1755 might "be ascribed more to the ambitious spirit of the Mahommedan Government" than to the causes assigned ostensibly by the Nawab.

five lacks and ten thousand pagodas ".* The Rájá was deposed, and the fort and the country of Tanjore were made over to the Nawab.

A portion of the Pattukkottai Taluk assigned to the Tondaiman. Soon after the occupation of the Tanjore country by the Nawab, the Nawab, finding himself unable to pay the batta due to the men of the Tondaimán from 1770, assigned to him a tract of land in the Pattukkóttai Taluk of the Tanjore District, containing 142 villages and two choukies or customs-houses, and estimated to yield an annual income of about 53,000 chakrams. The conditions relating to the grant were that the Tondaimàn should pay the expenses of the forces sent by him from 1770 to 1773, that he should be ever ready without requiring pay or allowances to send to any place as many foot-soldiers as might be required, that he should post proper guards in the Taluks and contonments of Tanjore and Trichinopoly to prevent the depradations of thieves and to guard the forts and people of Trichinopoly and Tanjore whenever they were attacked by enemies, and that he should return the tract whenever required to do so. The tract was handed over to the Rájà of Tanjore in 1776, when Tuljáji was restored to his throne, as will be mentioned hereafter. It appears that, as stated by the Râjá of Tanjore, "in spite of the great friendship the Nabob had for the Tondaman" he did not permit him the enjoyment of the tract of Kílinilai.

The Tondaiman sends a force to help the Nawab against the Dutch. The Dutch at Negapatam having taken possession of Nagúr, near Negapatam, another seaport and a small tract of land, on payment of about 16 lakhs of Rupees to the Rájá of Tanjore for the liquidation of the debts the Rájá had incurred to meet the expenses of the last two wars, the Nawab protested against this to the Governor, pointing out that the Rájá had no right to sell or mortgage any portion of his dominion without the consent of his master, the Nawab, and requested the English to help him with a force for the capture of Nágúr. The Presidency were at first unwilling to give the required assistance, as it might be deemed a violation of treaties between the English and the Dutch. But it was ultimately decided that the required help

* Letter No. 20 for 1778, *Military Country Correspondence.*

might be given, that the Nawab's troops were to be placed in front and that those of the Company were to be behind "to assist in case of necessity and so as not to seem to have acted against the Dutch". The Tondaimàn was again applied to for help, and, as the affair was not considered so important as that of the war with Tanjore, a force, according to the Inam Settlement Records, of "200 horse and 4000 foot were sent under the Sardàrs Sadásivaráyar, Annávayyan and Ádináráyanayyan to help Madar-ul-Mulk against உலாந்தாசாதி or the Hollanders or the Dutch". The Dutch however were unwilling to engage in hostilities and relinquished the seaports and the territory (November, 1773) on the Nawab repaying to them the money that had been paid by them to the Rájá of Tanjore.

Tuljají reinstated as Raja of Tanjore. We may mention that in 1775 there was a quarrel between the Nawab and the English Presidency. The Presidency told the Nawab that too much power should not be put into the hands of any one subject, and that it was not desirable that Umdat-ul-umara who "had the command of numerous forces and the management of the District of Trichinopoly" should also be given the charge of the fort or garrison of Tanjore or of the collection of the revenue of the kingdom. The Nawab, on having this letter, wrote to the Presidency, expressing his astonishment and surprise at their boldness in interfering with what he called his private concerns. Meanwhile the Court of Directors in England were going through the papers relating to Tanjore and the two Marava countries. They signified their displeasure with the conduct of the Presidency in connection with the wars against these, "were shocked to find their troops employed on such frivolous pretences against Ramnad and Sivaganga" and ordered the immediate restoration of the Rájá to Tanjore and "the stationing of a garrison at Tanjore for an annual payment of four lakhs of pagodas for the purpose of ensuring the regular payment of the Nawab's dues". The Raja was further "restrained by express terms from forming any alliance with foreign powers, except with the concurrence of the English rulers, and from rendering any assistance directly or indirectly to their enemies". Lord Pigot, who was sent out as Governor in supersession of Mr. Wynch, went in person to

Tanjore and formally installed in April, 1776, as the Rájá of Tanjore, Tuljáji, deposed in 1773. The Nawab of course was thoroughly disgusted with these proceedings, but no heed was paid to any of his complaints.

Disputes between the Tanjore Raja and the Tondaiman. We shall now turn back to the Tondaimân. For about six years from 1774 to 1779, his territory enjoyed some tranquillity, as there were no wars for which help was required, and the only hostile operations in which the Tondaimán was engaged in these years were those connected with the old disputes regarding the Kílànilai tract. There were repetitions of these disputes between the Ràjá of Tanjore and the Tondaimán in 1776, 1777 and 1778. In May, 1776, the Rájá of Tanjore complained to the Governor that the Tondaimán was committing outrages and making daily encroachments on his country, mentioned that no difference subsisted between him and the Tondaimán, and that he had reasons to think that the Tondaimán did not commit the outrages "of his own accord", * and requested that as "he was a tree planted by the English", the necessary protection might be given to him. The Rájà was informed in reply that the Governor would advise the Tondaimán to stop such behaviour in future.

When the matter was communicated to the Tondaimàn, he represented to the Nawab (September, 1776) that Tuljáji, who was enjoying the favour of Lord Pigot, had become filled with ambition and pride, that the Tanjore people came into his country, blew their horns and tied *toruns* (or temporary arches of flowers and leaves) to shew that the land belonged to them, and that his people thereupon broke down their *toruns* or festoons and took back the villages which the Nawab had entrusted to his care *when he was in possession of the Tanjore country*, and requested that "without showing any partiality to either party the matter might be decided". It appears that the disputes between the Tanjore Râjà and the Tondaimân were in connection with the attempts of the Rájá to take back the villages of Tanjore, which the Tondaimán had received from the Nawab (see p. 256).

---

* See letter from the Ràjá of Tanjore dated 25th January, 1778, where the Nawab is said to have instigated the Tondaimân.

Another representation was made by the Tondaimán's Vakil to the Nawab and by him to the Governor that the people of Tanjore entered the villages of Monnatoor (probably Mínattúr) and Túnúr and began to cut down the trees in a wood situated on the borders of his country, that the Tondaimán's people, who protested against the measure, were carried off into the Taluk of Arantángi, that these were released and brought back with great difficulty, that the conduct of the Tanjoreans was intolerable, and that "by the favour of God and the Nabob's protection, he could inflict punishment on them, but would not take that liberty without the Nabob's permission". On receiving this report, the Governor informed the Rájá of Tanjore (November, 1776) that frequent complaints were being received that his people were causing disturbances in the Tondaimán's country, that he should inquire into the matter and give no room for such complaints in future, and that every precaution would be taken by the Nawab and the Tondaimán against the creation of any troubles in his country (December, 1776). The disturbances continued in 1777, and we find the Nawab writing to the Governor in February, 1777, that the Governor's representation to the Rájá of Tanjore had had no effect. The Rájà of Tanjore informed the Governor (December, 1777) that the Tondaimán's people were again disturbing the ryots in his country and plundering the villages, and requested the Governor (January, 1778) to order the Commandant at Tanjore, for the prevention of any further molestation, to seize and punish the Tondaiman's people who made incursions into his country to plunder and distress the inhabitants. A letter was accordingly sent (26th January, 1778) to Lt. Col. Horne at Tanjore desiring him to protect the inhabitants of Tanjore from the Tondaimàn's people, and the necessary steps were taken by the officer. There the matter rested for some time.

Relations between the Nawab and the Country Chiefs. We may mention that about this time the Nawab protested once again (24th February and 29th March, 1778) against the Company's corresponding directly with his subjects, the tributary chiefs, and especially with his subject, the Ràjá of Tanjore, enclosing copies of articles of agreement, wherein the Madras Presidency had pledged itself no to correspond with the Country Powers

without the Nawab's knowledge. The Nawab was informed in reply (8th March and 15th April) that the Company reserved to themselves the privilege of writing to different States and intended to continue to exercise their right of corresponding with the Rájá of Tanjore and others. We do not find therefore from 1780 that absence of correspondence between the Tondaimân and the Company's Officers, to which we referred on page 236.

Haidar Ali's Second Invasion of the Carnatic. With the year 1780, began a period which the Tondaimán must have found very exciting. Haidar had found the English a great obstacle to his making himself the master of the whole of Southern India, and soon after war was declared in 1779 between the English and the French in Europe, Haidar, "out of his sworn hatred to the English Company," declared in favour of the French. The English moreover captured in 1779 Mahe, a French port on the Malabar Coast, through which Haidar had been getting down his European stores of war and French reinforcements, and this further exasperated him against the English. He formed in 1780, for the avowed purpose of driving the English out of India, a "Grand Confederacy" with the Marattas, who were then at war with them; according to which, the Marattas were to act against Bombay and Calcutta and Haidar was to expel the English from Madras.

In July, 1780, while the English had taken no steps to meet the emergency, Haidar descended "like a thunderbolt" into the Carnatic, devastated the country on all sides, and in less than a fortnight captured a chain of fortresses that secured his convoys from Mysore.

Among the faithless, the Tondaiman alone faithful to the Nawab and the English. According to the information supplied by the Tondaimán to the Tanjore General, Haidar's forces marched into Madura in July and burnt eleven villages in the country. Haidar, who had had under his protection the Zamindars of Udayàrpálayam and Ariyalúr as also the Ráni of Sivaganga (see pp. 231 and 254), sent these back with small forces to their pàlayams to create disturbances in those tracts. Their people, who had no relish for the administration of the

pálayams by "the Renters" of the Nawab,* readily rose against him. The people of Ramnad also threw off their allegiance to the Nawab, demanding the restoration of their Sétupati, kept in confinement at Trichinopoly (see p. 253). The turbulent Tinnevelly pàlayakárs, who were waiting for an opportunity to rise against the Nawab, were also in revolt. Sivagiri pálayakár invited Haidar to send troops into the Tinnevelly country, and the Nawab's Renter of Madura and Tinnevelly was himself believed to be secretly on Haidar's side, "being a near relative of the 'Colt Raja' who had been appointed by Haidar Raja of Madura and Tinnevelly".† Haidar wrote to the pálayakàr of Nattam (October, 1780)—and probably to many others—that his object was to drive out the Nawab and place the country under Hindu Kings. The result was that almost every chief in the south was up in arms against the Nawab and the English. Swartz, the eminent and respected Protestant Missionary at Tanjore, summed up the situation in a letter which he wrote to one of his friends on the 19th of December, 1780. He said that "it seemed as if all the country people wished for a change", that "Worriarpalliam, Maravar, Tinnevelly country, Madura were all up in arms", and that "the Colleries (of Nattam, *etc.*) were encouraged by Haidar", and added "Our place (you understand me) is suspected",‡ meaning that the Rájá of Tanjore was supposed to be intriguing with the Mysore King. In these circumstances the Tondaimán alone remained as steady and loyal to the English and the Nawab as ever.

For a long time the Mysoreans, finding that the Tondaimàns were inflexible in their attachment to the English and were thus a great obstacle to their conquest of Southern India, had been making attempts to win over the Tondaimáns to their side. When a

---

* As an example of the exactions of Renters, we may mention that in 1774–5, the year of the Nawab's sole management of the Tanjore country, "the revenue exacted by his officers and assignees amounted to no less than 52 lakhs of Chakkrams or about 81 lakhs of Rupees—a sum not yet (in 1883) reached with all the development of the natural resources of the country under the influence of peace and improved administration in the course of more than three-quarters of a century of British rule". See p. 810 of the *Tanjore Manual*.

† Dr. Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly*, p. 141.

‡ See *Memoirs of Christian Frederick Swartz* by Dr. Hugh Peterson.

letter from Tipu requesting the Tondaimân's friendship (written probably during the war in 1769) was sent over to Madras for the information of the Governor, the Tondaimân was congratulated on his prudence by Lord Pigot, Governor, who informed him (April, 20, 1776) that "he had afforded fresh proofs of his old loyalty and devotion to the Company by his foresight in not accepting the offers of and not acting according to the persuasion of Tipu,* the son of their enemy". The Tondaimàn was now pained to see that almost every body was up in arms against the English, felt that he should prevail upon such of them as would listen to him to remain true to the Company, and wrote to the Governor to say that the time had come when his influence and loyalty to the English could be well tested. He was informed by the Governor, Charles Smith, (*Hejira* 1194 or 1780 A. D.) that "his exertions with reference to the other Poligars of his parts had his approval", that "his statement to the effect that his influence and well-wishing should be tested at such a time of disturbance was impressed on his mind", that "after punishing the enemies and securing peace to the country, the good results of his well-wishing would be shown to him" and that "he should write about the undertakings in the country". The situation at this time was nearly as desperate as the condition of affairs during the siege of Trichinopoly (1751–4), when the fort seemed to be "at its last gasp",† and it is therefore that we find Col. Malleson, the well-known writer of many valuable works on Indian History, writing with reference to the services done by the Tondaimáns for the English, that "the Tondaimáns, the oldest and truest allies of the British in Southern India, most materially aided them in their contest for supremacy with the French, especially in the stirring events in the neighbourhood of Trichinapali and *subsequently in the wars against the Mahomedan dynasty of Mysore*".‡

---

* It is very curious to find Captain Nethersole translating the last portion of the passage quoted above of Lord Pigot's Persian letter as "the conquered enemy, Napoleon". The French Revolution itself was to begin only 13 years after the despatch of this letter to the Tondaimàn.

† See Col. Malleson's *Lord Clive*, pp. 100–1.

‡ See *Pudukkôttai* in Col. Malleson's *Historical Sketches of the Native States of India*.

We shall now turn to the war. At Ramnad the Nawab's officer commanding the fort was besieged by the Maravars and the Kallars, and the officer reported that he could not hold the place for more than twenty days. Col. Nixon wrote to Madras from Trichinopoly (February, 1781) that the Tondaimân had expressed to him his intention of marching to Ramnad for the relief of the officer. The Nawab was alarmed when he heard of the disturbance at Ramnad and thought it prudent to release the Sétupati, Mutturámalinga, and to send him back to Ramnad. The arrangement had the desired effect, and the Ramnad country after a time became tranquil. About this time, finding that the people of Sivaganga flocked to the standard of the Ráni on her return from Dindigal, the Nawab thought it best to admit her claim also.

Haidar Ali in the Tanjore country. In May, 1781, Haidar crossed the Coleroon and was within ten miles of Tanjore. He overran all parts of the country, and on the 23rd July the whole of the Tanjore Kingdom was in Haidar's hands with the exception of the fort of Tanjore. He placed garrisons in most of the forts and defensible pagodas,* and "instigated the poligars of the neighbourhood to rise in rebellion".

Haidar Ali prevented from entering the Tondaiman's country. Haidar's forces entered the Tondaimán's country near Athanakkóttai (see the *Gazetteer*), but were decisively defeated in the Sóttuppálai and Áthanakkottai tracts by Sardár Manna Vélàr. When the news of this victory of the Tondaimàn reached Sir Eyre Coote, the Commander-in-Chief, he wrote to the Tondaimán that "the happy information of his success which he had been able to collect from all quarters was that the Tondiman had bravely and gallantly routed and punished the enemy that infested his country and that he had made some hundreds of the enemy's horsesoldiers his captives", that "he was gratified beyond measure to hear of the success", that "if the Tondiman had given him particulars of the action, it would have given him greater pleasure" and that "he was fully persuaded that the Tondiman could achieve more glorious actions". When the Tondaimán

* See Lt. Jackson's *Historical Records of the XIIIth Madras Infantry.*

communicated the details shortly afterwards to the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Eyre Coote wrote to say (May, 1781) that "he was very much satisfied to learn the particulars directly from the Tondiman". The Commander-in-Chief also informed him that "the fort of Keelanelly was then occupied by the enemy", that "the message that the Raja of Tanjore had sent to the Tondiman that the fort belonged to the Tondiman and that he might take it from the enemy was fully known", that "it would be very agreeable to the English if he should take the fort" and that "it would be highly pleasing to them that the Tondiman's property should be restored to him and that his power should be strengthened by the restoration". Further, the pálayakárs of Nattam (Lingam Náyak) and of Marungápuri (Púchi Náyak), evidently set up by Haidar, were at this time creating disturbances in the Tondaimán's country. With reference to these, Sir Eyre Coote wrote that "after quelling the (Mysore) enemies, he would take it upon himself to adequately punish these fomenters of disturbances"

Haidar Ali's atrocities. The service done by the Tondaimán to his country in defeating the horsemen of Haidar at Áthanakkóttai and preventing them from entering the country cannot be properly appreciated by the reader, if he is not acquainted with the atrocities and barbarities committed by Haidar's forces in the tracts through which they passed. We find a biographer of Haidar Ali writing as follows of the outrages committed by Haidar and his men. "The irregular cavalry collected the cattle and sheep and burned and destroyed the villages and crops on the ground. The banks of the ponds or reservoirs were also broken down or cut through, and the wells filled with the putrid bodies of murdered fugitives. Hyder on this occasion boasted that he was the engine of God's wrath for the punishment of the Carnatic; and those whom his sword spared were carried off prisoners to Mysore".* Another writer, speaking of the barbarities committed in April and May of this year by Haidar's troops, remarks that "Haidar entered the Tanjore country...............spreading desolation everywhere. Even the Gentoo temples, which had been hitherto held sacred

* Charles Stewart's *Memoirs of Haidar Ali*, p. 33.

by all castes, were plundered of their swamies or idols by his people of the Moorish Sect".* The well-known Missionary Swartz wrote about the atrocities in the Tanjore country as follows:—"Their idols.........are taken away, their houses burnt and their cattle driven away; and what afflicts many thousand parents unspeakably more is that Hyder sends their best children† away (bo be circumcised and turned Muhammadans). All the small boys of eight or nine or ten years he sends to his country". Several women‡ were also carried away, and the banks of the Anaikkat to the west of Tirukká*tt*uppalli were destroyed, depriving the Tanjoreans of future hopes of carrying on cultivation in the country.

The extracts given above will give the reader an idea of the outrages committed by Haidar's men, and the men of the Tondaimán's country were spared these outrages by the defeat of Haidar's troops at Áthanakkóttai. This country was considered indeed so safe that many of "the husbandmen and artisans of Tanjore that escaped forced § emigration to the country above the ghats, fled and took shelter in the Tondamán's country".$

Haidar's forces seem to have entered the State from the Trichinopoly side also and to have been defeated by the Tondaimán. According to *Venkanna Sérvaikàr Valandàn*—

மலம்பட்டி வாடி யிலே வந்த ஐதர் சேனையை
தலையோடே வெட்டிச் சமர்பொருதுந் தொண்டைமான்.

"The Tondaimán fought with Haidar's forces at Malampa*tt*i (see p. 11) and cut off the heads of his men". It is said that the

* Robson's *Life of Hyder Ali*, p. 122.

† "The young boys were afterwards trained to arms and formed the first nucleus of a band of compulsory converts from Hinduism to Islam—a band which was largely augmented in the time of Tipu Sultan under the title of *Chela* or disciple battalions". Mr. Bowring's *Haidar Ali*, p. 75 (*Rulers of India* series).

‡ Letter from the Râjà of Tanjore to the Governor, dated 10th August, 1781

§ See Mr. Thurston's *Castes and Tribes of Southern India*, Vol. VI, p. 163 for an example. "It is said that Haidar Ali, while returning from his expeditions against Madras, forcibly brought with him twenty-five families of Patnùlkara weavers, who were living in the Tanjore district, ...The industry flourished till the fall of Seringapatam, when most of the class fled from the country, a few only having survived those troublous times".

$ See Mr. Venkâswàmi Row's *Tanjore Manual*, p. 813.

people of Pérámbúr, an adjoining village, afraid that the horsemen of Haidar might attack their village also, cut down an irrigation tank near the village, the channel formed by the water flowing from which tank is called "ஹைதர் வாய்க்கால்" or "Haidar's channel".

The Single Horseman. One of the horsemen of Haidar, unconnected with this or any other party, seems to have been a most atrocious man. His name is not known, as he is always referred to as "the single horseman". There is no doubt whatever that he committed very great ravages in this territory. In two dance-songs, *Ambunâttuvalandàn* and *Venkanna Sérvaikàr Valandân*, he is said to have been driven out by the Tondaimán from his place of concealment in a thick forest and then killed.

"மஸ்தகம் பதித்தொரு விராலிமலை தன்னில்
(ஊசிநுழையாத உடைவேலான் காட்டிலே)
ஒற்றைக்குதிரைக்காரன் ஒருமையாக வந்தவனை
பற்றித் துரத்திவெட்டும் பகதர்ராயத்தொண்டைமான்".

"The Tondaiman killed the single horseman that marched unaccompanied by others, after driving him out of a forest of acacia trees in the well-known Virálimalai tract, which was so full of trees that a pin could not be thrust into it".

The atrocities of "this single horseman" have not as yet been forgotten. Until very recently, Telugu mothers in Pudukkóttai, in pacifying their fretful children, used to tell them "*Onti gurram vàdu otsàru*", or "The single horseman is coming; (don't show him by crying out that you are here)".*

Haidar's forces at Trichinopoly. The Tondaiman's help. The enemy now tried to capture Trichinopoly, and the Tondaimán communicated to the Nawab at Arcot the help that he was rendering to the English against the enemy in a letter that he wrote to him on the 23rd of July, 1781. He informed the Nawab

* This will show that "the single horseman" belonged to the class of men like Robin Hood, "the Black Douglas" of Scotland, Saladin and "the Cid" of Spain, whose names were used in different parts of the world to hush children to sleep. Adapting the lines in Sir Walter Scott's *Tales of a Grandfather*, we may suppose that a lullaby used by the Telugu women of Pudukkóttai was the following:—

"Hush ye, hush ye, little pet ye;
Hush ye, hush ye, do not fret ye;
'The one horseman' shall not get ye."

that "he was exerting himself night and day as he ought to do in defending the fort of Trichinopoly" and that "he doubted not that the Nawab's servants there would inform him of his zeal and attachment to his cause".

The enemy's attention was next directed to Thirukkà*tt*uppalli, which they besieged. "Haider, ordering the heads of the slain near Trichinopoly to be cut off, packed them in twenty large baskets and sent them into the fort to frighten the garrison, with a message directing them to give up the place immediately to his officer, as otherwise he would soon cut off their heads in like manner". An English army that was sent for the relief of the place was defeated (August, 1781).

Tipu, Haidar's son, who was to the north of the Coleroon was now informed by spies that a body of troops from Trichinopoly and Tanjore had joined with the intention of reducing the forts of Tirukká*tt*uppalli, Chákkóttai (about 12 miles to the south-east of Tirumayyam) and Mannárgudi, and that "although Syud Sáhib (one of Haidar's Generals) had exerted himself to the extent of his power to repel those troops, he had been unsuccessful; for, from want of experience, the officer commanding the troops with him, had *frequently* been *shamefully defeated* by the Kullurs of Tondiman* and the regular cavalry of Tujawúr (Tanjore), and was so cowed or disheartened that it was probable all that part of the country had by that time been overrun and conquered. When the English battalion left Thurkat Pulli (Tirukká*tt*uppalli), they joined some of the Kullurs of Tondiman† with their force and surrounded and assaulted the fort of Shagota. The officer who commanded in the fort was a Soubadár ....who defended himself with great spirit.........The defeated officers were about to try a second assault, when all at once the

* Such a testimonial to the gallantry of the Tondaimàn's fighting men from a Mussalman writer, who was an admirer and probably a dependant of Haidar, may be considered valuable.

† According to the Palace records, a force is said to have been sent about this time to Mallàkkòttai, south of Tiruppattùr in Madura District. The force should have been sent to chastise the notorious Kallars of Nattam, who must have committed ravages in the southern portion of the State, acting under the orders of Nattam pâlayakàr, a friend of Haidar. This army, probably on their return march, joined the English battalion marching against Châkkòttai.

sound of the kettledrums and trumpets of the Prince's (Tipu's) army reached their ears, and they became aware that a reinforcement had arrived. They therefore made haste to retire under cover of the hills and jungles to Sheo Gunga (Sivaganga). The Prince encamped that day before the fort; and after bestowing on the Soubadár a thousand commendations in reward of his gallant conduct, made him a present of gold armlets, a puduk (a pendant of precious stones), a gorget and a jowmala or a string of pearls and took him on with his army ". *

The Tondaiman desired to capture Kilanilai. In August, 1781, Col. Braithwaite, who was commanding the Southern Army in Tanjore, determined to reduce Pa*tt*ukkó*tt*ai, "the southern extremity of the (Tanjore kingdom) with the hope of obtaining provisions" from the tract lying beyond it. He assembled his army on the 30th of the month; but his force was repulsed and he himself received a wound, so that he had to send for Col. Knox from Trichinopoly to make over the command to him. About this time, Braithwaite requested the Tondaimán to capture Kílánilai and to keep the fort himself. The circumstances were reported on the 8th of November, 1781 as follows by the Rájá of Tanjore to the Governor—*after* the fort had been taken and occupied by the Tondaimán :–" Some time ago the Tondiman's Vackeel came to me and represented that my country suffered by the enemy's keeping possession of the forts of Ardengi (Arantàngi) and Killanelly and offered with my permission to recover those places and deliver them up when I pleased. I communicated this proposal to Colonel Braithwaite, who said that I must not think of complying with it, for if the places in question were taken by the Tondiman, he would hereafter load me with an expense upon that account which I should be obliged to pay or enter into disputes with him concerning them, and that the Company would soon reduce the whole country and restore it to my Government. I agreed in opinion with the Colonel upon this occasion and in consequence

* From Meer Hussain Ali Kiramani's *History of Hyder Naik* in Persian, translated by Col. W. Miles (1842). This writer is very fond of using oriental metaphors. According to him, Tipu's soldiers were "as brave as Roostum", the Nawab (Haidar) "pitched his tent high as the sun and moon", his soldiers "like the famished at a table laden with dainties, put forth the hand of plunder", "the whole of that part of the country (Tanjore and Trichinopoly) was swept by the besom of plunder and destruction", *etc.*

told the Tondiman's Vackeel that I rejected his proposal and that his master must not attempt the reduction of the forts. Soon after, the Colonel (for what reason, I do not know) sent to desire the Tondiman to begin the attack without giving me the smallest intimation of his design.........Whether the Colonel gave orders of his own accord or whether he had authority from the Governor and Council for giving them is what I do not know". The fact evidently was that when Col. Braithwaite found that the places could not be recovered without the help of the Tondaimán, he authorised him to capture the forts and keep Kílánilai for himself.

The tide began to turn in favour of the English in September, 1781. The Tondaimán was doing his best to help the English. He must of course have complied with the wishes of the Commander-in-Chief and Col. Pears for forces to be sent to be employed in places specified by them. Sir Eyre Coote informed the Tondaimán that one Mr. Anthony (*sic* *) had been directed to march against the enemy and that the Tondaimán with his forces should give him every help (1195 *Hejira* or 1781). Col. Pears knew that the Tondaimán had identified the English cause with his and wrote to him that "he did not ask him to send troops on wages (for batta) considering him an alien" but that "he considered him to be a partner in the affair". On the 23rd of August, Col. Wood, who had been appointed to command the Southern Forces, wrote to the Tondaimán (September,† 1781) that "he was rejoiced on receiving the Tondiman's confidential letter containing the verbal message that Hyder Naik sent through the people of Oodayateiven (of Sivaganga) to Poodoocottah" that the Tondaimàn's army had been stationed at Mannárgudi with Col. Knox, that "the enemies that ran away from the pagoda of Mannargoody, had been taken by the Tondiman's people", that the "creatures" (forces) of Haidar at Pattukkóttai were not able to render any assistance to the enemy's

* Captain A. R. Nethersole's transliteration of the name in Persian is (Mr). Andunitand (?). The reference is perhaps to Captain Eidingtoun, who was acting in 1781 against the Mysoreans in these parts.

† The date given in the Pudukkòttai printed Correspondence Book, 19th Ramzan, 1195 *Hejira* or August 23, 1781, is incorrect. Col. Knox "arrived in the Tanjore country on the *4th of September* and in a few days he took Manarcoil, after a siege of two days".

force at Mannárgudi, that the enemies were still in possession of Pa*tt*ukkó*tt*ai, Arantángi and Kílánilai, and that the Tondaimán would be good enough to capture the three forts with his men, "hand over the first two of them to the English to be garrisoned by their troops, and possess himself of Keelanelly and the adjoining tract and garrison the fort with his men".

The Tondaiman captures Kilanilai and two other forts. In accordance with instructions received from Sir Eyre Coote, Col. Braithwaite and Col. Wood as also from the Nawab's representative at Trichinopoly, the Tondaimàn sent a very strong force into the Tanjore country "under the command of Rámaswámi (Rangia?) Sérvaikàr, a Pallavaráyar and Subrahmanya Mudaliyár" and succeeded in a short time in driving out the troops of Haidar from all these three forts and capturing the fortresses. He also sent another force "under Nalan Konda Ávudaippa Sérvaikár" against one Màppillai Tévan, a relative of the Sétupati, who was acting on the side of Haidar, and succeeded in making him a captive. Col. J. Wright Pears was so pleased with the successes of the Tondaimán that he wrote to the Tondaimán (November 20, 1781) that "on his recommending to the consideration of General Munro Bahadur (Sir Hector Munro) the zealous assistance afforded by him to the English, the General was highly gratified", that "it had been decided that two guns, * 300 balls and the requisite quantity of powder should be presented to him (in recognition of his services)" that "as they could not afford to defray the charges of the Tondiman's army, he was authorised to enjoy the three forts of Puttoocottah, Ardangy and Keelanelly until his expenses were refunded", that "he had written accordingly to the General", that the Tondaimàn "might send an explanatory statement relating to the same" and also state that "agreeably to the desire of the Colonel (Pears), he had sent an army from his country for the purpose of combating the enemy", that "as the Ràjá of Tanjore was the friend of the Honorable Company, the Tondiman should issue orders to all his people to give no trouble whatever to the people of the said Raja", and that "his capture of Mappillayteivan, a fomenter of sedition, proved his conspicuous ability".

* The present of arms was in imitation of the Mughal custom. See Mr. Irvine's *Army of the Indian Mughals*, Chapter II.

Towards the close of September, 1781, Tanjore had become almost tranquil, and we find Sir Eyre Coote writing to the Tondaimân that "the friendly relation which he bore to the Tondiman made him write to him repeatedly that he would in conjunction with the English soldiers discover, punish and drive off the creatures of the enemy in his parts", and that "if he should succeed in driving off the horsemen of the enemy whom the enemies had left there only to harass and torture the poor, he would inform him of the same, as he was anxiously impatient to hear it". The needful help was given, and it appeared as if Haidar's forces had retired from the Tanjore country before the close of 1781. We may mention that in this war the Dutch were helping Haidar with stores of war and that their places such as Negapatam and Tuticorin were captured by the English.

Disputes between the Tanjore Raja and the Tondaiman about Kilanilai and two other forts. We must now turn to the quarrel between the Rájá of Tanjore and the Tondaimán with reference to the forts of Pattukkóttai, Arantángi and Kílánilai, which were then in the occupation of the Tondaimàn. As soon as these forts were captured, the Rájà of Tanjore sent his Amildars to take possession of the forts, and the Tondaimán naturally enough refused admission to the Amildar into Arantangi and drove out of the Kílánilai tract the men that had been sent from Tanjore to occupy it. The Rájâ thereupon sent a complaint to the Governor against the Tondaimàn on the 8th of November, whereas on the day following the Tondaimán wrote to the Governor that "he was engaged in carrying out the orders of Col. Nixon and Col. Braithwaite for the good of the country". General Munro also wrote to the Governor (13th January, 1782) requesting to be informed whether the Tondaimán was to remain in possession of the three forts and the adjoining tracts or whether they were to be delivered by him upon a promise being made to him that his expenses would be reimbursed. The Government had no time to dispose of the dispute, as the war had not really come to an end.

Disturbances again in the Tanjore country. "On the whole, matters in the south had begun to look prosperous, when their aspect was changed by a sudden and severe disaster.

In February, 1782, Col. Braithwaite, who had resumed command, was with a force of more than 1600 men some miles to the east of Kumbhakónam, when he was surprised by Tipu, and after twenty-six hours of desperate fighting, the detachment was completely defeated". The command of the English force in the south was now entrusted to Colonel Nixon, an officer of energy and experience, and negociations were commenced with the pálayakàrs of Udayárpàlayam and Ariyalúr for their restoration * and for help to be given by them. The French, a considerable body of whom had landed in March, joined Tipu and attacked Negapatam, and a strong detachment was sent to Mannárgudi, to prevent the fort from being taken. The pálayakárs of Udayàr-pálayam and Ariyalúr were treated with favour, and these as well as the other chiefs were informed that "the English were engaged in a war for the defence of the Carnatic and the neighbouring countries, and that the interests of all the Râjás and Zamindârs were to unite with them against the known disturber of the public tranquillity", Haidar Ali Khan. In September, 1782, the condition of affairs at Tanjore was considered critical, and in November, 1782, the Ràjà was required "to join in a just and necessary measure for the extinction of the enemy".

Tipu's second attempt to seduce the Tondaiman. In November of this year, another attempt was made by the Mysoreans to entice the Tondaimán to their side. Tipu offered, "if the Tondiman ceased to help the English and joined his side, to put him in possession of Tanjore, Ramnathapuram or Auvacouchy (Aravakkuricchi on the Dindigal side)". The Tondaimán communicated the offer to the Governor, expressing his devotedness to the Nawab and the Company. The Governor wrote to him in reply (30th March, 1783) that "in his conduct with regard to Tippoo's letter, the Tondaman had acted with wisdom and foresight", that "Tippoo had been obliged to fly from the Carnatic with all his forces into those countries which his father had usurped" and that "if his country should at any time be invaded by Tippoo on account of his attachment to the Company, the Tondaman would always find a sure support in their protection and friendship". What the Governor meant by stating that Tipu had

* The restoration to their pâlayams of the runaway pâlayakárs of Udayár-pàlayam and Ariyalùr was formally approved in May, 1793.

been forced to fly from the Carnatic was that the English in January, 1783, had decided to act offensively against Tipu, who had become Nawab of Mysore on the death of his father on the 7th of December, 1782. They attacked Bednore and Mangalore with an army from Bombay and thus compelled Tipu to return to his country to defend his forts. Col. Lang, the officer commanding the army in the south, was required to subdue the Karur, Dindigal and Coimbatore countries.

The Tondaiman's army marching towards Seringapatam. The Tondaimàn sent a force (March, 1783) under Sardar Umanaiya with a Vakil Kottayàchári "in this expedition against Seringapatam". Karúr was captured on the 2nd of April, Aravakkuricchi on the 10th of April and Dindigal on the 4th of May. Colonel Fullarton was now appointed Commander of the Southern Army, and the Tondaimán's forces marched under him next to Dárápuram—called Big Dárâpuram in the Palace Records—the fortress at which place was captured on the 2nd of June. Col. Fullarton was about to march against Coimbatore, when he received an order from the Commander in-Chief to join him at Cuddalore and fight with the French. When he approached the place, he heard that intelligence had been received from Europe of the cessation of hostilities between the English and the French and that there was no necessity for him to remain at Cuddalore. Tipu was also making overtures of peace, and Col. Fullarton, an indefatigable General, at once marched against Sivaganga, the ruler of which place had large arrears of tribute to pay and was further required to pay about one lakh of Rupees for ravages committed by him in the Company's territories. After getting from him about one half of this amount in ready money and security for the payment of the other half, Col. Fullarton marched to Tinnevelly and brought the refractory pálayakárs of the country to obedience. He then returned to Dindigal (23rd September) when he heard that the war against Mysore was to be resumed. On the 1st of September, 1783, Col. Fullarton received from the Tondaimán 5,000 Kalams of paddy for which his receipt runs as follows :– "Received from Tondaman on account of the Southern Army in a moment of public distress five thousand Company's cullums of paddy". The "distress" was so great indeed that Col. Fullarton

wrote to the Tondaimân that "in case of his failure to send paddy, the victorious army would be sent to the Rájá's country, as the men in the army could not brook hunger". Col. Fullarton then marched to Pálghát through the Ánaimalai forests with the Tondaimán's forces. The march was laborious, as "the ravines were filled with water, the paths became slippery, the bullocks lost their footing, and the troops were obliged to drag the guns and carriages through the whole forest". On the 7th of November, 1783, the army reached Pálghát which was captured on the 13th of the month. The army next marched to Coimbatore, and Col. Fullarton was making arrangements to proceed to Seringapatam through Satyamangalam, when he was informed that terms of peace had been offered by the enemy and that he should withdraw into the Company's territory, leaving the captured fortresses in the hands of Tipu's officers. With a heavy heart* he left Coimbatore and Pâlghát and reached the Trichinopoly and Tanjore countries, when he heard that Tipu had again proved insincere and that he should march—for the *third* time—into the enemy's country. Tipu however soon afterwards found that he could not resist the English, and the war was terminated by the *Treaty of Mangalore* concluded in March, 1784.

The Tondaiman's men praised by Col. Fullarton. From the Palace Records, we find that the Tondaimán's forces marched first under the command of Col. Lang and afterwards under Col. Fullarton to Karúr, Aravakkuricchi, Dindigal, Big Dárâpuram, Pàlghátchéri and Coimbatore, and it must be a pride to all of us that the Tondaimán's forces took a part in the glorious campaigns sketched above. Col. Fullarton, writing after the conclusion of the war to the Tondaimán, informed him that "he was sending back his Vakil Kottayachari and the Commandant with the battalion", that "he had the pleasure to inform him that they with the whole of their heart had been very careful and diligent in the late war", that "he expressed his thanks to the Commandant (and the men) before his battalion for his able services", and that he had requested the Tondaimán's men "to take a pair of standards and a pair of guns as a mark of his appreciation of their

* "As we have seen on previous occasions, the vigorous efforts of Military Commanders were paralyzed by the timidity and hesitation of the Civil authorities in Madras". Bowring's *Tipu Sultan*, p. 129 (*Rulers of India series*).

services" and requested that the Tondaimán "would treat both Kottayachari and the Commandant with great favour and not make any default in that respect".

Tipu's atrocities in the Tanjore country. We must now turn to matters nearer Pudukkóttai. Tipu's forces had not retired from these parts in the first half of 1783. The Rájá of Tanjore wrote to the Governor to inform him (June 26th, 1783) that "the depredations of the enemy's horse for six or seven months past had not extended to Mayour (Mayaveram) and Cumbeconum", that "the people in consequence were assembling again in those districts", but that in June "the enemy crossed the Colleroon, plundered the districts of Mayour and Shiyally, ... plundered Cumbeconum completely, wounded several people and carried away several women, spread themselves over the country and were causing devastation in a manner not to be described". There was a famine in the year on account of the ravages committed since 1781 by the enemy, and the situation of the country was truly deplorable. Swartz, the well-known Missionary of the Society for Promoting Christian Knowledge, very feelingly wrote to the Society as follows (September, 1783).

"As the famine was so great and of so long continuance, those have been affected by it who seemed to be beyond its reach. A vigorous and strong man is scarcely to be met with; in outward appearance they are like wandering skeletons.

"When it is considered that Hyder Ali has carried off so many thousands of people and that many thousands have died of want, it is not at all surprising to find not only empty houses, but desolated villages—a mournful spectacle indeed".

Even the fort of Tanjore was not exempt from the miseries of war and in another letter the Missionary wrote "We have suffered exceedingly in this fortress from hunger and misery. When passing through the streets early in the morning, the dead were lying in heaps on the dung hills".

Speaking of Tipu, he wrote in 1784 to one of his friends, "He is a much more enterprising soldier than his father. Every commandant that surrendered a fort to the English he ordered

to be hung. Having carried *twelve thousand children** captives from Tanjore, he compelled them all to become Mahommedans".† We give these details so that the reader may fully realise the horrors implied by the phrase "மைசூரான் கலாபம்" (that is, the disturbances or troubles caused by the Mysoreans, Haidar and Tipu) of which he has doubtless heard. How thankful should we feel that under the strong protecting hand of the English there are no such disturbances in these days and that all that we know of war is what we learn from books and papers.

The English were determined to drive out the enemy from Tanjore, and we find the Governor, Lord Macartney, writing to the Tondaimàn on the 1st of April, 1783, that "the Honorable Company were ever ready to fulfil their promises without any change whatever"—this refers to the request for the retention of Kílânilai—, ... and that "as the time then was the time to show acts of well-wishing, he had great trust on the Tondaiman's brave deeds and marked efforts and the Company believed that by his friendly counsel and military aid the cavalry of the enemy in the country would be beaten and driven out".

Disputes about Kilanilai and other tracts. We now take up the disputes between the Rájá of Tanjore and the Tondaimán relating to the Kílánilai and other tracts. These disputes extended for five years from 1781 to 1785. The Ràjà wrote

---

* See Dr. Peterson's *Memoirs of Christian Frederick Swartz* and the second foot-note on p. 265.

† Everybody knows that a large number of people emigrated to other places from the Tanjore District. The following extract bearing on this subject is from Col. Wilks' *History of South India*, Vol. II, p. 303. "On the appearance of a hostile army, the unfortunate inhabitants of India bury underground their most cumbrous effects, and each individual, man, woman and child over six years of age (the infant children being carried by their mothers) with a load of grain proportioned to their strength, issue from their beloved houses, and take the direction of a country (if such can be found) exempt from the miseries of war; sometimes of a strong fortress; but more generally of the most unfrequented hills and woods, where they prolong a miserable existence until the departure of the enemy; and if this be protracted beyond the time for which they have provided food, a large proportion necessarily die of hunger.

"The people of a district thus deserting their houses are called the *Wulsa* of the district.........No proof can be accumulated from the most profound research which describes the immemorial condition of the people with more authentic precision than this single word.

"It is a profound distinction that the *Wulsa* never departs on the approach of a British army, when accompanied by Indian allies".

repeatedly to the Governor that the three forts of Pa*tt*ukkó*tt*ai, Arantángi and Kílánilai, which had been captured by the Tondaimán and were being enjoyed, according to the instructions issued to him by the English military officers, Sir Eyre Coote, Col. Braithwaite, Col. Wood and Col. Pears, by the Tondaimán, should be restored to him, that it did not look well that the Tondaimàn, his inferior, should usurp his country and keep possession of it, that the Tondaimán was exacting a tax of one hundred or two hundred chackrams from every village and preventing his people from cutting down the trees in the Pa*tt*ukkó*tt*ai tract, that he had no troops of his own with which he could chastise the insolent usurper and easily regain his rights, that his only support was from the Company, and that it was to the Company therefore that he looked for justice (April, May, June and July, 1783). The Presidency of Madras decided in September upon restoring the tracts to the Rájá of Tanjore. They wrote to the Tondaimán on the 10th of September, 1783, that "in consideration of the timely assistance afforded by the Tondeman, when called upon by Col. Braithwaite to expel the enemy from Killenelly and Arandingey, he might retain the revenues collected by him in the districts from the time that he took charge of them until his people were relieved (from those places)",—that is, for about two years,—and that "he should withdraw all his collectors and people employed in revenue work in those districts so that the officers of the Raja's Government might again enter upon their charge". The Tondaimán desired that the question might be reconsidered by the Presidency and wrote to the Governor (10th and 17th of October, 1783) that "he considered the writing of Colonel Braithwaite equal to one of the gentlemen in Europe or His Excellency the Governor's", that "he therefore took the forts of Putcottah and Ardhungy and put them into the possession of Colonel Braithwaite", that "relying on the written assurances of General Coote and Colonel Braithwaite as also of Nassir Sung Bahauder (one of the Nawab's officers, evidently) he took, with great pains, after losing many men, the fort of Killenelly", that "he thought that the sun would sooner alter his course than that any deviation should take place in the declarations of the English Sardars" and requested that "Killanelly might be permitted to continue to remain in his possession".

The Tondaimán was waiting for a reply * to this representation, when the Rájá of Tanjore wrote that "the Tondeman had for 25 days delayed to obey the commands of the Government" and that "he should be required to make also a restitution to him of the sums taken in plunder and collected as revenue by the Tondeman". The Resident of Tanjore had in the meanwhile sent two companies of Sepoys and Ensign Crump to take possession of Kílánilai and deliver it to the Tanjore Rájá. The Rájá wrote to the Governor that "the fame of his Lordship's goodness had spread abroad by the act", that he had stationed his people in the fort and that he had placed the country under the management of his Amildar, but that "nothing but the bare fort and the country was restored to him as the Tondaman had driven away (before the capture of the fort by Ensign Crump) all the cattle from the tract and had planted no crops", that "it was just that the revenue collections for the two years during which the Tondaman was in possession of the tract should be made over to him" and that as "his honour was in his Lordship's keeping, his Lordship might do what he thought proper".

In 1784 and 1785 there were some minor disputes between the Rájà of Tanjore and the Tondaimàn. In September and October, 1784, the Rájá of Tanjore complained to the Governor that the Tondaimán had been enjoying three villages of his ("Nivally, Erianty and Scroovalore") which the Tanjore General Mànóji had given away to the Tondaimàn without the Rájá's knowledge in exchange for Perungulúr, which Mánóji had appropriated to his own use, that after a time Perungulúr was taken by force by the Tondaimán, that the Rájá also in return retook the three villages, but that he was required by the Resident at Tanjore to return these villages to the Tondaimán, that further Mànóji had

* Lord Valentia, in his *Voyages and Travels to India, Ceylon, etc.*, (London, 1809) writes as follows on this subject:—Killanelly had belonged to Tanjore, but in Tippoo's war it was in his possession. As it was considered an important place to recover, the English offered to grant it to Tondiman if he would conquer the fort, but on the peace *the Tanjore influence prevailed at Madras* and he had been obliged to surrender it. See Vol I., Chap. VII. Lord Valentia must have had this information from Captain Blackburne, Resident at Tanjore, whose guest he was in 1804. His account of the services rendered by the Tondaimàn during the "Second Poligar War" bears a remarkable coincidence to the narrative that was submitted to the Madras Government by Captain Blackburne.

given away two other villages of his in the Visenginádu tract—Ulakamkáttànpatti and Killanúr—to one Tirumalai Tondaimán, the brother of the preceding ruler, that not a village nor a piece of ground was given by the Rájá to any one without a Sanad or order under his seal, and that the Governor might cause inquiries to be made and decide the question equitably. The Tondaimán, who was required to produce all the papers that he had on the subject, wrote (16th March, 1785) to request that the question of the Tanjore Rájá's grant to him of Kílánilai might also be then inquired into. It was decided in May that "Nivally, Erianty and Scroovalore" belonged to Tanjore and that the Tondaimán was to remain in possession of Ulakamkáttánpatti, Killanúr and Perungulúr, "except the lands and tank adjacent to the last mentioned place which were to be appropriated to the use of the pagoda to which they were annexed". The question relating to Kílànilai was not taken up for consideration

The Tondaiman's charities. For three or four years from 1785 the Carnatic was on the whole tranquil and there were no calls from the English for help from the Tondaimán. It may be supposed that in these years the Tondaimán found plenty of time for attending to the internal affairs of the State and introducing such reforms as seemed to him to be desirable. His palace, of which traces are still visible, was at Sivánandapuram, half a mile to the north of the town. * The ruler is therefore popularly known as "the Sivánandapuram Durai or prince". He continued the work of charity which was bequeathed to him by his predecessors. In 1785 some lands at Pillamangalam near the southern border of the State were entrusted to one Venkatapatiyâ Pillai for the establishment of a service in Tondaimán's name to the God at Kílvélúr † in the Tanjore District. According to a copper-plate, he granted in 1787 the village of Ayyankulam near Mullúr, to the north of the town, rent-free under the name of 'Ràjagópálasamudram' to one Venkatáchári (and other Brahmins),

* We find the following in Hamilton's *East Indian Gazetteer*. "Chevamundapuram (Sivánandapuram), a place in the woods about three miles from Puducotta, was formerly the royal residence; but it has long gone to ruins and is now only frequented by wild beasts". See Article on *Puducotta*.

† See Inscription on a stone planted near Alankammài reservoir at Pillamangalam. The village 'Kivalur' is a railway station near Negapatam.

and according to another copper-plate, the village of Kumáramangalam was granted rent-free by him to some Brahmins in 1788 A. D. We find from an inscription at Lakshmanpa*tt*i in the Kulattúr Taluk, that lands were assigned to one "Ahmad Saib Gurukkal", priest of the mosque at Lakshmanpa*tt*i, "on the orders of Hazarat Nawab Saheb by Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman". The date of the grant is not known. *The Statistical Account of Pudukkottai* (1813) mentions that four chattrams were established during his rule. One of these was founded at Áyippa*tt*i near Várappúr, by a stepmother of the ruler, Nallakàttáyi Áyi, in 1779, where in 1813 food was freely distributed on every *dwâdasi* day (or the 12th day of the lunar fortnight). In 1783 two other chattrams were built,–one by the Tondaimán's consort, Kallàkóttai Ammani Áyi, at Ónángudi, about 6 miles to the south-east of the town, and the other to the west of Vadaválam (at இச்சேடி) by Muttalagammál, another wife of the Tondaimán. In both of these chattrams, in addition to food on *dwàdasi* days, gruel of gram and buttermilk were supplied on every day. In 1788 was established by Tirumalai Tondaimán, the ruler's uncle and the Chinnaranmanai Jágírdár, at Chinnaiya Chattram village on the road from Pudukkóttai to Tanjore, a well-endowed chattram, where even now Brahmin wayfarers are fed free and those of other castes are given provisions for being cooked. So far as we know, there are no records of other charities instituted during the rule of Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán.

The Tondaiman afraid of an attack by Tipu. In July, 1788, the Tondaimán was afraid of an attack from Tipu's men. Tipu was often complaining that the Manappárai pálayakárs were committing depredations in his country and must have given out that he would punish these pálayakárs for their plundering expeditions as also the Tondaimàn for his unswerving attachment to the English. When the report of this reached the Tondaimán, he wrote to the Governor (20th July, 1788) that "he had news from the Manappárai pálayakàrs that the enemy (Tipu) intended to make war with him for not joining and helping him when he invaded the country last time", that "the report was universal", that "it was confirmed by the Governor's own hircarrahs", that "he was determined as long as he continued in this world not to

deviate a hair's breadth in his allegiance to the Circar and the Company" and that "the Governor would kindly write to the gentlemen at Trichinopoly and Tanjore not to neglect him when he was in trouble". He was assured by the Governor in July, 1788, that he need not be under any uneasiness and that the Company would always favour and protect those who were faithful and steady in their attachment to them and the Nawab.

Disputes between the Tondaiman and Sivaganga. In January, 1788, General Horne reported to the Governor that disputes had risen between the Tondaimán and the ruler of Sivaganga in connection with the ownership of some lands, and that the Foujdar of Trichinopoly had promised to settle the disputes by arbitration. General Horne was required by the Government* to proceed in person to the spot to prevent the parties from resorting to violence and settle the disputes that had arisen. When the parties met, the Sivaganga ruler gave very rough answers, so that in October, 1788, General Horne found it necessary to station a company of Sepoys on the Sivaganga border to prevent the Tondaimán and Chinna Marudu of Sivaganga from plundering each other's territories.

The Nawab's war with Sivaganga. The Tondaiman's services. In 1789 the Tondaimán had a call for help in the war that the English waged in Sivaganga. Ever since the Ráni of Sivaganga returned from Dindigal, things had not been going on smoothly in her country. The Ráni was the nominal ruler, but the management of the country was in the hands of two brothers known as Chinna Marudu and Periya (or Vellaiya) Marudu. These

* Till now we have been using the expression "Madras Presidency". Till 1773, "the administration of each settlement or Presidency had been of the same form and was vested in a Council of the senior servants of the Company, varying in number, but usually from twelve to sixteen. The senior presided and the proceedings were decided by a majority of votes. The Regulating Act of 1773 refers to the two other Presidencies (Madras and Bombay) only obliquely. By the Act (Pitt's India Act) of 1784... ......similar *Governments* consisting of a Governor or President and three Councillors, of whom one was to be the local Commander-in-Chief, were at the same time established for the Presidencies of Fort St. George and Bombay". See Chapter I of Lieut. Col. Chesney's *Indian Polity*.
In those days communication between England and India was a tedious affair, and we find a Government Order dated 15th April, 1896 containing the words "The Honorable the President and Council" instead of the form which was adopted later on and with which we are familiar, "The Right Honourable the Governor in Council".

were originally menial servants of Muttuvaduganátha Periya Udaiya Tévar, the ruler of Sivaganga that was killed at Kálaiyár-kovil in 1772. (See p. 254). One of them was a dog-keeper and the other "a betel-holder (அடைப்பக்காரன்)". They had made themselves the favourites of the last ruler of Sivaganga and now called themselves the Dewans or Ministers of the country. They set at defiance the Ràni and her daughter, and considered themselves so powerful that they even assumed the ancient title of "the Pándyas" of Madura, so that they are sometimes referred to as "Marudu Pàndyas". Col. James Welsh *, who knew these "Marudus" personally, describes them as follows:—"The elder brother had nothing to do with the management of the country. He was a great sportsman and gave up his whole time to hunting and shooting. Being a man of uncommon stature and strength, his chief delight was to encounter the monsters of the woods; and it was even said that he could bend a common Arcot Rupee with his fingers. If a royal tiger appeared......Velli Murdoo was the first to meet the monster and despatch him. Cheena Murdoo was the ostensible sovereign of an extensive and fertile country, and his general residence was at Sherwele (Siruvayal). Though ruling over a people to whom his very nod was a law, he lived in an open palace without a single guard; ....every voice called down the blessing of the Almighty upon the father of his people".

The Nawab wrote to the Governor in November, 1786, that the conduct of Chinna Marudu had become intolerable, that he had imprisoned the Rájá (a relative of the Ráni who was under her protection), that he was guilty of oppression and extortion, and was engaged in hostilities with the Sétupati and had wounded and killed several of his men. The Nawab reported again in March, 1788, that Chinna Marudu had collected ten or twelve thousand men, had shut up all the roads and killed and wounded the Circar postmen and many passengers in his country, and that he had "plundered several villages in the provinces of Ramnaud, Madura and Tondeman" and requested that a military force might be sent to chastise the refractory and rebellious Sérvaikár and recover the large arrears of tribute due from Sivaganga.

* See his *Military Reminiscences* (1880), Vol. I, pp. 129–131.

The Nawab was informed in reply (18th March, 1789) that the Military Board*, to whom the question had been referred, concurred with the Governor in his opinion as to the necessity of putting down the Marudus of Sivaganga, and that "a detachment, consisting of two Battalions of sepoys and three hundred Europeans with a Regiment of Native Cavalry, would march into the Shevagungah district under Colonel Stuart, an officer of great prudence and merit". The Nawab informed the Governor that he was gratified by the Governor's decision and that he had informed the Tondaimân, the Sétupati and the Nawab's officer at Madura that on receipt of his letter by them they should take as many fighting men as they could spare and join those of the Company under the command of Colonel Stuart, who would march to Sivaganga to reduce the country.

Colonel Stuart wrote to the Tondaimán (21st of February, 1789) to state that "the corps of Captain Knox would be in his country in three days" and that he should furnish him with provisions and "show him by-ways for his march". He wrote to him again (April, 1789) to inform him that he was pleased to learn that he had deputed his Vakil Kottayáchári for supplying the corps with the necessary provisions and that the Tondaimán's army was in readiness at Tirumayyam to start when required to do so. In another letter we find him stating that "the Tahsildar of Trimeyem, Oomaniah, during the general march, *etc.*, acquitted himself as if he were the Company's own servant", that "if the Tondaman would send his army soon to Tripatoor he would have them well inculcated in the articles of war", that "the Tondaman should direct his shopkeepers to take to the camp and sell all articles that might be required for the camp", and that he would also be good enough to send with his men to Tiruppattúr 300 spades, pickaxes and other instruments. During his stay in the Sivaganga country, the General found that he had to apply again to the Tondaimán for "provisions and sheep" (May, 1789). Kollangudi, near Sivaganga, was first captured and then followed (June 2nd, 1789) the capture of Kálaiyárkovil, the stronghold of the ruler. Chinna Marudu left the woods and

* In accordance with the orders of the Honorable the Court of Directors, "a Military Board was constituted at this Presidency on the 15th of April, 1786, as a Board of Reference and Report". See Lt. Col. Wilson's *History of the Madras Army*, Vol. II, p. 164.

retired westwards. General Stuart, after the conclusion of the war, wrote to the Tondaimán that "the business was happily closed, which he owed to the Tondaman's help and Divine Mercy", that "Oomaniah* was very careful in all respects", that "whenever occasion required his services he was very ready with his force to hazard his life", that "therefore he requested that he would promote him in rank and show him particular favour" and that "he had brought to the notice of the Nabob and the Company the brave services of his men and the supplies that he had received from him of the requisite provisions and cattle". It appears from a report of General Horne to the Governor (November, 1789) that soon after General Stuart left Sivaganga, leaving a regiment there, Chinna Marudu again returned to his country and engaged himself in committing depredations in the neighbouring countries as before.

Death of the Tondaiman. His character. On the 30th of December 1789, Raghunàtha Ráya Tondaimán closed his earthly career, and his death was reported to the Madras Government early in January by General Stuart. We do not happen to know much about the private character of this ruler or his internal reforms. But in his devoted attachment to the English and the Nawab, he was in no way behind his predecessor, Vijaya Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán. His services to the English during the Second Mysore War were remarkable. We may close our account of this Tondaimán with a remark made by him about himself that "it was his determination as long as he continued in this world not to deviate a hair's breadth in his allegiance to the Circar and the Company" and the remarks of the Nawab's representatives to the successor of this ruler (November, 1790) that "the Nawab showed to him greater favour than to any other" and that, "through his great exertions the Tondaiman came to be regarded by the Nawab in the light of a son". It is mentioned in a letter written to the Tondaimán about this time(1789–90) that "the Tondaimans were honoured by being given seats near the relatives of the Nawab".

* The Palace Records say that a detachment was sent under the Sardars Annayyar and Annàvyyar to help General Stuart and Abdali Khan against Vellai Marudu at Kollangudi, Kálaiyârkóvil and Piràumalai, Hence we are of opinion that 'Umanayya' in the Persian letter should be taken to be "U. M. Anayya" or Annayyar.

Raja Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman
Bahadur
(Bhoja Raja)
1789—1807.

Raja Vijaya Raghunatha Tondaiman (1789—1807).

Ráya Raghunâtha Tondaimàn had no male issue, who could succeed him as ruler of the State. He left behind him only a daughter—Perumdévi Ammál, popularly known as 'Ammál Áyi'—who, according to the rules in force, could not be installed as the ruler. The uncle of Ráya Raghunátha Tondaimán, Tirumalai Ráya Tondaimán, of whom the reader has heard already (see p. 279), was then alive. But he was very ill in 1789 and so waived his claim to succeed in favour of his eldest son, Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán, who was installed as the ruler of the State in 1789. He was born in 1759 and was therefore thirty years of age when he became the ruler of the State.

The Nazar paid by the Tondaiman for recognition of his succession. His succession was not at once accepted by the Nawab, who called himself his feudal lord. We find Captain Blackburne writing to the Madras Government on the 10th of May, 1803, that "until the late treaty of the Carnatic (31st July, 1801) the Nabobs contrived, under various *pretences*, to extort considerable sums from Tondiman, although he was nominally exempted from the payment of tribute. At his succession to the Government, he was obliged to pay fifty thousand pagodas to the Nabob Mahomed Ally Khan, who not only refused to confirm his succession until the money was sent, but threatened to find a competitor with a better title. Since that period Tondiman has paid at different times fifty thousand Rupees to the two late Nabobs. This information I received from Tondiman himself".

The following extract from a letter written by Captain Blackburne on the 20th March, 1813, contains more details. The genealogical table that is given below will show that the Nawab could not find a competitor with a better title, that Rájá Vijaya Raghunàtha Tondaimàn had a better claim to succeed than Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán (son of Rájagópál Tondaimán) who was then alive, who died like the Rájá in 1807 and who was represented in a petition in 1813 as having contested Rájà Vijaya Rághunâtha Tondaimán's succession and given up his contention on the promise of a Jâgír.

Nalláyi Áyi (Pattastrí, "wife of the Throne") = Tirumala Râya Tondaimân (son of Raghunátha Râya Tondaimàn, ruler from 1686—1730). = Muttu-viráyi Áyi (an inferior wife married with a sword*).

Children of Nalláyi Áyi:

- *Vijaya Raghunàtha Tondaimàn* (ruler from 1730–1769).
  - *Ràya Raghunàtha Tondaimán* (ruler from 1769–1789). Died sonless.
- Tirumalai Ràya Tondaimán (Died in 1795)
  - *Rájà Vijaya Raghunàtha Tondaimán Bahadúr* (ruler from 1789–1807).
  - Tirumalai Tondaimán.

Child of Muttu-viráyi Áyi:

- Rájagópâl Tondaimán (the issue of the *Khadga vivàha* or sword-marriage). Died in 1773.
  - Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán Died in 1807.
    - Rájagópála Tondaimán. Died childless in 1811.
    - Râjagópâla Ráya Tondaimán. Died in 1856.

"The ancestor of Rajah Gopaula Rie Tondiman, was a son of an inferior marriage, while his half-brother (Tirumalai Ràya Tondaimàn) the ancestor of the Rajah Bahadur was the son of a Patstree, the wife of the Throne, all of whose sons are entitled to the succession in preference to the children by an inferior marriage, although the latter be senior in birth to the sons of the Patstree.

"This principle being generally recognised by writers on Hindoo Law and the rule of succession in all Hindoo States being conformable to it, ... I shall state a few circumstances and considerations which lead to a conviction in my mind that the father of the petitioner, Rajah Gopaula Raya Tondiman, did not sell his birthright for the promise of an estate, but on the contrary, he and Rajah Vijaya Ragonath Rie Tondiman were

* The Jágírdàr must have thought it beneath his dignity to go in person to marry the woman and sent a sword as his substitute. Mr. Thurston says (see p. 41 of his *Ethnographical Notes in Southern India*) that "the custom of sending a sword to represent an unavoidably absent bridgroom at a wedding is not uncommon among the Telugu Rázus and Velamas". We find it mentioned in the *Madras Census Report for 1891* (see p, 217) that "a special custom obtaining among the Marava Zemindars of Tinnevelly.........is the celebration of a marriage by means of a proxy for the bridegroom in the shape of a stick, which is sent by the bridegroom and is set up in the marriage booth in his place. The *tàli* is tied by some one representative of the bridegroom and the marriage ceremony then becomes complete".

utterly unconscious of the existence of any latent or asserted rights which could disturb their cordial and constant friendship.

"They were first cousins. At the death in 1789 without sons of Rie Ragonad Tondiman, the throne was open for competition, and no one can doubt the willingness of the Nabob's Government to give full scope to competition, if it had presented itself. The reverse was the case. Trimul Rie Tondiman was living, but in a most deplorable state of health, wishing daily for death and lingering on for five years longer. He refused to ascend the throne and relinquished his rights to his eldest son with a view to save the double Nazzar (or succession fee) which otherwise must have been paid to the Nabob within a short period. Rajah Vijaya Ragonath Rie Tondiman assumed the Government as a matter of course. His cousin and friend Vijaya Ragonath Tondiman, the father of the petitioner, was the most zealous of his adherents. The negociation for a Nazzar to the Durbar was conducted in the usual manner at Trichinopoly. The Tondaiman offered the same sum which had been paid by his predecessor, a Lakh of Rupees. The Nabob demanded a lakh of Pagodas. The Nazzar was fixed at seventy-five thousand Porto Novo Pagodas and was paid by instalments in the course of two years.

"The petitioner states that the late Rajah Bahadur, from fear that Vijaya Ragonath Tondiman should oppose his ambitious views, promised a Jaghire to him .... The fact is that the land alluded to was assigned for military service to Vijaya Ragonad Tondiman 15 years after the succession of Rajah Bahadur and only 3 years before the Rajah Bahadur's death. .... The Rajah Bahadur to the end of his life honoured and confided in the father of the petitioner. He was affectionately attended by Vijaya Ragonad Tondiman in his last illness and when he was at the point of death, Vijaya Ragonath Tondiman took the seal-ring from the Rajah Bahadur's finger and put it on the finger of his eldest son".

Arrangements for the payment of the Nazar having been made, the Nawab wrote to the Tondaimán on the 17th March, 1790, appointing him as the ruler of the State and sent through

his son Husain-ul-Mulk an elephant, a horse and a khillat as marks of his esteem. His chief officer at Trichinopoly was "ordered to buckle with his own hand a sword to the Tondaiman's waist and to put on the khillat".

The Nawab's affairs and the rights claimed by him as a feudal lord. The Nawab had, to use the words of the Ràjá of Tanjore, "a great friendship for the Tondaiman"*, and we find that, in the voluminous correspondence that the Nawab held with the Madras Government, the Nawab, while he condemned all other rulers and pálayakárs and wrote frequently and strongly against them to the Governor, never uttered a single word against the Tondaimáns, whom he always called "true and steadfast allies". How then is his conduct in requiring payment of huge succession fees in 1769 and in 1789 to be explained? The reply that occurs to us is "not that the Nawab loved the Tondaimáns less" but "that he loved himself more". The affairs of the Nawab had not been for many years in a satisfactory state, and the Nawab about the time when he wanted 50,000 or 75,000 pagodas from the Tondaimán was over head and ears in debt. His position was nothing but deplorable. "His debts, which were in 1785 the subject of Parliamentary inquiry, then amounted to £4,440,000† of sterling money of Great Britain, *i.e.*, more than four crores of Rupees,—producing annuities at their several rates of interest of £623,000, of which £383,000 stood chargeable to the revenue of the Carnatic". The poor Nawab, who was loaded with debts for which he had to pay more than sixty-two lakhs of Rupees as interest year after year and who had assigned a good portion of his dominion for the liquidation of a part of the interest he had to pay, very pathetically described his condition to the Governor in a long letter that he addressed to him on the 5th of March, 1791, from which we transcribe the following extract.

"I *was* respected by the different former powers. I am now a sovereign indeed, but without dominion or power, *plunged in poverty and distress*, and in the eye of political consideration an insignificant unnoticed cypher".

---

* Letter of the Ràjâ of Tanjore to the Governor, dated 9th of May, 1783.

† See pp. 40-49 of "John Clunes' *Historical Sketch of the Princes of India*". Several able speeches were delivered on the subject—"the Prince of Arcot's Debts"—of which the best known is that of Burke.

As the Nawab was thus in terrible pecuniary difficulties, he must have thought of all pretences by which he could raise any money. In 1761 we find him informing the Governor of Madras that it was customary "sometimes to levy an extraordinary tax upon dependent chiefs, according to their ability and the strength of the Nawab".* But he seems to have afterwards given up this position, as we find him merely stating in December, 1785, that "whenever they acted contrary to the interests of the Circar, they were always obliged to pay a fine as an atonement for their misconduct". He now demanded, as the Tondaimán's feudal superior, what was known in feudal times in England as *relief*. The Nawab's exposition of this right of his is contained in his letter to the Government of Madras dated 1st December, 1785, and is as follows :—

"If any one of the polligars dies, his successor is fixed and appointed by the authority of the Circar, who receives a Nazar † upon the occasion, exclusive of the peishcush".

It was such a Nazar, a Nazar of 50,000 or 75,000 pagodas—the Tondaimán had no *peshcush* to pay—that the Tondaimán was required to pay for his being recognised as the ruler of the State by the Nawab. With reference to the sum of Rs 50,000 stated to have been paid at different times, we may mention that a large sum must have been demanded when Muhammad Ali, the Nawab, conferred the title of *Ràjâ Bahadúr* on the Tondaimàn, and that a sum of 25,000 pagodas or 87,500 rupees was paid as Nazar to Umdat-ul-Umara, Muhammad Ali's successor, for the issue of a sanad granting the title of *Ràjâ Bahadùr* and other honours.

The Tondaiman's family. "Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán had three wives of the names of Muttammáyi, Subbammâyi and Áyi Ammá Áyi. By the second wife, he had two sons both of whom died in childhood; by the third, he had four children, three sons and a daughter. The daughter and one of the sons

* See letter from the Nawab to the Madras Presidency, dated August 16, 1761.

† *Nazar* is Hindustani for "a present, an offering, especially one from an inferior to a superior, to a holy man or a prince; a fine or fee paid to the state or its representative on succeeding to office or property". Wilson's *Glossary of British India*.

died in childhood ".* The survivors were Vijaya Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán and Raghunátha Tondaimán, who afterwards became rulers of the State in 1807 and in 1825 respectively, as will be shown hereafter.

The rule of Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimàn was eventful on account of the many charities that he instituted, and the wars in which his forces were engaged owing to the devoted attachment to the English and the Nawab which he had inherited from his predecessors. A description of his charities will be given later on. We shall first give an account of the wars and minor operations in which he was engaged.

War with Tipu. In May, 1790, began another war with Mysore. Tipu, having attacked certain tracts belonging to the Rájá of Travancore, the Rájá appealed to the English with whom he was in alliance, and the English declared war against Tipu.

In July, 1790, the Tondaimán was informed by the Resident at Tanjore that General Medows with a large army had in his march against Seringapatam encamped in these parts, that provisions had been directed to be sent to his camp from all quarters, that ten thousand kalams of paddy which had been collected at Sivaganga could not be transported for want of draught bullocks, and that he should furnish the Hircarrah who carried the letter with one thousand bullocks.

The Tondaiman sends a force against Tipu. In November, 1790, Tipu descended into the Carnatic and made for Trichinopoly. He reached the northern bank of the Kaveri opposite to Srírangam towards the close of the month. The Nawab wrote to the Governor to inform him (December 25, 1790) that "the Chief of Mysore suddenly came with a large army who carried off as much of the grain in the country as they could and burnt the rest, set fire to the houses of the ryots, carried off their cattle, and laid waste the province in such a manner that it was difficult to get grass or firewood". According to instructions received from Mr. Andrews, Collector at Trichinopoly of the Nawab's province of which the management was then in the hands of the English, the Tondaimán "sent to the Trichinopoly fort an army

* From Mr. Venkat Row's *Manual of Pudukkòttai.*

of 1,500 men under Sardar Mahálinga Mudaliyàr". Tipu left these parts soon afterwards, and the war was carried on mostly in the parts near Mysore.

Disputes with Tanjore and Sivaganga, etc. We have nothing of importance to record in connection with the years 1791–4. In August, 1791, the Tondaimán's people are found to have caused depredations in the Tanjore District. The Tondaimán represented to the Government that the Tanjore people first committed plunder in his country and that he would return the cattle taken from the Tanjore people as soon as the Tanjore people returned what they had taken from his people. The Tondaimán was required to return the cattle at once and the Kallars of Tanjore were informed that they might expect severe punishment if they did not return the Tondaimán's cattle. The whole question, including the question of the prevention of similar depredations in future, was referred to Mr. Swartz, the S. P. C. K. Missionary* at Tanjore, who reported to the Government in September, 1791, that he had adjusted the differences and taken proper steps for the prevention of future outrages.

"In the beginning of 1792 there was a boundary dispute between the Tondaiman of Puthu-kóttei and Chinna Murdu of Sivagangei Both parties referred their dispute to the Collector (of Ramnad and Madura, Mr. Macleod); and as serious disturbances were apprehended, the Collector despatched a company of Sepoys to preserve order. The circumstance is noteworthy as showing how completely the power of these countries had been frittered away by constant internal disturbances and civil wars: and how completely their rulers were overawed by the British power. Fifty years earlier a boundary dispute between the Puthu-kóttei Chief and the Poligar of Sivagangei would have led to a war in which 10 to 20,000 men would have been engaged".†

---

* Some may think it strange that the settlement of the dispute was entrusted to a Missionary. But Swartz, "whom the unanimous voice of the Protestant world has proclaimed the greatest of modern missionaries" enjoyed the highest confidence of everybody that knew him—of the Ràjà of Tanjore, of the Madras Government and even of Haidar Ali, who called him "a holy man that meant no harm to his Government". According to Dean Pearson, his biographer, "simplicity, moderation, self denial, activity, regularity, patience, kindness, courtesy, cheerfulness pervaded his every thought, word and action".

† Nelson's *Madura Country*, Part IV, p. 113.

In March, 1793, the Tondaimán was informed that a murder had been committed in the Tanjore District by his men, and that they should be apprehended and handed over for punishment. The Tondaimán explained to the Governor, Sir Charles Oakley (April 10th, 1793) that the Kallars that committed the murder lived in the woods of Ramnad and Sivaganga, that they were constantly committing outrages in his own country, that many of them had often been seized and that their noses and ears had been cut off for their offences, that the report that his men committed the murder was wrong, and that he would use his utmost endeavours to punish the offenders of the Ramnad and Sivaganga woods.

There is an entry in the Inam office records to the effect that "according to a requisition (from Trichinopoly) of Hisam-ul-mulk, son of the Nawab,an army of 1,200 men was sent from Pudukkóttai, under the command of Muttuvairan Ambalakáran". It is not clear for what purpose the army was sent. The only military operation in which the English were engaged about the time the army was sent (July, 1793) was the attack by Captain Dighton of Séttúr in the Tinnevelly Province, and it is not likely that the Tondaimán's forces would have been required to march so far for such a minor purpose. Probably the men were required to be sent to Udayárpálayam and Ariyalúr, where the Nawab's men were at variance with those of the pálayakárs.

In November, 1793, the Nawab wrote to the Governor that "the Raja of Tanjore, having sent two hundred peons into Tondiman's country, was exciting some unusual contentions relating to the boundaries and was molesting the ryots". The matter referred to by the Nawab was a boundary dispute between "a polygar in the Putticotah Talook of the name of Singapillay" (Singappuli of Kallákó*ttai*) and the Tondaimán. The Nawab was informed by the Governor that the matter had been settled according to justice and to the satisfaction of the Tondaimàn's agent, who was present when the adjustment took place.

Conferment of Military Rank and the Title of "Raja Bahadur" on the Tondaiman. In October, 1795, Muhammad Ali, the Nawab of Arcot, died. Before his death, he was pleased

to confer upon the Tondaimán the title of *Ràjá Bahadùr*,* so that henceforth the Tondaimáns were known as the Rájás of Pudukkóttai. That the Tondaimán very eminently deserved this distinction for his unswerving devotion to the Nawab and the English goes without saying. The regular sanad of the grant of the title was prepared, however, after the death of Muhammad Ali by his son Umdat-ul-umara, Nawab of the Carnatic. It is dated 17th October, 1796, and runs as follows :—

"As a reward for the faithful services rendered by you and your ancestors, the title of "Raja Bahadur" is bestowed upon you and a *mansab* ;† you can keep a force of 1,500 cavalry ;‡ a flag, a naggara (kettle-drum), a turband, a Jaga (a jewel inlaid with precious stones worn by Amirs on their heads ?), an elephant and a khillat (are sent) and you are elevated thereby. Regarding these as marks of good will, you should be solicitous of obtaining more. You should follow the footsteps of your ancestors in rendering service and carrying out instructions without any objection. This should be regarded as a mark of good fortune".

A Nazar of 25,000 pagodas was sent by the Rájá in consideration of the honours conferred on him by the Nawab. On the day on which the receipt of this amount was acknowledged (19th October, 1796), the Nawab wrote to the Râjá as follows :—

"I am aware of your services and your readiness in carrying out instructions. Communication has been carried on with Huzur (*i. e.*, directly with the Nawab) from the time of your ancestors in all affairs. Accordingly you should preserve the same relation with the Nawab. You have nothing to do with the Fouzdars and other officers in Trichinopoly, but with the Huzur. Be constant in regarding this as a firm agreement".

* The title of "Râjâ Bahadúr" is higher than that of "Rájà". The ordinary sequence of rank is Mahàràjá Bahadùr, Mahárájà, Râjá Bahadùr, Râjâ. See Sir Roper Lethbridge's *Golden Book of India*, p. XIV.
Bahadúr means "brave" or "the hero".

† *Mansab* was "a military title and rank conferred by the Moghul Government of Delhi, regulated by the supposed number of horse the holder of the title could, if required, bring into the field". Wilson.

‡ "In the *Ain-i-Akbari* sixty-six grades (of *mansabs*) are stated,..............; these writers record, I find, no more than twenty-seven grades, beginning with that of 7000 (horse) and ending with that of twenty". Mr. Irvine's *Army of the Indian Mughals*.

The Government of Madras approved of the grant of the title after their assumption of the Carnatic, and Major Blackburne wrote to the Tondaimán on the 13th January, 1813, that, in the letter which he had then received from the Government of Madras, the Tondaimàn was styled by the Government of Madras in an *English* letter *Ràjá Bahadàr.*

We shall now turn to the wars which were waged during the rule of Rájá Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán and the help that he gave to the Nawab and the English. It will be found that all these wars were, with the exception of the war against Tipu in 1798 and 1799, military operations against the turbulent pálayakárs to the north and south of the Rájá's country. "The management of the pàlayakár districts had always been a matter of great difficulty, partly owing to the turbulence of the chiefs and the strength of their country, but principally in consequence of the extortion and rapacity of the agents employed to collect the tribute, already too high in proportion to the revenue. The result was that whenever the Company's troops were withdrawn, as in times of war, no payments were made, and the several chiefs being at constant variance with each other, the districts became the scene of violence and disorder".

For a long time things had not been going on smoothly in the Udaiyárpálayam, Ariyalúr and Turaiyúr pálayams attached to Trichinopoly.

The Nawab's wars with Udaiyarpalayam and Ariyalur. The Tondaimans services to the Nawab. As early as the 15th October, 1790, the Nawab wrote to the Governor to say that the pálayakárs of Udaiyárpálayam and Ariyalúr, who had been reinstated and made "renters of their pálayams", committed depredations upon those districts, killed and imprisoned many of the inhabitants and did not pay even "the trifle" which they had to pay as rent according to their agreement, and had formed designs to revolt. The pálayakárs were afterwards imprisoned "for the non-payment of rent and meditating an insurrection" first at Trichinopoly and afterwards in their own towns, but were released by their men. "Ten thousand of the Udaiyàr's Kallars scaled the walls, entered the fort, released the Udaiyár and confined the Nawab's servants". Finding their places, however,

too hot for them, the Udaiyárpálayam pálayakàr went to Madras to establish his claim to the pàlayam, and the Ariyalúr pálayakâr fled to the Tanjore country. Their attempts to get back their pálayams by peaceful methods proved fruitless, and in 1796 they returned to their pálayams, assembled their men and revolted against the Nawab, and "commenced those troubles in 1796 which waged with varying success and fury until 1798". An army was sent towards the close of 1796 to Udaiyárpálayam under Major Cuppage, and the Tondaimàn was applied to for help. The Rájá of Pudukkóttai sent in December, 1796, "as instructed by the Nawab, 69 horse and 2203 footsoldiers under Sardar Avadhúta Row to join Mira Safdar Khan" in quelling the insurrections in the two pâlayams. Further forces were applied for with an intimation that "relying on the Tondaiman's army, the Nawab would not send any other force", and "in April and July, 1797, about 200 horse-soldiers and 5000 foot were sent to these pâlayams under the Sardars Màppillai Pallavaráyar, Kannayyar, Dabír Gópàl Row, Udaiyappa Vélár and Chinnaranmanai Véngan Sérvai". Tranquillity was at length restored, and, after the Carnatic came into the hands of the English in 1801, the pálayakárs were recognised as ordinary Istimrar Zamindars (see p. 209) in 1816.

The Nawab's war with Turaiyur. The Tondaiman's services. The affairs of the pálayam of Turaiyúr attached to Trichinopoly had been in confusion since 1773. The father and the son had been quarrelling, each attempting to become the ruler, and, finding that they could not pay the increased peshcush which they had themselves agreed to pay, fled "to the Tanjore country where death put an end to the miseries of the old Reddi (pálayakâr). The young Reddy, taking advantage of the trouble which in 1796 broke out in Woodiarpollam and profiting by the distracted and enfeebled state of the Nawab's authority, determined to excite disturbance in Terriore. He accordingly collected a considerable number of peons, and, being aided by the adherents of the family, he spread terror and devastation to all parts of the Pollam (pálayam); deprived of all hopes of being restored to the management of it, he seemed determined to render this fertile district a barren waste in the hands of the oppressor of his

family, and he succeeded so well in his design that the country in a short time was nearly depopulated, the tanks and lakes on which the cultivation depended were broken down and destroyed, the towns and villages were burnt, and the inhabitants were obliged to seek protection in the surrounding countries "*.

In these circumstances, the Tondaimán received a call for a strong force. "756 footsoldiers under Sardar Pattàbhiráma Aiyar and 1000 men under Sardar Mahálinga Mudaliyàr", were sent to Turaiyúr in 1796 and 1797. Another army of 700 footsoldiers was sent under Sardar Pattàbhiráma Aiyar to join "Sayyid Meera Rasaldar", as also an army of 2,000 men under Ilandári Muttuvijaya Ambalakàrar to join Hisam-ul-Mulk Bahadur at Turaiyúr. The Nawab ultimately came to terms with the pálayakár, who in 1816 became an Istimrar Zamindar. Acknowledging the services rendered at Udaiyàrpálayam, Hisam-ul-Mulk wrote to the Rájá of Pudukkóttai that he had added much to his reputation, glory and honour by the services of his men at Udaiyárpálayam. According to "the War Notes" in the Inam office Records, the Tondaimán received in recognition of his services from "Hazrat Nawab" the present of an elephant. †

The Vísenginàttu Kallars of Tanjore had always been a great source of trouble to the peaceful inhabitants of the Trichinopoly country. Frequent complaints were brought against them by the Nawab, and the Râjà of Tanjore was again and again required to take the necessary steps for their subjugation. In 1797 a force of about 700 men was sent by the Tondaimán under

---

* Report of the Collector of Trichinopoly to the Board of Revenue, dated 30th May, 1802, on the pálayams of Udaiyàrpàlayam, Ariyalúr and Turaiyúr.

† The *elephant* was a most valuable present, showing the very high regard that the Nawab had for the Tondaimàn. Mr. Irvine writes in his *Army of the Indian Mughals* (p. 29) that "gifts other than money were naturally of considerable variety...........jewelled ornaments, weapons, principally swords and daggers with jewelled hilts, pálkis with fringes of gold lace and pearls, horses with gold-mounted and jewelled trappings, and elephants. The order in which the above are given indicated roughly both the frequency with which these presents were granted and the relative value set upon them, beginning with those most frequently given and the least esteemed". From this extract it will be clear that the gift of an elephant was more esteemed than that of any other article.

Ráya Pallavaráyar to chastise them, and we believe that the Kallars were restrained from their excursions of depredation for the time being.*

Ramnad becomes a Zamindari. The Sétupati of Ramnad was reported about this time to be oppressive and tyrannical. According to a memorial submitted by his sister in 1794, "he injured and oppressed the inhabitants, weakened and impoverished the country and brought indelible shame to his family by his dissipation. Daughters were torn from the bosoms of their parents and wives dragged from the arms of their husbands and conveyed to the Setupati's house, where they were detained during his pleasure and put to death if they resisted his pleasure. He was also further engaged in a ruinous war with Sivaganga". Major Stevenson, who was sent against the Sétupati, surrounded his fort and captured the Râjâ without resistance on the 8th of February, 1795. The Sétupati was deposed, and his sister was, after the direct management of Ramnad by the British for about eight years, made the IstimararZamindarni in 1803.

The last war with Mysore. We shall next speak of the services that the Tondaimán rendered to the English in their war with Tipu in 1799. Tipu had been intriguing with the French, and, when the Governor-General protested against his intercourse with them, no satisfactory reply was received. Hence orders were issued for the advance of an English army into Mysore in February, 1799.

---

* This incident is referred to as follows in *Venkanna Sèrvaikàr Valandân*.

"செங்களூர் இராக்கதன்பட்டி சேராத கள்ளரை
சங்கிலியும் நாயும் விட்டு சாடுகிற தொண்டைமான்;
நல்லூர் புலியூர் நடுநாட்டுக் கள்ளருள்
புலியூர்க்கள்ளரை வெட்டி பொதிபிடித்த தொண்டைமான்;
வீசெங்கிநாட்டார் செய்த வீம்பையடக்கியே
மாதவனைப்போல் வாழும் மகராஜன் தொண்டைமான்.

or "The Tondaimàn, who harassed with chained dogs the Kallars that did not join (and behave properly like) the Kallars of Sengalúr and Ràkkathanpatti, who, in the mid-Kallar land containing Nallùr and Puliyúr, had the heads of the Kallars of Puliyúr cut off and sent to him in loads, and who subdued the recalcitrant Kallars of Vísenginádu and lived prosperously without foes like Vishnu".

This extract will show that some of the Tondaimán's own men—the men of Puliyúr—were among the depredators and were punished by him.

In March, Lieut. Colonel Brown, stationed at Trichinopoly, wrote to the Tondaimán to despatch to him 1,500 men without loss of time. He received 1,400 men and wrote to the Governor informing him of his acceptance of the offer made by the Tondaimàn of a body of troops for service in the Mysore War. "The footsoldiers were sent under Sardars Ayyáswamiayya, Anantayya and Sérvai Muttambalakàr". Colonel Brown reported their arrival at Trichinopoly to the Madras Government early in April and proposed to grant the Sardars and peons certain special rates of batta, which were approved. The Tondaimán was also required to supply sheep and provisions (9th March) and bullocks (10th April). Brown reachep Seringapatam on the11th of May after capturing Karúr, Erode, and other small forts in April. He learnt that he was just a week too late and that Seringapatam had been captured on the 4th of May and Tipu killed. Colonel Brown's detachment returned to the south on the 22nd of May and took possession of the district of Coimbatore. The officer sent back the Tondaimán's men on the 16th of July, 1799, with the following letter to the Rájá. *

"After usual compliments.

"The desire which I feel of seeing you ....

The Sultan being unable to cope with the brave English was slain, and peace has taken the place of fighting. I communicate to you with great pleasure that your men did their best in matters relating to the Company and worked day and night as ordered by me, and this information has been communicated to the Government and has pleased His Excellency. The friendship existing between you and the English for the last four generations will now increase. As your men have nothing to do here, I have directed them to proceed to Poodoocottah from the same place on Tuesday the 16th July next.

"We have granted to your men who had been garrisoned at Karoor at four padis (measures of rice) each for three days until they may arrive at Poodoocottah from the said place from the 16th to the 19th July.

* We give the letter in full so that the reader may know the rates of batta, *etc.*, that were granted to the Tondaimàn's men,

"We have granted rice to your men at Eroad at six padis each from the 16th to 21st July.

"We have granted rice to your men with Ayahsawmy at Coimbatore at 8 padis each from 16th to 23rd July.

"As Ayahswamy, the bearer of this letter, is a very worthy man, I recommend him to your favour. At the time your men reached the Cootalum Talook (Kulittalai?), I wrote to Government for their pay, which has been settled as under:—

The first Sardar, 10 pagodas.
Two Sardars under him, 14 pagodas.
Each peshcar, 7 pagodas.
Twenty-two servaikars, two pagodas six fanams * each.
Twenty-four daffadars, one pagoda and three fanams each.
Two Karnams, one pagoda and 8 fanams each.

All of them have received their pay at this rate up to the 23rd of the English month, the date of their arrival at Poodoocottah. The pay of the officers and men stationed at Karoor and Erode up to their arrival at Poodoocottah on the 19th and the 21st respectively has been made over to Ayahswamy, who will pay it to them ...."

The Tondaiman's men receive prize-money for their services. On the 6th of January, Col. Brown wrote to the Rájá to say that "while orders had been received from the Honorable Company to give presents to all the other armies which were with the victorious English Behaudar (at Seringapatam), it would certainly mortify him to learn that his men who were with the English camp should be made an exception" that "he felt satisfied, as upon his recommendation a payment had been settled upon his Sardars, Duffadars and Servagars, *etc.*" that "he had also written that some particular presents should be granted to his men who accompanied the corps of Col. Lang when he went to the capture of Karoor and Darapooram (see p. 273) and who accompanied the corps of Colonel Fullarton, when he marched towards Palghat (see p. 274)", that "he would be happy if he received orders to make the presents accordingly" and that "delays in receiving the orders would be highly mortifying to him".

* 10 fanams=one pagoda=Rs. 3 as. 8.

With reference to the prize-money that was granted to the Tondaimán's officers and men, we must mention that orders were not readily passed on the subject and that Col. Brown had to exert himself a good deal in the affair. "The Prize-Committee at Seringapatam determined to exclude the detachment of Colonel Brown from any share in the captured property, as Col. Brown reached Seringapatam only after the fort had been captured. Col. Brown requested General Harris either to reconsider his decision or to submit the matter for the orders of the Governor-General: but he declined to interfere, and referred the Colonel back to the Committee upon which legal proceedings were instituted on behalf of the detachment; Col. Brown at the same time addressed the officers of the army of Mysore, protesting against the resolution of the Prize-Committee and supporting the claims of his detachment by the publication of certain *secret* orders which he had received from the Governor-General......... The ruling of the Governor-General was published at Madras in a General Order on the 30th of December; the Prize-Committee was censured and further distribution of the captured property stopped, pending the consideration of the claims of every corps and detachment which had been employed in the field during the campaign. Ultimately the detachments of Colonels Brown (and Read)............were admitted to share in the general distribution in the same manner as if they had been present at the assault of Seringapatam".*

It took some time for the prize money to reach Pudukkóttai and it was only in 1807 that all those that had marched under Colonel Brown were required by tom–tom to appear "in the Town Cutchery" to receive the prize money.

The distribution took place after the death of the Rájá and the Managers of the State, during the minority of the new Rájà, withheld more than one-third of the prize money (4,452 pagodas) under the name of a Nazar to the Rájá. It was only after a strong letter on the subject was addressed to the Managers by the Resident of Pudukkóttai that the money taken as Nazar was returned and every one received his full share of the prize-money.

* See Lieut. Col. Wilson's *History of the Madras Army*, Vol. II., pp. 336—339.

Transfer of the Carnatic (and Tanjore) to the English. We may mention that after the fall of Seringapatam, papers were found in the fallen city showing that Muhammad Ali and his son Umdut-ul-Umara who was then the Nawab of Arcot had been engaged in treasonable correspondence with Tipu. An inquiry was ordered, but while it was going on, the Nawab died. His heir would not accept the terms offered by the English, and the Nawabship was therefore conferred upon a junior member of the family, with whom a treaty was entered into, in accordance with which the Nawab was to receive one-fifth of the revenues of the province—never less than 12,000 pagodas—every month, and a proclamation was issued on the 31st of July, 1801, announcing the transfer of the Carnatic to the East India Company. The kingdom of Tanjore had been made over to the Company on the 25th of April, 1799, on condition of the retention of the Tanjore Fort by the Rájá and of an annual payment to him of one lakh of pagodas and one-fifth of the net revenue of the country. So from August, 1801, the Company represented both the Nawab and the King of Tanjore and exercised full control over the provinces which had belonged to them.

The beneficial results to the Tondaiman of the transfer. That the Tondaimán benefited greatly by the transfer of the Carnatic to the English goes without saying. So long as the Nawab was the ruler, his underlings at Trichinopoly were constantly troubling the Tondaimán for draught bullocks with sacks, sheep, fowls and other articles as also for loans of money *, were making a number of recommendations on behalf of *Fakirs* and *Pallivasals*, and were requiring him to pay large sums of money for

---

* For example, the Tondaimàn was applied to on the 17th November, 1795 for "a loan of 2,000 pagodas for discharging some debts". On another occasion we find one of the Nawab's officers at Trichinopoly writing to the Tondaimàn that "the Tondaimàn was aware of the help of the Nawab's men at Trichinopoly to him" and that "with a view to help them, he should assign to them a village yielding a revenue of 2,000 pagodas a year, so that the revenue arising therefrom might be spent in performing the annual ceremonies of those that had assisted him". A copper plate was accordingly required to be granted "with a happy mind". To show that the Tondaimàn was worried even for trifles, we may quote the following letter "I troubled you before for twenty-six planks. I am sure you will kindly send them for the house—for your house when you come here".

the celebration of the Ramzán festival,* during the Muharam festival and as dues of *Pallivasal* Charity. As the Tondaimán seems to have continued as the *Arasu Kàvalkàr* of Trichinopoly until a proper Police was organised by the British Government, he was also required to detect all cases of theft, and to send bodies of men for superintendence during the sowing † and the harvest season. The style that the Nawab's officers adopted in writing to the Tondaimán shows of what stuff these Trichinopoly officers were made. In most of their letters we find sentences like the following " Please God, I shall go to the Darbar to-morrow and make proper representation and write to you. I regard your business as more important than mine ". " Therefore make known your wishes, if any, regarding me as one that would assist you in anything. I will represent the same to the Nawab in a favourable light ". The Tondaimán must have felt very thankful at having been relieved from all the above-mentioned worry on the assumption of the Government of the Carnatic by the English Company.

We have now to describe the two " Poligar Wars " in which the Tondaimán rendered very essential service to the British. In the opinion of many writers, the services of the Tondaimán in connection with these two wars are considered as only next in importance to the help that was given by the Tondaimáns to the English at the time of the siege of Trichinopoly in 1751–4.

The first " Poligar War ". We have frequently mentioned that the Pálayakárs of Tinnevelly were extremely turbulent.

* There is an acknowledgment dated 26th of April, 1796 of a Nazar of 1,200 Frank pagodas for this festival. A special tax was collected from the Hindus and the Mussalmans on this account called *Ramzánpandigai-vari* (Ramzàn Festival tax). This was one of the recognised sources of income under the Mughals. The payment of this tax, though called " *alms* at the *eed of fitr* " was " incumbent on " every well-to-do Mahammadan. The Jàgìrdars in the State collected the tax in their villages and sent the collections to the Râjâ to be remitted to Trichinopoly along with his own collections. In June, 1789, we find 1,100 pagodas demanded as Nazar for Ramzàn. On the 20th of February 1777, during the Muharam month, we find an acknowledgment of one thousand pagodas sent to Trichinopoly " for *Holi* (*sic*) funds for *Khutbàs*" [*i. e.*, sermons to Mussalmans which " should consist of the praise of God, prayers, injunctions to piety "].

† We find the Nawab writing to the Tondaimán in October, 1774, that the "presence of 500 men was quite essential as that was the time for cultivation".

"At this time Panjalamcourchy, situated about 16 miles due south of Ettayapuram, existed as a fortified town and was ruled by Vira Pandia Cataboma Nayakar *alias* Caruthiah, a Poligar chief, then about 30 years of age He had two brothers named Cumarasamy Nayakar and Subba Nayakar. The elder, aged 26, was born both deaf and dumb. Subba Nayakar was 17. All three brothers were brave and intelligent. Oomayan, in particular, was distinguished above his peers, by his fortitude, intelligence and bravery, but alas! all those talents were, by evil companionship and the baneful influence of one Sivasubramania Pillay, seldom or never exercised but to oppress and perpetrate any wickedness, reckless of consequences.

"Sallying out with a number of armed desparadoes, he would plunder the surrounding villages, whether Aiyan or Zemin, doing a little cattle-lifting and sheep-stealing by the way; make bonfires of straw stacks, and not hesitate or stickle at a murder or two, when convenient or necessary. He, at length, went a step further, and, braving the collector, ventured to collect revenue on his own account in Sircar villages. As a safe-guard against like incursions, and glad, doubtless to share in the golden harvest, the Poligars of Nagalapuram, Elairampannai, Golavarpatti, Kulattoor and Kadalgudi, cast in their lot with Cataboma Nayakar. Proud and exultant at so many Poligars having joined him, Cataboma Nayakar, over-confident of his power to resist, was deluded into believing he was in a position to fight all comers, the Company's troops included. He ignored Col. Maxwell's summons to meet him for determining the boundaries of some Zemin villages which were then in dispute"*.

The commencement of the final struggle with Ka*tt*aboma Náyakar was through an order issued to him by Mr. Jackson, Collector of Southern Peshcush and Ramnad, commanding him to appear before him at Ramnad and explain his conduct. He made his appearance at Ramnad on the 9th of September, 1798, and, while the correspondence that had passed between him and the Collector was being read out to him, he pretended to be alarmed, rushed out with his armed followers and is believed to have stabbed with his own hand Lieutenant Clarke, who was on guard outside. He and the other Pálayakár paid no attention to

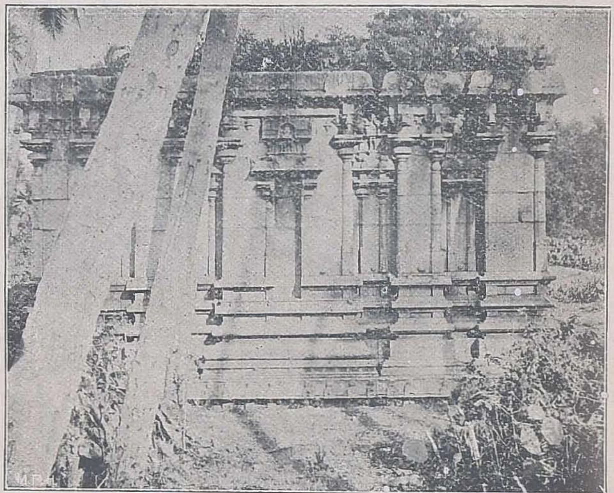
* *Ettaiyapuram, Past and Present*, pp. 39-41.

the orders that they received from Mr. Jackson and from Mr. Lushington, who succeeded to the office of "Collector of Polygar Peshcush", but continued to commit depredations. Their mutinous conduct* was left unnoticed until the fall of Seringapatam in May, 1799, set free sufficient forces for an army to be sent against them. An expedition was placed under the command of Major Bannerman in August, 1799.† The fort of Pánjálamkuricchi was attacked and Ka*tt*aboma Náyak evacuated it with his party and fled northwards. He was pursued by the Ettyapuram pálayakár, but Ka*tt*aboma Náyak escaped first to Sivaganga and then to the woods in the Tondaimán's country.

Capture of Kattaboma Nayak, and six others by the Tondaiman. On the 8th of September, the Collector, Mr. Lushington, wrote to the Tondaimán to exert himself to secure the person of Ka*tt*aboma Náyak and of the Pálayakár of Nagalápuram, who were represented as having fled to his country. On the 14th of September, 1799, the Tondaimán wrote in reply to Mr. Lushington that "the moment he received his letter he despatched different parties to the boundaries of his country", that "they were as vigilant as possible", and that "if the Poligars approached his limits, his attachment and fidelity to the Company would be made known to them". The Tondaimán was shortly afterwards informed (26th of September, 1799) that Ka*tt*aboma Náyak and the Pálayakár had fled in another direction (to Anioor?) and that it was unnecessary to keep guards on the southern limits of the State, but that the Western and Northern boundaries should be watched. In the meanwhile, the Pàlayakárs had been captured by the Tondaimàn's men, and the Tondaimán wrote to Mr. Lushington on the 24th September, 1799, that "on every side in the mountains and on the hills he had placed people to find out the hiding place of the enemy", that "by the blessing of God, the prosperity of the Company and his own good fortune, Kuttabomma Nayak with his dumb brother, two brothers in-law and

* As an example of the refractory conduct of the pàlayakárs, we may mention the receipt by the Collector in October, 1798 "of a bag of stones from the Polygar of Coomby in answer to the Collector's demand for the payment of his peshcush".

† See Rev. J. Kearns' *Account of the Panjálamcourchy Polegars*,...... .... pp. 50–53, from which it will be found that Major Bannerman was vested with full powers over those found in open rebellion.



A view of the temple at Tirukkalambúr.

three other people—altogether seven persons—were discovered in the jungle of the village of Kaliapoor, in the Sivaganga Taluk, to the westward of Tirucculumpoor in his country", that "he sent his troops thither and that they with much caution and exertion captured the party", that "at the time Cataboma Naig was captured, he wished to kill himself", that "it was extremely difficult to keep them in safety even one day" and that "he was waiting for an answer". The Sardar who had the credit of capturing the party was Muttuvairava Ambalakàran of Tirukkalambúr, whose exploits are commemorated in a *Kummi* or dance song, composed probably at the time. The Tondaimàn was informed by Mr. Lushington that "the perusal of his letter filled him with a joy beyond expression either through letter or by mouth", and that "he would at the sight of his letter deliver the the said Kattabomma Naick *etc.*, seven prisoners in close custody, with their hands and feet ironed, over to the charge of Mr. Smith, commanding at Madura". The request was complied with and Captain Smith, commanding at Madura, wrote to the Rájá on the 6th of October, 1799, that "Kuttabomma Naick, his younger brother, three of his relatives and two of his servants, in all seven persons, had arrived there with four daggers, five swords, one nutcracker and one knife, sent through Annavayya". Kataboma Náyak was soon afterwards removed to Kaittàr, in the Tinnevelly District, where on the finding of a Court-Martial, he was hanged on the 17th October, 1799, in the presence of the Pâlayakárs of Tinnevelly assembled for the purpose. The others that had been captured were kept in confinement at Palamcotta. The rebel Pálayakárs were dispossessed of their States and dismantled their own forts and gave up a considerable quantity of arms, "reserving, however, as will be seen further on, a sufficient supply for future use", and the first "Poligar War" came to an end.

The Tondaiman receives hearty congratulations from the English officers. Congratulations were showered on the Rájá of Pudukkóttai for his capture of Kataboma Náyak and his party. Mr. Lushington informed the Tondaimàn that by this act "the Company were highly gratified, he was much applauded and that he was fully established in their favour", and that "he would be able to judge by the favour which he would experience from

the Company in what warm terms his laborious services had been submitted to the favourable notice of the Company". Mr. Lushington referred here to his letter to the Board of Revenue, in which he had stated that "the moment he heard of Cataboma Naig's evacuation of his Fort, he despatched a letter (on the 8th of September) for his capture to Tondiman, and, having, on every former instance wherein he had thought it for the good of the public service to address him, received every token of his attachment to the Company's Government, he looked with confidence to the Tondiman's exertions on the occasion", that "the result proved the confidence to have been well placed", that "the seizure of the party entitled Tondiman to the highest commendation", that "the beneficial consequences of the event would not be confined to the Panjalamcoorchy district, where all his arrangements were proceeding undisturbed", that "the other Poligars seeing that there was no safety for them even in flight would be the more inclined to a due obedience", that "indeed in whatever point of view it was considered, the service which the Tondaimán had performed was of the highest importance" and that "therefore he took the liberty to suggest that he might be permitted to present him in the Company's name with such marks of the Government's approbation as he might be considered to deserve". The Governor, Lord Clive, wrote to the Tondaimán on the 4th of November that "his letter relating to the capture of the Poligar of Panjalamkurchi with some others had arrived and afforded him great pleasure", that "his ancestors with reference to the Government of the English Company were firm in the former wars and rendered excellent services at different times", that "the fresh proof of his exertions and the interest taken by him in Government affairs had already spread the fame of his family", that "it was impressed on his mind and would be communicated to the Directors in England" and that "by way of gratitude, he was sending therewith one Khilut* with a horse". The Rájá received also a present of two

* *Khilat* is Hindustani for "a dress of honour, any article of costume presented by the ruling or superior authority to an inferior as a mark of distinction". Mr. Irvine in his *Army of the Indian Mughals* (p. 28) mentions that among the rewards and distinctions bestowed by the Mughal sovereigns were (1) Titles, (2) Robes of honour, (3) Gifts of money and other articles, (4) Kettle-drums, (5) Standards and Ensigns.

thousand Kali Chakrams. The following is an extract from a letter from the Madras Government addressed to the Supreme Government (5th October, 1799).

"We have also particular satisfaction in remarking that Cataboma Naig, his brother, two brothers-in-law and three principal Shereogars (the whole party who escaped the pursuit of the Ettiapor Poligar) are secured by Tondiman, on whose zeal and exertion Mr. Lushington has bestowed the highest commendation. We recommend to your Lordship's favourable attention his suggestion that he may be permitted to present him in the Company's name with such marks of your Lordship's approbation, as the important service he has performed may be considered to deserve".

Col. Brown (see p. 298), under whose command the Tondaimán's men marched to Seringapatam also wrote on the 15th of October to the Tondaimàn as follows:—"Considering the long-proved friendship which subsists between you and myself, I have addressed a letter to the Government...........The gentlemen of the Government of Madras on reading the letter said as follows, "Rajah Vijeya Ragoonath Rie Tondiman is our confidential ally; he is a well-wisher of the English nation; and he can be safely depended upon in all respects to afford his sincere and cordial assistance to the English".

The account given above of the capture of Kataboma Nâyak and his party will show that Kataboma Náyak and his party, finding no other place of refuge, fled *of their own accord* to the woods of Sivaganga near the border of Pudukkóttai to obtain a place of concealment and that the Tondaimàn was in no way guilty of "any betrayal" of the pálayakár. The tradition that the pâlayakár and Úmayan were for a time imprisoned at Tirumayyam must also be dismissed as baseless, unless it be that after the capture of the pálayakár and his party by the Tondaimàn, they were brought to Tirumayyam and kept there in confinement until the Rájá sent them on to Madura.

The Second "Poligar War". The pàlayakár of Pánjálam-kuricchi who was hanged at Kaitár in September, 1799, had left two brothers who were confined at Palamcottà. Of these the

younger, Úmayan or "the dumb boy", as he was called, was "a person of great energy and full of resources and was regarded by the natives almost as a divinity"*. He is thus described by Col. James Welsh.† "He is one of the most extraordinary mortals I ever knew, a near relation of Cataboma Naig—designated by the English officers as the *Cat*—who was both deaf and dumb and was well-known by the English under the name of Dumby or the Dumb Brother, by the Mussalmans as Múkah, and by the Hindus as Oomeen; all having the like signification. He was a tall, slender lad, of a very sickly appearance, yet possessing that energy of mind, which, in troublous times, always gains pre-eminence; whilst, in his case, the very defect which would have impeded another, proved a great auxiliary in the minds of ignorant and superstitious idolators. The Oomee was adored, his slightest sign was an oracle and every man flew to execute what he had commanded. No council assembled at which he did not preside; no daring adventure was undertaken, which he did not lead". The two brothers in confinement had a sympathiser, Sivattayya, a near relation, at large, who was the leader of a large party of sympathisers. And through his efforts the two brothers and a number of other pálayakár prisoners confined at Palamcotta made their escape on the night of the 2nd of February, 1801, by overpowering their guard. They reached Pánjálamkuricchi before next morning and the men with them increased in number till it rose to 5,000. "The walls of Panjalamkurichi Fort had been levelled to the ground.........but all the labourers of the surrounding country had been summoned and compelled to perform the work of rebuilding the fort and before the end of a month, they placed the fort of Panjalamkurichi in a better state than it had been before its demolition". Major Macaulay, commanding in the province of Tinnevelly, found that he could effect very little against the pàlayakárs, and Lieutenant-Colonel Agnew was appointed to command the troops in the field. Pánjálamkuricchi was captured on the 22nd of May, 1801, and on the capture of the fort, the rebels fled into Sivaganga, then ruled by the Marudus (see p. 282) who had an army of 20,000 men armed with muskets, matchlocks or spears. Palankeens were

* Dr. Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly*, p. 195.
† See his *Military Reminiscences*, 1830, Vol. I, p. 132.

sent to the party, who were taken in procession with the sound of music and wavings of light (Árati) to Siruvayal, where they were lodged in the house of the mother of the Marudus. The Marudus were called upon by Col. Agnew to give up the chief of Pánjálamkuricchi and other principal leaders, on pain of being themselves treated as rebels, and as they showed no signs of compliance, operations were commenced against them. In the meanwhile Lieutenant Colonel Innes, commanding in Dindigal, had been directed to co-operate with the troops in Sivaganga. He arrived at Nattam early in June, and after much opposition from the enemy, joined Colonel Agnew's regiment on the 28th of September.

The Tondaiman's services to the English. The Tondaimán was applied to for help and the services that he rendered have been admirably summarised by Captain William Blackburne, in a letter which he wrote to the Madras Government in May, 1803, in reply to the letter from the Governor in which Captain Blackburne was asked to ascertain and communicate to the Governor the nature of the services rendered to the English by the Tondaimán in general and in particular of the help that was rendered by Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán during "the Poligar wars". Captain Blackburne had at this time been stationed with the Tondaimân by the Governor to explain to him the situation and require the Tondaimán to make the necessary arrangements promptly, as the Governor "thought that there would be delay in receiving messages from Lieutenant Colonel Agnew". His concise statement of the Tondaimán's actual situation and conduct on that occasion is transcribed below:—

"Tondiman had everything to dread from the hatred and revenge of the surviving Chief of Panjalamcourchy, whom he had formerly arrested and delivered in fetters into the hands of his enemies, and whose brother he had conducted to the scaffold. This Chief, who stood high in the confidence and favour of the rebellious Servagars of Sevagungah, sent frequent messages to Tondiman, threatening him with speedy and exemplary punishment, unless he joined the cause of the Servagars with all his heart and strength. The Servagars, on their part, exhausted all the insidious arts and plausible arguments, which they had employed so successfully with many other chiefs of less note, to

seduce Tondiman from his allegiance. Despairing at length of inducing him to become a party in their rebellion, they sent him word that he must be sensible that his country was entirely at their mercy, that if he would not join them, they required from him at the least a strict neutrality, and they insisted that he should neither send succours nor provisions to the Company's troops nor allow them a passage through his country. If the Tondiman failed in any one of these points, the Servagars declared that they had bound themselves by a solemn oath to send the Panjalamcourchy Chief and his followers, and five thousand of their own troops to overrun his country and to plunder and burn every house in it.

"On the 16th June, 1801, I had an interview with Tondiman and demanded the immediate and active co-operation of all his force against the rebels. I found him under the influence of the Murdoo's threats, and under a conviction of the facility with which they might be executed; for Lieutenant Colonel Agnew had just made an ineffectual attempt to penetrate into the Sevagungah country and had retired to Ramnad, where his distance from Tondiman and the rebellious province between them precluded the possibility of relief if the threatened invasion should be made.

"Tondiman's preparations for his marriage with the only daughter of his predecessor* commenced before my arrival and were to be completed in ten days. Tondiman earnestly requested a delay for this period. I objected and he submitted. He ordered an immediate stop to be put to the preparations for his marriage and directed his troops to be assembled. The day following, at my request, the marriage ceremonies recommenced; but the assembling of the troops continued, and in four days three thousand marched to join Lieutenant Colonel Innes at Nattum (on his way to Sivaganga). [According to the Inam Office Records, 3,667 men were sent under Sardar Muttukkumâra Pillai to join Lieutenant Colonel at Nattam. Another force of more than 2,000 men is also said to have been sent under Sardars

*We do not know what Captain Blackburne meant by this. His predecessor had only a daughter, Ammal Ayi, who was given in marriage to one Mâppillai Pallavarâyar.

Kanna* Aiyar and Raghunátha Row to join the army at Sivaganga].

"At the first suggestion, Tondiman gave up Trimiem, the only stronghold in his dominions, for a depôt for the use of Lieutenant Colonel Agnew's army.

"Tondiman received with distinction the Zemindar of Sivaganga—Gauri Vallabha Periya Udaya Tévar of the Padamattúr line, whose installation by the English with much state in the camp, had been of service in detaching many from the rebel "Marudus"—and afforded him protection, although he was well aware that this step would excite the most rancorous hatred in the rebels. [The Governor wrote to the Tondaimàn in July, 1801, desiring him to afford his support to the ruler of Sivaganga, recognised by the English, congratulating him on "the care and attention that he had shown in keeping the rebels in awe and on assisting the Company in putting out the fire set up by the disaffected and dismissed Shairvagurs of Shevagunga"].

"Tondiman was requested to send five hundred men to escort the Zemindar to Lieutenant Colonel Agnew's Camp. He sent nine hundred, who escorted the Zemindar and remained with him as a body guard and behaved so well as to deserve the approbation of Lieutenant Colonel Agnew.

"A great number of the families of Murdoo's principal adherents had concealed themselves in the jungles upon or near the frontiers of Tondiman. A list of these families was sent to Tondiman and he apprehended the whole in one night and secured them, some in the Fort of Trimiem and others in the villages in the interior. They were treated with the utmost respect and within ten days every male attached to them deserted from the service of the rebels. The men remained with their families under an easy restraint until the end of the war, when they were all permitted to go where they pleased.

*Sardar Kanna Aiyar was "a learned, respectable and intelligent Brahmin", who afterwards became the Fouzdar or the Principal officer in command of the Râjà's forces. The English officer commanding in Tanjore wrote in December, 1804 that "as often as Kannier visited Tanjore, military honours were paid to him notwithstanding his entrance happened between (outside) the hours settled by the British Regulations, from a wish on the officer's part to prove that he was highly deserving of the same".

"In order to enable me to execute a plan of operations proposed by Lieutenant Colonel Agnew, I requested Tondiman to send a body of troops through a part of Sevagunga by a route which I described, with orders to join me at a particular time and place; my request was immediately complied with and the movements executed with the most pointed exactness and precision. [From the Inam Office Records we find that 13 horse and about 1070 foot soldiers were sent under Sardars Kanna Aiyar and Raghunátha Row and Murgappa Servaikar to join Captain Blackburne at Arantangi. They were employed in quelling some disturbances at Tiruppattúr and Kunnakkudi. Captain Blackburne was attacked on the 21st of July, 1801, but the rebels were driven back without difficulty. On the 29th of October, 1801, Captain Blackburne wrote to the Tondaimán to inform him that "he was pleased with the spirit and alacrity with which the Tondaimân's men performed the service on which he detached them" and that "as the rebellion was then entirely extinguished he offered the Tondaimán his thanks for the promptitude and cheerfulness with which he had complied with all his wishes"].

"During the whole of the campaign, the Tondiman's troops alone escorted all the supplies of grain, *etc.*, which were sent by the Collector of Tanjore to the depót at Trimiem and the stores and ammunitions which were sent from Trichinopoly were met by the Tondiman's guard at the frontier and conducted with speed and safety to the depót.

"Frequent and important intelligence was sent to me by Tondiman, with many sensible opinions on the peculiar nature of the war, which received the approbation of Lieutenant Colonel Agnew".

The conduct of the Tondaimán was considered highly meritorious by the Governor, Lord Clive, who wrote to him (September, 1801) that "he had much pleasure in acknowledging the seasonable arrival of his troops and provision at the English camp and expressing his thankfulness for the deep interest the Tondaiman had taken in the Company's welfare". The Tondaimán was also informed by Lieutenant Colonel Agnew that "the order of the Government that Padamattoor Odeateivan should

remain under the protection of the Tondaiman furnished a proof of his having, by long and faithful conduct, deserved and obtained their confidence and favour ".

Operations in the Sivaganga country. We shall now return to the war. Siruvayal was occupied by Lieutenant Colonels Agnew and Innes on the 30th of July, and from the 31st of July until the 1st of September, the force was employed in endeavouring to penetrate the dense forest between the camp at Siruvayal and the fort at Kalaiyárkóvil, the principal stronghold of the rebels, situated about five miles direct south of Siruvayal. A large number of woodcutters from Dindigal and Poodoocottah* were put upon this work. The *Tondaimán Vijayamu*, the Telugu poem on the victories of the *Tondaimáns*, mentions that the united chiefs were proud of their thick forests, that under the thorny shrubs in these forests, they drove short pegs and in the interspaces placed vessels filled with powder, and that spies were placed on the tops of trees to watch the movements of the English ".

The following extracts are from General Welsh's Journal† of the War.

" *On the 31st of July*, our pioneers and the wood-cutters from the Tondaiman's country, amounting to about two thousand men, under the cover of two hundred Europeans.. ...., cut a broad road of one mile and a half in the direction of Calliacoile ".

" *On the first of August*, the pioneers and the wood-cutters resumed their labours and cut three quarters of a mile.

" *August 2nd.* The same working party went out covered by one-hundred and fifty Europeans......Then a fire commenced......

" *August 23rd.* Colonel Innes's detachment, with all the cavalry, marched towards Trimiem to bring stores, *etc.*, to the camp, which were much wanted; a large tappal was despatched with them, the first we had been able to send..........., our communication being entirely cut off for the last twenty-five days. [Col. Agnew wrote to the Tondaimán on the 22nd of August that

* Colonel Wilson's *History of the Madras Army*, Vol. III, p. 48.

† See General Welsh's *Military Reminiscences*, Vol. I.

"he had sent his men with the regiment of Lieutenant Colonel Innes so that he might take a review of them and they might see their families", that "the men had shown themselves faithful and steady during the compaign" and that "they should be ready to follow the officer to see the provisions conveyed safely to the camp".]

"*August 29th.* It was today resolved to *quit* this place without further prosecuting our attempt to reach Caliacoile from the Sherwele side; and the rejoicing was unanimous at the prospect of leaving a place which had been the grave of so many of our brave comrades.

"*September, 1st.* A working party was sent out with the usual escort to destroy all our thirty-two days' handiwork in the jungle ....

"*September, 17th.* Colonel Agnew determined on paying a visit to Perahmallee (Piránmalai). Having accomplished a night march of fourteen miles and a half, we encamped, sending forward the cavalry and Tondiman's peons to take the Pagoda, in which we were informed that the enemy had left only twenty men. Captain Munro, Brigade Major, and Mr. George Hughes, our intelligent interpreter, put themselves at the head of the peons when they came near the place and encouraged them to advance; but unluckily they were not to be thus persuaded,* and the enemy, animated undoubtedly by their hesitation, poured a fire of musquetry...........Thus came to our hands the far-famed temple of Perahmallee (15th September) which to our surprise was a stone-fort of considerable extent and elevation.

The end of the War. *October, 1st.* The dawn saw us advance by three distinct routes to the redoubted Caliacoile. The united chiefs defended themselves with great valour and resisted the whole force that could be brought against them. The superiority

---

* It is needless for us to mention that it was not timidity but religious awe that kept back the Tondaimán's peons. Piránmalai temple had been held in reverence for centuries, as the God at the place is the subject of one of the hymns of Sambandhar, the celebrated Saiva saint of the seventh century. The peons must have considered it a dreadful sacrilege to attack the pagoda. In this connection we may mention that the Ràjà of Tanjore, after the famous temple in his capital town was evacuated of its garrison and stores and restored to him, "purified it at a very great expense and placed sentinels to prevent any one from entering it". See Lord Ventia's *Travels* (1804), Vol. I., Chap. VII.

of discipline at length prevailed and Kálaiyárkóvil was soon afterwards taken (1st of October), and the rebels dispersed in every direction immediately afterwards. By the end of the month, the two Marudus, their sons and principal followers as well as the Chiefs of Pánjálamkuricchi had all been taken and executed with the exception of the younger son of Chinna Marudu and seventy-one others who were transported for life. A proclamation was issued on the 31st of December, 1801, for the disarming of the people in the provinces of Dindigal, Tinnevelly, Ramnad, Sivaganga and Madura; and the destruction of the forts and the general disarming of the people were completed in March, 1802. Sivaganga became an Istimrar Zamindári in 1803.

The Tondaiman praised by the Governor for his help in the War. The Rájà's men were returned to him soon after the war was over with a letter from Lord Clive (1st December, 1801) in which the Governor stated that "he was highly rejoiced on the congratulations he had received from the Tondiman on the victory gained over the rebellious people of Sivaganga," that "he was likewise glad to learn from Captain Blackburne that the people sent by him to aid the Honorable Company stood firm and vigorously opposed the enemy during the war", that "he had permitted his men to return to him, their services being no longer wanted," that "he was happy to observe that the disturbances were over through his kind aid and advice," that "when he brought to his mind the innumerable instances of his solicitude and anxiety to further the interests and prosperity of the Honorable Company, he (the Governor as the good friend of the Tondiman) could not but express his sense of the worth and excellence so vividly shining in his good conduct towards them," and that "he hoped that God would render the long existing friendship between the Tondiman and the Honorable Company to last for years to come".

Capture of Boma Nayak. About this time, according to the Palace accounts, a force was sent against Boma Náyak of Vàrâppúr palayam to bring him to subjection.

In an interesting account of the expedition found in a Tamil Song on Venkannan Sérvaikar, it is stated that the Sérvaikar, who was sent against Boma Náyak, crossed Ponnamaràvati, encamped

at Pálayakkuricchi, captured Váráppúr, Boma Náyak's fort, and on finding that Boma Náyak had escaped from the fort, searched for him in the forests of Piránmalai, Puramalai, *etc.*, and finally captured him and handed him over to Col. Agnew at Tiruppattúr.

The close of the Era of War. In 1801 the era of war came to an end, so far as South India is concerned. "A mixed Government, partly carried on on English principles and partly controlled by the Nawab's prejudices, had come to an end and been succeeded by a Government purely English, at unity with itself and as just as it is powerful. The results of this change have been most important and valuable. War seemed to have been the normal condition of the old Pándya country.... ......till 1801....Things were worse under the Náyakars than under the Pándyas, worse still under the Nawab, and worst of all—as the night is at its darkest just before the dawn—during that deplorable period immediately before the interference of the English—when the Nawab's power had become merely nominal and the only real power that survived was that of fierce Poligars and avaricious "Renters" .... The Poligars had become Zamindars and had changed their nature as well as their name. One can scarcely believe that the Náyaka and Marava Zamindars of the present day are the lineal descendants of those turbulent and apparently untamable chiefs, of whose deeds of violence and daring the eighteenth centuary was so full"*.

Hence there was no necessity for the Tondaimán to engage in any wars after 1801, and the history of the country in the nineteenth centuary will thus be found to be a history of the reforms that were effected in the State. In 1809 indeed the Tondaimán was required to assemble his forces so that they might be ready to join, when required, Col. Wilkinson, Officer commanding the Southern Army. For what purpose the army was required we have not been able to ascertain. It was ultimately decided that the forces of the Tondaimân were not necessary and the Governor-General, Lord Minto, wrote to the Tondaimán on the 1st of December, 1809, that he was much gratified to learn from the Tondaimân's letter that "acting to what Captain Butler, the acting Resident at Tanjore had written to him in conformity

* Dr. Caldwell's *History of Tinnevelly*, pp. 228—229.

with instructions from the Government he had caused his troops to be held in readiness" and that "whilst expecting further orders he had another letter from that gentleman expressing that there was no necessity for the troops" and that "although his troops were actually not employed, yet as he had assembled them for the assistance of the Company at their requisition through Captain Butler, he was glad to consider the Raja as a well-wisher of the Company". This is the only instance of the Tondaimân's forces having been applied for by the English in the nineteenth century. The Sepoys of the Tondaimàn "found their occupation gone" and "the Amergars and Ooliagars to whom lands had been given on service tenure instead of wages" were required "to perform military * (*sic*) services and other duties, *viz.*, to watch at the gates of Palace, oversee paddy, *etc.*, at the time of (Amàni) harvest and collect Sirkar money, *etc.*,"—rather tame work for men that had opposed Haidar and "the Marudus".

Grant of the Kilanilai tract to the Tondaiman. The Tanjore country was now in the enjoyment of the Company (with the exception of the Fort which was occupied by the Tanjore Rájá), and it was to the Company that the Tondaimán had to apply for the Kílànilai tract, which had been claimed by the Tondaimáns for about fifty years. On the 13th of April, 1803, the Resident of Tanjore wrote to the Rájá of Pudukkóttai that "the Right Honorable the Governor had received the Tondimán's letter, representing his uniform fidelity to the Honorable Company and referring 'for particulars of his situation' to the officer commanding the Southern Division of the Army, that "in consequence he had received the commands of his Lordship in Council to ascertain the nature of his claim (to Kílánilai) and report 'it with his opinion of the degree of consideration which it might deserve in consequence of his general attachment to the interests of the Company and of his particular exertion during the late rebellion in the Southern Provinces", that, "in order to enable him to execute the orders of the Governor-in-Council, the Tondiman might state to him without reserve the nature of any claims, expectations or wishes which he might have formed' and that "the Tondiman would furnish him with

* Pudukkòttai Sirkele's letter to the Political Agent, dated 10th May, 1854.

authentic copies of all the authorities or documents which the Tondiman might possess in support of his claims and every other information he might think necessary to illustrate or explain his particular exertions during the late rebellion or his general attachment to the interests of the Company".

In reply to this the Tondaimán sent his Persian Munshi to the Resident of Tanjore with a request that he would kindly meet him at a village on the frontier of Tanjore, where he would explain, he said, his sentiments fully. The Resident of Tanjore, Captain Blackburne, met the Tondaimán on the 21st April, 1803, when the Tondaimán expressed some anxiety in regard to the impression under which the Governor had directed the inquiries to be made. He said that he had received a letter on the same subject from the Officer commanding the Division and he was a little apprehensive that His Lordship might be displeased with him for presuming to call His Lordship's attention to his fidelity and attachment to the Company. The Resident assured the Tondaimán that the inquiries which were separately made by the Commanding Officer of the Division and himself were obviously calculated to obtain for His Lordship the most complete and authentic information, and that, if he should derive no advantage from an unreserved communication of his sentiments, he should certainly receive no injury from it.

The Tondaimán then freely opened his mind to the Resident. He began by making a very solemn declaration of his attachment to the Company and of his fidelity and zeal in their service, entered into a long detail of the services of his ancestors to the Company, pointed out the particular importance of those services on the various occasions and expatiated on the unimpeached zeal, fidelity and attachment which had distinguished them. He then mentioned that the affections and the policy of his ancestors had descended unchanged and unweakened to him, that his affections were naturally engaged to the friends and protectors of his family and that, united with the principles of honour and fidelity which had always distinguished that family, they had inspired him early in life with a resolution to attach himself entirely to the interests of the Company and to distinguish himself, if possible, by his zeal and fidelity in their

service. He acknowledged that he had not been without hopes at the same time, that if his fortune favoured him, he might become in some degree identified with the prosperity of the Company and receive some advantages from their increasing wealth and power.

He then mentioned a claim which he possessed to the fort and district of Kílánilai and explained that the claim originated in a grant from Pratápa Simha,* Rájá of Tanjore, and in engagements which were afterwards entered into with his predecessor by Colonel Braithwaite, General Coote, Lord Macartney, on the faith of which he attacked the Fort and retook it from Haidar Ali. The Resident then requested the Tondaimàn to give him a memorandum of his claim and to permit him to inspect and copy the original instruments on which it was founded. The Tondaimán in reply told the Resident that he had nearly two hundred letters from the principal Sardar of the Company, which contained the most unequivocal proofs of the fidelity and attachment to the Company of his ancestors and of the satisfaction with which their services had been received, that in regard to his own principles and conduct he could refer with confidence to recent facts within the recollection of His Lordship, that he should leave it to the Resident to represent his conduct during the rebellion in Sivaganga, and that, in regard to the arrest of the Pánjálamkuricchi chief, he should only observe that it must have demonstrated that he permitted no personal feelings or consideration whatever to have the slightest effect upon him in opposition to his sense of duty to the Company.

There was another point which the Tondaimân proposed to state not as a claim in any respect, but merely as a suggestion for the favourable consideration of His Lordship. The Emperor or other great and powerful Princes were accustomed to bestow particular titles and ensigns of distinction on the most deserving of their dependents. The ensigns of distinction which he was authorised to use had been granted to his ancestors by the ancient kings of the Carnatic and in one instance by the Nawab Mahammad Ali Khan, who authorised him to add *Ràjá Bahadúr* to his name. The Tondaimán mentioned that any additions to

---

* See p. 224, first footnote.

those titles or ensigns of distinction which His Lordship might do him the honour of conferring upon him, he should receive with the highest respect and gratitude. On being requested by the Resident what titles and ensigns he would desire to have, the Tondaimàn particularly instanced the title of *Maharàjá* and permission to have a White Umbrella* and Gold Chobdar sticks† carried before him.

Having thus ascertained the full extent of the Tondaimân's claims and wishes, the Resident of Tanjore returned to Tanjore. He then submitted a very full and explanatory report (May, 1803) to the Madras Government, giving the details of his interview with the Tondaimân, furnishing a statement of the conduct of the Tondaimân during the Sivaganga rebellion (see pp. 309-315), and submitting two packets of translations made by himself of papers received from the Tondaimân, of which one contained a statement of the Tondaimán's claim to the fort and district of Kílánilai and translations of letters on which it was founded, and the other contained letters received by the Tondaimàn's ancestors from persons of distinction in the Company's service. After mentioning that he had not the smallest doubt of the authenticity of the letters, the Resident gave it as his opinion that the conduct of the Tondaimán during the Sivaganga rebellion was highly meritorious, that he was therefore deserving of marks of favour or distinction which His Lordship might think proper to confer upon him and declared that the Tondaimàn's administration and his private character, so far as he knew directly from personal observation and learned from the information of others, were unstained with any crime or blemish that could make him an improper object of His Lordship's favour.

The Governor-in-Council having considered the Report, ceded the fort and district of Kílánilai to the Tondaimán by the following grant, dated 8th July, 1803.

---

* We may mention that among the ensigns of royalty which the Râjâ of Tanjore enjoyed, were "a White umbrella, a Nagara (kettledrum) and colours mounted on elephants". See his letter to the Governor of Madras dated 25th of January, 1778.

† *That is*, sticks to be carried by Chobdârs. *Chob* or *Chop* is Hindustani for "a stick, a staff, a staff of office", and *Chobdàr* is "an attendant carrying such a staff".

Grant of the Fort and District of Keelanelly to Tondiman.[1]

"Captain Blackburne, the Resident at Tanjore, having communicated to me an explanation of the nature of the claims which you stated by my desire to that officer, I have, in consequence, caused particular inquiry to be made respecting the ground of your right to the district of Keelanelly, and the result of the information I have received, combined with the testimonies which have been brought to my attention of the fidelity and attachment to the interests of the Honourable Company's Government which have marked the conduct of yourself and your ancestors, have determined me to cede to you the possession of that territory, for the purpose of recompensing the services of your family and of affording a distinguished example of the disposition of the Company's Government to reward with liberality those persons who adhere with fidelity to its interest and confidence in its protection.

"I shall, in consequence, direct measures to be taken for defining the limits of the district of Keelanelly according to its extent when formerly in your possession, so that it may be separated from the territory of the province of Tanjore and transferred to you.

"It is my intention that you and your descendants shall hold the district in perpetual lease, subject to the tribute of an elephant to be presented annually to the British Government. But as the orders about to issue on this subject must be dependent on the order of confirmation of the Honorable Court of Directors, you will not consider the arrangement to be permanent until it shall have been ratified by the Court of Directors. In the meantime I shall direct that you shall be placed in possession of the Fort of Keelanelly and that you shall enjoy the revenues of the district until the final decision of the Court of Directors on your claim shall have been made known to this Government.

"With reference to the honorary marks of distinction which Captain Blackburne has informed me that you are desirous of possessing, I have determined that you and your descendants shall be permitted to assume the distinguishing marks of two

gold chobdar sticks, conformably to the wish which you have expressed on that subject; and in token of my approbation, I have directed that two gold sticks of that description shall be prepared and presented to you in my name.

Fort St. George.
8th July, 1803.

What more?
(Signed) Clive."

The Governor's letter was formally handed over to the Tondaimán by Captain Blackburne on the 7th of August, 1803. According to the Resident's Report to the Madras Government, "The Tondiman attended by all his Sirdars and a considerable part of his military force met the Tanjore Resident on the road at a distance of two miles from the place of his abode. He received the Governor's letter with demonstrations of the highest respect and placed it upon his head. He then held it up to the view of all the people, while troops saluted and cannon were fired."

The cession of Kílánelli was confirmed by the Court of Directors, and the Tondaimân was informed of the fact in the following letter dated 7th March, 1806.

"You were informed by a letter from Lord Clive dated the 8th of July, 1803, of the tenure on which His Lordship was pleased to place you in possession of the district of Keelanelly as a reward for your fidelity and that of your family to the British Government.

"The subject having been referred to the Honorable the Court of Directors agreeably to the intention stated in Lord Clive's letter, I have now to acquaint you that I have received the decision of the Honorable Court on that reference and that the grant of Keelanelly to you and your family has been confirmed by the Court of Directors, subject, however, to the express condition that the district shall not be alienated and that it shall revert to the Company upon satisfactory proof being given that the inhabitants labour under any oppressive system of management

Provided that the above condition shall be observed, you and your descendants will continue in uninterrupted possession of the district in question.

Fort St. George, 7th March, 1806. }* What more? (Signed) Bentinck."

The grant of Kílánilai † was made subject to the yearly tribute of an elephant. The tribute, however, was not insisted upon, and in 1836 it was formally excused.

The circumstances under which this exemption was secured are interesting and a brief account of the same mainly based on the letter of the Resident to the Madras Government dated 3rd June, 1836, may be given for the information of the reader.

The payment of the tribute was never acceded to by the Tondaimán and the Resident of Tanjore in his letter dated 10th August, 1803, reporting the substance of his conversation with the Tondaimán, mentioned that "in the course of his conversation he observed that there was one part of the arrangement which the Tondiman contemplated with some degree of uneasiness and that that part was the payment of the tribute, from which under any form his family had long enjoyed exemption.

"His family, the Tondiman said, had long enjoyed an exemption from payment of tribute under every form, a proud and conspicuous distinction which had elevated them above all the Pollygars of the country...........In my attempt to reconcile the Tondiman to this part of the arrangement, I stated to him...... that the present of an elephant annually was to be considered in the light of homage to the sovereign for lands granted...I explained to Tondiman the nature of the tenure, pointed out to him

* Aitchison's *Treaties*, Vol. V, pp. 331–333. See the article on *Pudukkottai* in Lewis Moore's *Manual of Trichinopoly*.

† The writer of the Madras Volumes of *The Imperial Gazetteer of India* published in 1908 must have been thinking of the grant of this tract to the Tondaimàn, when he made the following palpably erroneous statement relating to Pudukkóttai.

"Travancore and Cochin were recognised principalities before the British were supreme in the South and...........Pudukkottai was given to an ancestor of the present Ràjà in return for services to the British in the wars of the eighteenth century." See Vol. I, p. 84.

several instances of its actual existence in England and endeavoured to make him understand the superior dignity of homage when compared with tribute.........Tondiman observed that it was expressly stated in his Lordship's letter that the elephant was to be presented as a tribute, and although the term might be altered it would always be considered as a tribute by all his people."

"In none of the documents alluded to above (see Lord William Bentinck's letter quoted above) is the tribute mentioned, but neither does it appear that the condition annexed to the original grant was withdrawn." The tribute was at no time received or demanded, and "the claim upon Tondiman for the tribute of an elephant lay dormant for thirty years." When the claim was revived in 1836, a representation was made by Râjá Raghunàtha Tondaimán, in which he stated that in 1803 his father "had avowed he would prefer his former state of honour and consideration to the acquisition of a District with the loss of that dignity which had descended to him from his ancestors" and that "the Resident, Captain Blackburne, had told him in reply that the Government would never lessen the dignity which Tondiman had derived from his ancestors," that "the letter of Lord William Bentinck contained no reference to the tribute" and that "when the subject of the tribute was mentioned to him his consternation and distress were extreme." The Tondaimán addressed in 1836 several letters to the Resident expressing the greatest anxiety but at the same time his confidence that the Government would not exact from him a tribute of dependence. Lieut. Col. Maclean, Resident, gave a short history of the whole question in his letter to Government dated 3rd June, 1836, and recommended that the claim need "not be insisted upon, as he was confident that so doing would be the cause of the greatest unhappiness to the Raja and entirely neutralise the feelings of the joy and gladness" with which the grant had been received and was enjoyed. When the matter went to the Court of Directors, they took a favourable view of the case and ordered on the 27th of September, 1837, that "the claim upon Tondiman for the tribute of an elephant having been dormant for thirty years, it was very proper not to revive it" but "that its abandonment

must not be construed as a renunciation of the power expressively reserved in the grant of resuming the District in case of mismanagement."

Grant of two Chobdar sticks:—The two gold sticks which Lord Clive had directed to be prepared were ready in December, 1803, and the Governor of Madras, Lord William Bentinck, wrote to the Tondaimán on the 13th of December, 1803, to inform him that he had directed them to be given to the Tondaimán's Vakil so that they might be sent to him. The title of *Maharaja* was not granted, evidently for the reason that the Tanjore ruler had himself been latterly (after about 1770) styled *Rájá* by the English; —and the *White Umbrella* must have been considered an "ensign of independent sovereignty" and withheld, as the English did not consider the Tondaimàn "an independent king."*

Captain Blackburne wrote to the Tondaimán (29th February, 1804) to say that Mr. Harris, Collector of Tanjore, had written to him (the Resident) asking him to inform the Tondaimàn that he had received full orders from the Government that Kílánilai should be delivered over to the Tondaimán for his enjoyment, and that he had also received a copy of a letter which Mr. Parish, the Collector of Ramnad, had received from the Government of Madras relating to the settlement of the Tondaimán's disputes with Púchi Náyak of Marungápuri. What these disputes were and how they were adjusted we shall now proceed to show.

Settlement of boundary disputes with Marungapuri:—We have mentioned before that Raghunàtha Ráya Tondaimán and his brother Namana Tondaimán marched against Púchi Nàyak of Marungápuri, captured many villages in the portion of the State to the west of Virácchalai and Kudimiámalai and annexed them to their dominions (see pp. 153-5 and 139-40). We are not in possession of any papers or reports that can throw any light on these proceedings. The villages which were then captured

---

* The *Ayin Akbari* mentions the Throne, the Chhatra (or the Umbrella), the the Sàyiban (or the sunshade) and Kaukabah (stars of gold and other metals, several of which were hung up in front of the palace) as the "insignia reserved exclusively for the sovereign." See *Ayin Akbari* Calcutta edition, Part I, p. 43 or Irvine's *Army of the Indian Mughals*, p. 31. We find that in June 1788, "a good and new Aftàbgír" (or Sáibàn or Sunshade) was forwarded to the Tondaiman to be used by him".

and had been in the possession of the Tondaimàns for about eighty years were now required by Púchi Náyak to be returned to him. The Tondaimán refused to comply with the request, whereupon the matter was laid before the Madras Government by Púchi Náyak through the Collector of Madura. The Tondaimán also sent to the Resident of Tanjore in 1803 "the instruments* on which he based his claim to the villages" and "complained that the pálayakâr of Marungápuri was creating much trouble in the boundary affair of his". The Resident "was fully persuaded that the claims of the Tondiman were well-founded and just" and submitted the papers to the Government. The Government thereupon appointed Mr. Watts, Collector of Madura, to examine witnesses, collect evidence and submit a report. The Collector, according to the copy that we have got of an account of the transactions relating to the treatment of a witness and the way in which he was required by the Marungápuri people to give his evidence in favour of Púchi Náyak, arrived at Káraiyúr and sent for respectable men who could speak to the question. This witness, an Ambalakár of Virácchalai, was asked if there was not a tamarind grove at Virácchalai, of the name of "Púchi Nàyak's tope" and whether this fact did not indicate that the village belonged to Púchi Náyak. The reply that the witness gave was that the tope was so called as Púchi Náyak had once halted there during a hunting expedition, that there was a tamarind tope called "Tondaimán's tope" at Mallàkóttai in the Ramnad District in which the Tondaimán's forces once halted (see p. 267) as also a well at Manappárai called "Tondaimán's spring" on account of the use of the well by the Tondaimán's forces during their stay at the place (see p. 202), and that if, in consideration of the existence of a grove called "Púchi Náyak's tope" at Virácchalai, the village should be stated to be Púchi Náyak's, the villages of Mallákóttai and Manappárai should for similar reasons be considered to belong to the Tondaimán. The witness does not seem to have been believed and the following order was sent to the Collector of Madura by the Madras Government on the 15th February, 1804.

* There were probably orders from the Nàyak King for proceeding against Pùchi Nâyak, capturing his places, and retaining in his own possession the villages he had captured. It would not have been difficult for the Tondaimàn about 1715 A. D. to get such orders from the Náyak King.

"You have stated in your letter that the forefathers of Tondiman have wrested some villages from the forefathers of Poochi Naicken, the Poligar of Maroongapoory Poliput and that these villages still remain with Tondiman.

"By the declarations of the witnesses, *etc.*, which Mr. Watts has furnished us with on the subject, we are given to understand that the villages in question do actually belong to Poochy Naick; and yet, as they have long been enjoyed by Tondiman, the Governor-in-Council has decided that they must now be considered the property of Tondiman, as it would be justified even by a lesser period of enjoyment consistently with the rules of the English law, although the said forefathers of Tondiman had but usurped them, and that no other power should interfere with the villages".

In accordance with this decision, boundary stones were planted to the west of Gúdalúr in the Kulattúr Taluk, which bear the inscription

"Planted on the 5th June, 1804, by the Assistant Surveyors of the Honorable Company, in accordance with the orders of the Company on the boundary dispute petition presented by Púchaya Náyak of Marungápuri against Ràjà Vijaya Raghunátha Ráya Bahadúr Tondaimán".

Settlement of boundary disputes with Manapparai. There were similar boundary disputes with Lakki Náyak of Manappàrai, and, in accordance with the decision of the dispute by the Governor-in-Council, boundary stones were planted in Rásálippa*tti* village in 1804, which bear the inscription

"Planted by the Surveyors and assistant Surveyors of the Honorable Company in accordance with the orders passed on the boundary dispute petition of Lakki Nayak of Kumáravadi against Ràjá Vijaya Raghunátha Ràya Bahadúr Tondaimán".

The Tondaiman's Charities. The ruler styled 'Bhoja Raja'. We shall now turn to the charities that were instituted by this ruler, and to his liberal patronage of learned men. He distinguished himself by his munificence so much that he was given

and is generally known by the name of "Bhoja Rájá", the well-known ruler of the State of Dhár, whose Court was adorned by a galaxy of learned men.

(A). *Chattrams.* A number of Chattrams or feeding houses were established during the rule of this Tondaimán by the Rájá and his relatives. Among the most important of these were the Chattram built in 1797 to the west of Tirugókarnam and east of Sellukudi "on the road to Ramésvaram in the name of Kúttappan, an Adaippakkáran" or "betel-holder", who stood high in the favour of the Rájá, the Chattram at Kulavàippa*tti*, on the road to Arantângi, built in 1803, by Kattakkurichi Áyi, stepmother of the Rájá, the Mullúr Chattram to the north of the town built by the Chinnaranmanai Jágírdár, and the Chattram at Ónángudi built in 1799 in the name of Ammani Áyi, wife of Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán, the Western Palace Jágirdár. A Chattram was also founded at Benares about this time in the name of Kúttappan. The Ràjá also granted large tracts of land at very easy rates of assessment for the endowment of the Chattram founded by an Arimalam Chetti at Gandharvakóttai, two miles to the north of the State on the Tanjore road, and of one Muttukkumáraswámi Pillai's Chattram at Trichinopoly.

(B). *Endowments to many temples* both within the limits of the State and outside were made by the Rájá. It is said that it was during the time of this ruler that lands were assigned for "the Tondaiman's *Kattalais*" or offerings in the name of the Tondaimán to the Gods at the well-known shrines of Ramésvaram, Madura, Palani, Chidambaram, Tirupati and other places. The only records that we have been able to obtain with reference to gifts to temples are those relating to the endowments of lands to the temples at Tirugókarnam and Tirumayyam, to the temple of Hanumán under the name of Sanjiviráyar at Pidámpa*tti* near Máttúr, to the temple of Víralakshmi, the Goddess of the Kurumbars, at Sellukudi* and to the temple of Tâyumánavar at Trichinopoly.

* See the inscriptions at Màngudi Kurumbanvayal, 5 miles to the west of the town, and at Vennaimuttuppa*tti* in Kulattùr Taluk, the Inam Office Records and a copper plate in the possession of the authorities of the temple at Pidámpa*tti*.

(C). *Agrahàrams.* Many Brahmins are found to have been imported for the civilization of the State, who were encouraged to settle down here by presents of houses and lands. Streets of houses were built at Rangammál Samudram in Perungulúr Nádu (in 1793 A. D.), at Tirumalairâyapuram (in 1794 A. D.), at Tirumalarâyasamudram, a little to the east of the town (in 1796 A. D.), at Sellukudi or Brihadambálpuram (in 1799 A. D.), at Kíranúr or Mangalàmbálpuram (in 1804 A. D.), *etc*, and were presented along with rent-free lands to Brahmins. Houses in many other villages —two, three and more—were also built and presented to Brahmins with lands.

In some cases, lands were measured out and assigned rent-free for Agrahárams being built, as at Subbammálpuram near Valnàd.

(D). *Grants of Sarvamànyam lands.* Tracts of land in various parts of the State were assigned to Brahmins as Sárvamânyams or as rent-free lands, as at Kóvilúr or Ammaniammálsamudram (in 1802 A. D.), Malaiyúr or Rámachandrapuram (1803 A. D.), Kílappalinji near Tirugókarnam (1803 A. D.), Mánjanviduthi or Brihadambálpuram in Valnád tract (1804, A. D.), Púngudi or Raghunàthasubrahmanyasamudram (1805 A. D). at Návalkulam or Vijaya Ramachandrapuram in Ponnanviduthi tract. In most of the villages in which the Brahmins had settled, arrangements were made for Vedic instruction being given by the grant of *Vedavritti* lands to Vedic scholars employed as teachers, who by the Hindu Sastras are forbidden from receiving fees for imparting Vedic instruction.

(E). *Patronage of learned men.* Among the Brahmins that were thus patronised, there must have been many that were well-read in the Vedas and Sastras, but we also find mention made in the Inam office records of lands granted specifically to learned Brahmins. As examples we may mention the "Srótriem lands" granted to Vedic scholars at Tulaiyánilai in Tirumayyam Taluk (in 1804 A. D.), at Ménávayal near Senkarai (in 1805 A. D.), at Vaiyápuri Éndal in Kulattúr Taluk (in 1806 A. D.), to "a Jatavallabhar" at Kurundanvayal in Perumanádu tract and to "a Bálakavi" or "a young poet" at Vennávalkudi near Kulaváippatti.

(F). *Forest lands cleared* In assigning tracts of lands to others either rent-free or at easy rates of assessment, the Tondaimán made an attempt to get forest lands cleared and rendered fit for cultivation. There are records of more than 50 cases, in which forest lands were required to be measured out and granted to Brahmins rent-free. The language used in these grants is "காட்டில் அளந்து கொடுக்கும்படியாக" or காடுவெட்டிப் பயிர்போட்டு சர்வமானியமாக அனுபவித்துக்கொள்ளவும்" or "காடுவெட்டி நஞ்சை உண்டுபண்ணிக் குளம் கால்வாய்கண்டு அனுபவித்துக்கொள்ளச் சொல்லியும்," all of which may be taken to mean that the portions of the forests that were assigned were to be cleared, that the necessary tanks and channels were to be dug and that the lands should be rendered fit for wet cultivation.

This arrangement shows that the Rájâ had, even in performing charities, an eye to business.

Literary activity at the time. The Rájá must have also made many other Inams of which records were not prepared or have been lost. The stirring military operations of the Rájà's men, such as their capture of Karúr and Erode on their march to Seringapatam, and the active work that they did in "the Poligar wars" created a number of poets, who sang the praises of the Tondaimán and the various prominent Sardars at the time. Their poems are not of a very high order and none of them deserve to be ranked among classics. They were all written in a popular style and were intended to be read or listened to by the people attached to the Tondaimán and his Sardars. We do not know how many works were composed in all and how many of these have perished, or lie hidden in receptacles of palm leaves. So far as we know, the only poems that had been written before the time of this ruler were the *Seventheluntha Pullavan Ulà* the *Ráya Tondaimàn Anuràgamálai*, the *Râya Tondaimàn Rattaimanimâlai* and *Viràlimalaikkuravanji*, which have already been referred to, and *Viraliánkâthal*, a work on the God at Virálimalai, *Tirumalairáyarkappal*, a poem on Tirumalai Ráya Tondaimán, the father of the ruler, who is said to have shattered the forces of the French and the Dutch, and the Telugu Court poet

Venkanna's compositions, such as the *Tondaimân Vamsâvali*, *Bháshárnavam*, *Naishadham*, *etc.* The undermentioned works were written in our opinion about this time.

1. The Telugu poem, *Tondaimàn Vijayamu*, composed by Sámbayya, the son of the Court poet, Venkkanna, as a continuation of the *Tondaimàn Vamsávali*. This contains an account of the march to Seringapatam, the wars in Udaiyàrpâlayam, Ariyalúr and Turaiyúr, the war against "the Marudus", *etc*.

2. அம்பு நாட்டு வளந்தான். Contains references to the wars in which the Tondaimàns were engaged.

3. வெங்கண்ணன் சேர்வை வளந்தான். This, like the preceding, contains references to the military operations of the Tondaimáns between 1720 and 1801, and a particularly good account of the capture of Vàráppúr Bomá Náyak by Venkanna Sérvaikàr (see p. 315.)

4. ஆண்டப்ப மன்னவேளார் பேரில் குறவஞ்சி. The Rájá's valour is referred to in this work on the Sardár Ándappa Manna Vélár of Andakkulam.

5. உடையப்ப மன்னவேளார் பேரில் குறவஞ்சி. A work on Sardár Udaiyappa Manna Vélár of Andakkulam.

6. திருமலைராயத்துரை பேரில் கலித்துரை. A poem on Tirumalai Tondaimán, father of the Rájá. There is a reference in this poem to the capture of Seringapatam. The Kárbár of Tirumalai Tondaimán is called Muttuvírappan.

7. நல்லபெரியான் கலியுகன் பேரில் குழுவல் நாடகம். A work on Nallaperiyán Kaliyugan of Nelvéli, near Karambakkudi, described as one that delighted the Rájá by the support that he gave to him.

8. நாவலங்க நல்லகுட்டிமேல் குழுவல் நாடகம். In this work the Rájá is said to have presented Nallaku*tt*i with jewels such as ear-rings and necklets and rent free and service tenure lands.

9. திருக்குளம்பூர் வைரவன் சேர்வை பேரில் கும்மி. A poem on Muttuvairavan Sérvai, who captured Ka*tt*aboma Náyak (see p. 305). The book contains praises of the Rájá and of the rewards that he and the Sérvaikár got for their assistance to the English.

Subsequent to this time, some other works were written—two of them in praise of the Rájá's successor, two works in praise of Ranga Pallavaràyar, a son-in-law of Rájá Raghunátha Tondaimán, one on a Zamindar of Kallakóttai by Késava Bhârati of Séndamangalam, a poem on the Tirugókarnam temple (கபிலை நாடகம்) by the same author, poems on the shrines at Tirumayyam by Subba Aiyar of Ráyapuram, a very popular book of one hundred moral stanzas addressed to the God at Kumaramalai (see the *Gazetteer*), an incomplete poem on Tiruvarankulam by the well-known Trichinopoly poet Mínákshisundaram Pillai, poems on Alagia Náchi Amman of Ponnamarávati and Víramâkáli Amman of Ambukkóvil, and stray stanzas by Ganapati Kavirâyar of Tirugókarnam and the Kavirâyars of Mithilaippa*tti* and Káraicchúrânpa*tti*.* But in our opinion it was in the reign of Ràjá Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán Bahadúr, deservedly called "Bhója Rájá", that learned men received the greatest patronage and encouragement.

We have come almost to the close of the rule of this Tondaimán. We may mention a few minor events before closing our account of this ruler.

Pallavan tank cleared of silt. In 1804, the Pallavan tank in front of the Pudukkóttai palace was cleared of its silt, as was done about eighty years later, and water made fit for bathing and drinking purposes.

Kandy prisoners sent over to Pudukkottai. In 1803 there was a war between the British and the Rájá of Kandy in Ceylon, and two of the relatives of this Rájá, captured in the war, were brought over to India and confined in the Trichinopoly Fort. At the time of their confinement, Captain Blackburne placed their property under the charge of the Tondaimán, from "an opinion that in his hands it would be less liable to injury than

* In this account no reference is made to works like திருப்புகழ் (see *Virálimalai* in the *Gazetteer*), which were written hundreds of years ago, to books like ஆஹூர் குழுவல்நாடகம் and வலங்கொண்டான் (see p. 144), இரணவிஜயம் of which the names alone are known, and works composed very recently like இயன்மொழி வாழ்த்து, a poem which contains an account of the State and its rulers. There are Sanskrit Puràṇas relating to the shrines at Tirugókarnam, Kudimiámalai, Pêraiyúr, &c., and these must have been composed by local scholars.

if left in those of an individual." An attempt was made to appropriate a portion of this property for religious uses, but on being informed by the Resident of Tanjore (April, 1806) that the whole property would have to be restored to the owners "uninjured and undiminished," if they were found innocent, the Tondaimán abandoned his proposal.

The ordeal of red-hot metal. In 1805 there occurred the decision of a case by ordeal. A dispute had risen between the people of Maravanéndal and Tirumá in Tirumayyam Taluk about a channel, which Vilvavanam Pillai, Kàryakartar or Agent of the Tondaimán, was unable to decide. Maravanéndal Nágappan undertook to undergo the ordeal of red-hot metal * in the presence of a Goddess, and on "his coming out victorious" the channel was decided to be his.

We may give a brief description of this ordeal. "Nine circles are drawn, the inmost circle being sixteen fingers in diameter, the next seven circles being each thirty two fingers across, and the ninth or last circle being one foot across. The hands of the accused are rubbed with unhusked rice and all marks on them carefully noted. Seven *pipal* leaves are bound with seven threads on each hand, a paper of the charge is tied to his head, and he says these words 'Thou, O fire, pervadest all things. O cause of purity, who givest evidence of virtue and of sin, declare the truth in this very hand'. The priest has a red hot ball of fifty palams brought to him, gives it to the accused to carry, requiring him as he steps from circle to circle to keep his feet within each, until he crosses the eighth, and then to throw the ball on a heap of dry grass inside the ninth. If his hands, which are then examined, are not burned, he is pronounced innocent".†

* See the inscription on the Southern Kalingula stone of the Maravakkanmái at Ràngiam. There is one other case of trial by ordeal mentioned in an inscription on a stone planted before the temple of Màriamman at Mélattâniyam. The Pallars (Left hand caste) and the Paraiyars (Right hand caste), were quarrelling with each other (about 1700 A. D.) as to which of them had the right to use the figure of the white elephant, sugar-cane stalks and plantain trees on marriageo ccasions. A Pallan dipped his hand into a pot full of boiling ghee and drew it out without its getting injured, and thus got the case decided in favour of the Pallars.

† See Mr. Macnaghten's *Principles and Precedents of Hindu Law*, pp. 311-319 (1829) for details, which will be found interesting. A short account of ordeals in general will be found in Mr. Crooke's *Things Indian*, pp. 355-8.

The honours received by the Raja. Among the honours * conferred on this Rájá by the English and the Nawab, we find mention of the following.

(1) For the installation, an elephant, a horse, a khillat and a sword.

(2) In 1791–92, an elephant and a khillat.

(3) In 1796, naubat †, a bundle of peacock feathers, the title of Rájá Bahadúr, a flag, a khillat, a jaga? (see p. 293), and an elephant.

---

* According to Mr. Irvine, among the honorary distinctions conferred by the Mughals were (1) titles (*Ràjà Bahadúr*), (2) khillats (or robes of honour), (3) gift of money and other articles such as jewelled ornaments (pendants of precious stones, bracelets, armlets), horses with gold-mounted and jewelled trappings and elephants, (4) weapons of war, (5) kettledrums (*naqqàrah*), the right to play them being *naubat*, (6) standards and ensigns. Surgeon-General Balfour, who was for many years Political Agent at the Court of the Nawab of the Carnatic, writes as follows on the titles and the ensigns of distinctions bestowed by the Nawabs. "The titles which the Walajahi family granted for Hindus were maharajah, raja,......bahadur......, and the insignia bestowed comprised the palki......the *chour* whisk of feathers (copied from the honours done to the gods, *chauris* or *chámaras* being seen in the hands of the attendants of the gods), the chatri and aftab giri, sunshade and umbrellas; malbus-i-khas or royal robes with the aliband or full-dress belt; ...... the khilat or robe of honour with shawls and shawl-dresses, do-shala, rumal shal; ...... and separate jewels were bestowed or a complete set. To these were added the ensigns of royalty, standards, flags and colours and equipage, with the siphar, shamshir, and pesh kabz, the shield, scimitar and dagger; the alam, the naubat and naqara, the standard, the royal and martial drum, ... with the gong and the elephant with gold trappings and measuring rod". See his *Cyclopædia of India*, Vol. III, p. 896.

† The *naubat*, which is the largest kettledrum used in India, has given the name to the honorary band of musicians consisting of players on drums, trumpets (*karna, surna, &c.*) "The beating of drums, accompanied by the playing of cymbals and the blowing of trumpets, at certain fixed intervals (*naubat*), was one of the attributes of royalty. The place where the instruments were stationed, generally at or over a gateway, was the *naubat* or *naqqárkhànah*, the latter name coming from *naqqárah*, one kind of drum used ...... Fitz Clarence, 192, writes ...... 'Over the gate of every palace is a gallery or balcony, where this noisy instrument is beaten at certain hours in the day and night'." "The drums, when granted, were placed on the recipient's back, and thus accoutred, he did homage for them in the public audience hall. In Lord Lake's case the investiture was thus carried out. 'Two small drums of silver, each about the size of a thirty-two pound shot, the apertures covered with parchments, are hung round the neck of a person on whom the honour is conferred, then struck a few times, after which the drums of the proper size are made'." Irvine's *Army of the Indian Mughals*, pp. 207 and 30.

(4) In 1797–98, an urumál, "a scarf for the head or the neck, being a portion of a full khillat * of seven pieces".

(5) In October, 1797, "a khillat of the pattern worn by the Nawab" on the occasion of the birth of a son to the Rájá.

(6) In 1798–99, an elephant, a padakkam (or pendant of precious stones), bracelets (தோடா) and armlets (பாசுபந்து).

(7) In 1800–1801, a bundle of the feathers of உமாபட்சி (or the bird of Paradise) and a horse.

(8) In June 1800, an elephant and a chain.

(9) For capturing Kattaboma Náyak, a horse and a khillat.

(10) In 1801–1802, guns, 300 bullets and ammunition.

(11) In 1803, Kilánilai district and two gold sticks.†

In May, 1799 the Tondaimán, who had sent some presents to the Maharájá of Travancore, namely "a khillat, a double-shawl, a khalgi ‡, a pair of Turki horses, and a padakkam for the God Srí Padmanábhaswámi" at Trivandrum, received from the Maharájá an ornamental khillat, a double-shawl (do-shál), a pair of kincob (brocade), with an elephant and an ivory palanquin for the Rájá's son and a chain necklace for Srí Brihdambá, the tutelary deity of the Tondaimàn.

Death of the Tondaiman. Rájà Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimàn expired on the 1st of February, 1807. According to Captain Blackburne, "he was affectionately attended by (his cousin) Vijaya Ragonad Tondiman, (Western Palace Jághirdâr) in his last illness, and, when he was at the point of death, Vijaya Ragonad Tondiman took the seal ring from the Rajah Bahadur's finger and put it on the finger of his eldest son. The expiring chief was unable to speak, but expressed his approbation by signs".

---

* This was called *málbus-i-khâs* or royal robes. "As a special mark of honour, the robes might consist of clothes that the Emperor had actually worn". A seven-piece khillat, which was the most honourable robe of distinction, consisted of (a) a cap, (b) a long gown, (c) a close-fitting coat, (d) two pairs of trousers, (e) two shirts, (f) two girdles, (g) a scarf for the head or neck.

† "It is probable that the office of Gold Stick adopted in the British Court was borrowed from the East. The chob or baton is about five feet long with a head and as thick at the upper end as one's wrist".—Balfour's *Cyclopædia of India.*

‡ A plume of feathers, six or eight inches long, standing above the helmet. "The Mughal Emperors, when they took the field, wore khalgi as a symbol of command".

His Rani commits Sati. At the time of his death, he left two sons, Vijaya Raghunàtha Ráya Tondaimán and Raghunátha Tondaimân, who were only ten and nine years of age respectively. Nevertheless, the mother of these children, Áyi Ammá Áyi, determined to commit *Sati*, and, in spite of all dissuasions * to the contrary, threw herself into a specially prepared pit of fire, after entrusting her sons, it is said, to the confiding care of Captain Blackburne, who, however, was not then at Pudukkóttai.

It had long been usual for chaste Hindu queens to immolate themselves with their husbands so "as to enjoy with their husbands the felicity of Heaven, sanctify their maternal and paternal progenitors and the ancestors of the families of their husbands, *etc.*" To illustrate the statement that *satis* of queens were common and to give an idea of the details of the ceremony, we may quote here some extracts from a "Description of Malabar (*i. e.* South India) in the beginning of the sixteenth century" by the well-known Portuguese Captain, Duarte Barbosa. †

"So also when the king dies, four or five hundred women burn themselves with him in the same manner and they throw themselves suddenly into the pit...............A great quantity can be burned in it with its great abundance of wood, sandal, basil (துளசி), eaglewood (அகில்), aloes wood and much oil of sesame and butter to make the wood burn well. So great is the haste of

---

* We find from *Puranànúru*, a very ancient Tamil classic, that *Sati* was practised in the Tamil land in the early centuries of the Christian era. The following is Mr. K. G. Seshu Aiyar's translation of the 246th poem of this book, in which a Pândyan Queen expresses her firm determination to commit *Sati*.

"Ye sages all! Ye great and wise!
Why would ye us from death restrain?
Your counsel, learned men, is vain.
Lo! dead our much loved consort lies...... ..
Fond friends! we stay not here alone!
To us, whose mighty spouse is dead,
The waters of the lake where spread
The lotus-blooms and fire are one".

For the whole poem, see the *Tamilian Antiquary*, No. 8. *We* in the foregoing passage is what is known as "the royal *we*".

† The extracts are from the Hon. Henry E. J. Stanley's Translation of the book, (London, 1866).

those who wish to burn themselves first that it is something wonderful, and many men, confidential of the king, burn themselves with him. *

"The Sati first bathes using turmeric, decorates herself with flowers, dresses herself in her richest stuffs (of yellow hue, in a portion of which she carries a number of lime-fruits), and adorns herself with many precious jewels; she then mounts a horse with a great sound of music and a large following.................. So they conduct her through the whole city as far as the place where the body of her husband was burned...............All round the pit they make a gallery with three or four steps, whither she ascends with all her jewels and robes; and when she is upon the top she takes three turns round it and raises her hands to heaven and worships towards the east three times. She calls her relatives and friends and to each she gives a jewel of those she wears; and all this with a very cheerful demeanour........... They then give her a pitcher full of oil, and she places it on her head, says her prayer and takes three more turns and worships to the east and casts the pitcher of oil into the pit where the fire is and she springs into it after the pitcher with so much good will as though she were jumping into a pool of water. And the relatives have ready for the occasion many pitchers and pots full of oil and butter and dry wood, which they immediately throw in, so that so great a flame is at once kindled that she is suddenly turned to ashes."

Amongst a people who are so great ancestor-worshippers as the Hindus are, it is no wonder that *satis* were deified and worshipped after their death. The *sati* of Áyi Ammâ Áyi occurred at Káraittóppu, the funeral-ground of the Tondaimán family, and after this occurrence the ground came to be called *Màlai Idu* or மாலை இடும் (இடம்) *i. e.*, the place where wreaths of flowers were offered to the departed chaste woman. A temple was erected at the place, which was endowed with large tracts of land for púja and offerings to be made to her image in the temple.

---

* See p. 125, where it is stated that forty-seven wives of Kilavan Sétupati burned themselves with him.

The Tondaiman's character. We have written so much of this Rájá that it seems almost needless to give an account of his character in bringing our account of this ruler to a close. In his own words "the affections and policy of his ancestors had descended unchanged and unweakened to him, and his affections were naturally engaged to the friends and protectors of his family; and united with the principles of honour and fidelity which had always distinguished that family, they had inspired him early in life with a resolution to attach himself entirely to the interests of the Company and to distinguish himself, if possible, by his zeal and fidelity to their service." On another occasion he wrote "What is there so good to me as the service of the Company? It is fit for me by zeal and diligence to obtain their favour." That he succeeded in this determination remarkably will be evident from the numerous letters of praise that he received from the Governors and the Sardars of the Company. It will be enough if we refer to two of them. According to Mr. S. R. Lushington (see p. 305), who afterwards became Governor of Madras, "he gave a proof of fidelity to the Company that had never been surpassed" and according to Lord Clive, Governor of Madras, "he had not only rendered himself conspicuous among the allies of the Honorable Company, but had far extended the good name which his ancestors had secured for him."

The only blemish that one might think of finding in this ruler is that he left a debt of about 60,400 pagodas at the time of his death. But it must be remembered that the money that was left as debt was not even two-thirds * of the Nazars that he paid to the Nawabs. We must conclude that he managed his affairs economically and spent no money on his own pleasures, when we remember that he spent his money in paying allowances to his Vakils at Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Madura (as will be shown later on), and in improving and advancing his country which, before the encouragement he gave to learning, must have been far behind Tanjore, always noted for its Vedic scholars and

* It appears from Captain Blackburne's Report to the Madras Government dated 31st of December, 1808, that "the Dubashes and Sowcars of Trichinopoly, whose claims were almost exclusively founded on their having purchased or supplied articles for the use of Tondiman, had grossly deceived him in their amounts."

Sastris. He must have felt with sorrow that his countrymen were comparatively ignorant and unlettered and that the only course that was open to him was to import learned men and patronise learning. Money spent in such a good cause cannot be said to have been money wasted.

In June, 1890—some six months after the Tondaimán became ruler—Mr. G. H. Ram, the Resident of Tanjore, wrote to him to say that he could not "describe the pleasing emotions that were roused in him at being informed by persons of other countries that he (the Tondaimán) honourably filled the throne of his father, ruled and treated his subjects and servants with kindness and that he carried on the civil and military administration regularly." This combined with the testimony of Mr. Harris, Collector of Tanjore, "that the subjects of the Tondaiman did no violence to the inhabitants of the Tanjore country" may suffice to show that the Rájá was a capable ruler, who treated his people kindly and had them well in hand.

CHAPTER V.

INTERNAL ORGANISATION.

PEACE, PROGRESS AND REFORM.

Vijaya Raghunatha Raya Tondaiman.

Vijaya Raghunàtha Ráya Tondaimán became the ruler of the State on the 1st of February, 1807. As he was then only a minor of ten years of age, his cousin Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimàn, Western Palace Jágírdár, assumed the management of the affairs of the minor. The Jágírdár incessantly pressed Captain Blackburne, of whose connection with the State at this time we shall speak presently, to obtain the sanction of the British Government, to which the rights of the Nawab had been transferred, for the succession of the young Rájá Bahadúr. When that sanction was received, the Rájá Bahadúr was taken round the town in procession and installed to the most unfeigned satisfaction of the people of Pudukkóttai.

The Tanjore Resident becomes the Political officer for Pudukkottai Soon after the death of Râjá Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán, Major Blackburne, Resident of Tanjore, was required by the Madras Government "to undertake the management of the province of Poodoocottah and the guardianship of the minors". The Sarkíl of Pudukkóttai writing on the 3rd of June, 1854, mentions that "no document could be found which could clearly show the circumstances which led to Captain Blackburne's having been constituted Resident also at the Pudukkottai Court". But these are found fully described in a paper that Sir William Blackburne submitted to the Court of Directors on behalf of Pudukkóttai after his retirement from India. He says, "I held the offices of the administrator of the province of Poodoocottah and guardian to the minors for ten or twelve years, and when I

Raja Vijaya Raghunatha Raya
Tondaiman Bahadur
1807—1825.

delivered the charge of the province into the hands of the young chief at his majority, I continued, by the orders of the Government, to be the meduim of communication between him and the public officers of the Provinces of Tanjore, Trichinopoly and Madura, by which the Province of Poodoocottah is surrounded. This arrangement has been continued to the present day. One fact will prove its necessity. During the life of the father of my pupils, there was no exclusive channel of communication between the Rajah Bahadur and the Company's officers. The Rajah Bahadur was obliged in consequence to have Vakeels in every Cutcherry and find that his tranquillity, reputation and welfare would mainly depend on the favourable or unfavourable reports of his conduct which should be made by the native servants of the several Cutcherries. He became tributary to them to a very considerable extent and contracted a very heavy debt. I recalled the Vakeels, abolished all the illicit allowances and in the course of two years surmounted, with the cordial co-operation of the Collectors, all the difficulties which opposed me, and brought the affairs of the Rajah Bahadur into order".

A sketch of Sir William Blackburne's career. As Major * Blackburne more than any other laid the foundation of the fabric of the administration of the State, a short sketch of the main incidents in his life may not be unwelcome to the reader. He entered the Madras Army as a cadet of infantry in 1782, and served under Colonel Fullarton in the reduction of the Madura and Tinnevelly pálayakárs (see p. 273), and afterwards in the campaign which ended in the defeat of Tipu Sultan in 1792. His proficiency as a linguist obtained for him the post of Maratta interpreter under the British Resident at Tanjore, which place he held for some years. In 1801, having then attained to the military rank of a Captain, he was appointed Resident at the Tanjore Court and held that office until he left India in 1823. Very shortly after his appointment as Resident, Captain Blackburne was called upon to take the field against the Sivaganga rebels.

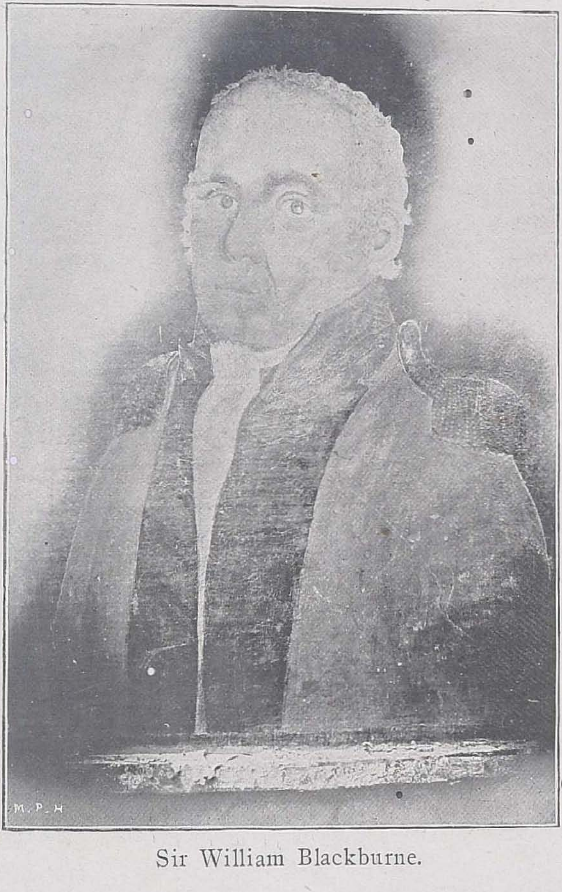
* "William Blackburne, Lieutenant, August 21, 1790; Captain, December 10, 1799; Major, February 25, 1807; Lieutenant-Colonel, June 28, 1817; Colonel, June 5, 1829". Dodwell and Miles' *List of Officers of the Indian Army* (1838).

He was joined by the Tondaimán's forces at Arantángi, with whom he marched against the rebels at Tirppattúr and Kunnakkudi. He thus repulsed an invasion of the Tanjore country by "the Marudus" and recovered the province of Ramnad. In 1804, "Blackburne, having brought to light extensive frauds and oppression on the part of the native officials in Tanjore, the civil administration of which was under officers independent of the Resident, was employed by the Madras Government to remodel the administration both in Tanjore and in the native State of Pudukota .... On his retirement from the Residency of Tanjore, Sir Thomas Munro recorded a minute testifying to the value of Blackburne's services and influence in Tanjore. Blackburne, being then a Major-General, received the honour of Knighthood in 1838, and died on the 16th of October in the following year" *. We may add that, according to Lord Valentia, the traveller, who was Captain Blackburne's guest in 1804, the Captain was "a most gentlemanly and well-informed † man", and that this opinion is amply borne out by the reports current in the State about the gentleman.

A proposal to abolish the Residency of Tanjore and the Tondaiman's success in opposing the proposal. There was thus a Resident, who had the charge of the political affairs of Pudukkottai from 1807. In 1829, the Government of India received orders from England for the abolition of the Residency of Tanjore and for the appointment of the Collector of the District as Political Agent of Tanjore and of Pudukkóttai. When the Tondaimán heard of the arrangement, he was "terrified and grieved", and lost no time in submitting an appeal against the arrangement to the Court of Directors and in writing to the Governor and the Governor-General expressing his deep concern. He said that "he should be ashamed before his own people and be thought of much less consequence than formerly not only by them but by all the world besides." The Honorable S. R. Lushington, at whose request the Raja's father captured in 1799 Kataboma Náyak and his party, was then the Governor of Madras, and Lord William Bentinck, to whom, at the time of his appointment

* See *Gentleman's Magazine* for 1840, p. 92.

† See Lord Valentia's *Voyages to India, etc.*, Vol. I, Chapter VII.



Sir William Blackburne.

as Governor of Madras in 1803, Lord Clive, his predecessor, had given a particular account "of the Tondiman's unshaken fidelity and the promptitude with which he served the Honorable Company as well as of his ancestors' bravery" and in whose time the Tondaimán received the grant of the tract of Kílánilai and the distinction of "two Chobdar sticks", was then the Governor-General. The Governor wrote to the Tondaimán to say that "when any question came up before him which he was told involved either the comfort or the honour of the Tondiman family, he could never forget the unsurpassed proof of fidelity to the Company which his father gave during his administration of the "Southern countries," that he certainly had not anticipated and the Honorable the Court of Directors probably did not know that the arrangement would be so repugnant to the Tondiman's wishes and feelings", that "it would give him in particular great pain to carry into effect any measure obnoxious to Tondiman," and "anxious therefore at all times to gratify the Tondiman's inclination and promote perfect harmony between his family and the Government, he had resolved that the office of the Resident at Tanjore should not be discontinued until the powerful appeal that he had made to the Honorable Company's protection and liberality should have received the full consideration of the Honorable the Court of Directors." The Governor-General also wrote to the Rájá to inform him that "he had duly received the Raja's letter, stating his regret at the orders which had been issued for withdrawing the Resident from Tanjore and transferring his duties to the Collector of the District and soliciting that the measure might be reconsidered," that, "as an old friend, he had deeply at heart the welfare of the Tondiman and his family," that "the particular arrangement objected to by him had been enjoined by the Court of Directors as a measure of economy and not calculated to affect his interests in any way injuriously," and that "since however it appeared that the enforcement of the Court's orders would prove distressing to his feelings and be otherwise productive of inconvenience, he concurred with the Right Honorable the Governor of Fort St. George, as he doubtless would have been already apprised, in the propriety of suspending the above measure, pending a reference to the authorities in

England." Colonel Blackburne, who had been for a long time Resident of Pudukkottai and was then enjoying well-earned rest in England, made the cause his own and in Mrs. Blackburne's words, "very strenuously resisted the plan of suppressing the Residency." He pointed out to the Court of Directors that "the most important of the extra duties of the Tanjore Resident was the guidance and protection of the faithful and most loyal chief of the Poodoocottah province, the Rajah Tondiman Bahadur", that "if the Resident at Tanjore should be withdrawn and the communications between the Rajah Bahadur and the officers of the surrounding provinces be thrown open, debt, embarrassment, undue and oppressive exactions, the assumption of the country and the consequent ruin of a family faithful and loyal in every emergency..............would follow as inevitable consequences." The Court of Directors, on a perusal of these papers, cancelled their original order, and in November, 1833, the Governor of Madras informed the Rájá "that he had great gratification in communicating to His Excellency (the Rájá of Pudukkóttai) that the Honorable the Court of Directors, ever anxious to meet the wishes and promote the happiness of their faithful friends and allies, had been pleased to recall their instructions directing the abolition of the office of Resident at his Court" and that "he felt assured that the intelligence would prove highly acceptable to His Excellency.".

The Residency finally abolished in 1841. The order was reconsidered, however, some years afterwards when the State was under a Regency, and the Residency of Tanjore was abolished in 1841 andthe charge of the Political Agency of Pudukkóttai was entrusted to "the Principal Collector of Madura", Mr. John Blackburne, "whose knowledge of the family and the deep interest which he was known to take in their welfare rendered him particularly fitted for the charge at that period, when the minority of the young Rajah and the state of affairs at Poodoocottah called for more than ordinary care." Another appeal for the re-establishment of the Residency at Tanjore was made in December, 1841, but without avail. Mr. John Blackburne could not continue for ever as "the Principal Collector of Madura", and in June, 1843, the Tondaimán requested the

"kind indulgence of the Governor so far as to commit the Political charge of the affairs of the State to an officer whose principal residence *was not far* from Poodoocottah and who would have both time and inclination often to see him, instruct him and give every necessary support and attention to his Durbar." The only order that was then passed was that Mr John Blackburne was directed in August, 1843, to resume the Political charge of Pudukkóttai. The representation of the Rájá does not seem to have been forgotten, as we find the Political Agency transferred in 1865 (September, 27) to the Collector of Tanjore, and on the 18th of September, 1874, entrusted to the Collector of Trichinopoly, who has continued since then to be the Political Agent of Pudukkóttai.

Administration during the minority of the Raja. Soon after Major Blackburne assumed the superintendence of the State, we find Màppillai Pallavaráyar,—son-in-law of Raghunátha Ràya Tondaimán, and husband of his "only daughter, the highly honoured, Ammàl Áyi",—and Tirumalai Tondaimán, Chinna Aranmanai Jâgírdár, as the Managers of the State. The Resident's instructions were issued to them, which they carried out through the Sarkíl Venkappayyar.

The Resident wrote as follows to the Madras Government with reference to the administration of the country by the Managers.

The Resident "left the entire administration of the affairs of the Tondiman in the hands of the Managers, ostensibly at all times and really so also except when his interposition appeared to be indispensable to the particular interest of the minor, to the welfare of the country or to the security of individuals from injustice and oppression. He so regulated his interposition that, while it was effectual in regard to the attainment of its object, it was as little as possible felt or known in the country. He established a private correspondence with some respectable men in the Darbar, who, having been unsuccessful candidates for office, were not likely to shut their eyes to the misconduct of the Managers or their favourites". For about eight months he persevered in this plan. "The Managers were on exceedingly bad

terms and transmitted to the Resident almost daily their mutual complaints and recriminations ....; much neglect of and inconvenience to Public business were caused by this misunderstanding. The reforms which had been commenced were pursued without zeal or activity .... He had long been aware of the pernicious influence exercised by two persons, one of whom was the confidential friend and adviser of Trimul Tondiman and the other of Maupillay Pallavarier. He sent for them and succeeded in convincing them that they should be removed from Tondiman's country infallibly, if in ten days a perfect reconciliation was not effected between their Principals. He gave the same intimation to the Managers, adding that he would recommend to the Government the immediate dismissal of them both, if they would not or could not be reconciled to each other. He sent his office conicopole (Tána Pillai) to Poodoocottah to attend the Cutcherries, not with any authority or appointment, but with orders to write to him daily an account of every thing that passed". These measures are reported to have been successful. But the Resident found in the course of a year that the Managers, who made no attempt to clear the debts of the State, who were reported to be oppressing the weak and who did not treat the relatives of the Rájá with the respect due to them, did not deserve his confidence. One Anantayya, a servant of the British Government, was therefore appointed by the Madras Government as '*Kàryast*' or *Agent* "to exercise all the authority of the Rajah Bahadur under the superintendence of the Resident", and the Managers were to take their instructions from him. Anantayya was required to pay particular attention to the management of revenue affairs, so that the Rájá's debts might be promptly cleared, but he incurred the displeasure of the Resident mainly by collecting an unauthorised tax called Kachchá vasúl,* sending incorrect accounts and granting *Jîvitams* or rent-free lands to 283 persons without the authority of the Resident. The management of the country was therefore entrusted about 1814 to a committee consisting of three members

* The meaning of the expression is not very clear. According to Wilson's *Glossary*, "*Kachhâ* implies in Revenue Settlements a direct assessment, one made with the Ryot or Ryotwar, either where there is no recognised farmer or proprietor, or where his right of collection is suspended".

called *Managers*, of whom the principal Manager was Soiroba Náig, a trusted officer of Tanjore well known to the Resident, and the other two Managers were Anantayya and Tàna Pillai. In 1815, the Resident gave the Rájá fuller powers, changing the 'Managers' into 'Counsellors'. In 1817, the Rájá became the independent ruler of the State, the Resident confining himself to a general superintendence of its affairs. The Sarkíl's place which became vacant in 1814 on the death of Venkappayya was not filled up till 1822, as Major Blackburne wanted it to be given to Soiroba Náig, a very honest and capable officer, in the opinion of the Resident, whose services could not be spared wholly for the Pudukkóttai State till that time. Soiroba Náig continued as Sarkíl from 1822 to 1853.

Training of the princes. As soon as Major Blackburne was entrusted with the political duties also of the Tondaimàn's Court, "he repaired to Poodoocottah where he found matters in great confusion. The late Raja had made no settlement of his affairs. The widow had sacrificed herself and the administration of the country, with the charge of the young princes, was disputed by several of the relatives. Arrangements were soon afterwards made under the authority of the Government, Managers (see p. 344) and Guardians (Appá Aiyar and Appu Row) were appointed, but the chief direction of affairs was confided, by the consent and wishes of all, to the Resident.

"The charge of the Princes seems to have been Captain Blackburne's peculiar care. Masters were immediately appointed to instruct them in Sanskrit, Mahratta, Telugu and Tamil languages. They were taught also the manly exercises of horsemanship, fencing, the use of the bow and the arrow, *etc.* After a time an instructor was also appointed to give the Princes lessons in the English Language. Their hours and employments were regulated as follows. They rose at 5 o'clock in the morning, rode on horseback till 6,—from 6 to 8 fencing and such other exercises—breakfasted at 9; from 10 till 1 o'clock they attended to their studies in the native languages; dined at 2; from 3–5 were at their English studies, then till 6 on horseback, *etc.* After their return to the Palace, they were with their relatives and talking over the lessons of the day; at 9 o'clock they supped and were in bed at 10.

When the young Râjá attained the age of 15 years, Major Blackburne advised the Rájá "to attend occasionally in the highest Civil Court, to make himself acquainted with the legal proceedings", and shortly afterwards the young Râjà took upon himself the inspection of the Revenue accounts.

"When the Princes had attained the ages of 17 and 16, Captain Blackburne personally examined their progress in the several studies and exercises, remaining several days for that purpose at Poodoocottah, when he found they had made attainments entirely to his satisfaction in book learning as well as in riding and the sports of the field..............He was a frequent visitor at Poodoocottah, where he had the satisfaction of witnessing the fruit of all his care and anxieties in the just rule of the young Rajah, and in the attainments and high principles which were eminently shown in the Rajah, and no less so in his young brother".

These extracts are from a memorandum which was prepared in 1839 for the information of the Resident of Kolhapúr, who, hearing of the eminent success of the attempts of Sir William Blackburne to train the Pudukkóttai princes for their duties, had applied for information regarding the details of the course adopted. We give below some extracts from Major Blackburne's letters to the Rájâ to show what trouble he took and how fruitful were his endeavours.

In September, 1811 and June, 1814, he wrote to the Rájá that "a knowledge of English would enable him to transact his business with Government and to associate with English gentlemen without the aid of an interpreter, that by the acquisition of the English language he would become an object of general respect and esteem, that his reputation would increase daily..............and that he was anxious that the Raja should acquire it speedily and completely."

On various occasions the Resident wrote to the Râjá as follows: "Be not satisfied with your superiority in rank, wealth and power, but endeavour to excel all your subjects in wisdom and virtue....... After your daily studies and exercises are over,

I wish you to inquire into and inform yourself what business has been transacted in the cutcherries; but you must not as yet give any orders and above all give no recommendation in favour of any one..................I wish that you would examine the accounts frequently and inquire daily what repairs have been made to the tanks, what advances have been made to the cultivators, and what plans of improvement have been projected or are in progress..............Protect all your subjects from oppression and extortion. This is the most sacred duty of a king. Any violence committed against any one in your country is an injury to you. It is particularly your duty to protect all classes of persons in your country, but most particularly so to be careful that the persons and properties of the lowest ranks suffer no injury, the higher classes, generally speaking, being out of the reach of injury and the lower classes most exposed to it..............Your country is now no longer under the authority of the Nabob..............See every thing, hear everything and suffer no injustice, oppression or idleness to enter into any part of your administration. No human consideration whatever should induce you and me to acquiesce in an injury to a poor man. This is your sacred duty in particular and as you fulfil it properly, the blessings of the great Judge of kings and cultivators be upon you."...........

"No excuse whatever can be admitted as a justification of your expense exceeding your income. You pay no tribute to the Company, no presents to individuals, and if you cannot confine your expenses within your income, everything which I have said and written concerning your prudence, humanity, love of justice and ability will be looked upon as false or exaggerated, excited solely by a blind attachment to you............Let all the Managers wait upon you, submit to your perusal all the papers ....If you do not persevere steadily, all your labour will be thrown away; and in the eyes of the British Sardars, you will be mixed and confounded with the mass of the native dependent chiefs and pollygars..............You should be the benevolent father of your people, consulting like a tender parent the welfare and comfort of the children rather than your own gratification".

The Resident was never tired of giving sound advice to the Rájá and the Managers, and to the latter he once wrote that "if they taught the Raja in the beginning of his reign to plunder the weak, they might be sure that before the end of it he would plunder them also". The Resident also wrote to the Rájá as follows:—"Some of your ministers seem to think that Rajahs are sent by Heaven to plunder and destroy the people committed to their charge. The next time that any of these gentlemen may advise you to any act manifestly unjust or oppressive, I beg my dear friend, you will send a party to his house and plunder it".

The relation between the Raja and Major Blackburne. The relations between the Resident and the princes were very intimate. The Princes called the Resident their "father", and the Resident was attached to them as a parent to his sons. The Resident wrote of them as follows in 1825. "The Rajah Bahadur and his brother were particularly endeared to us from various circumstances. Their orphan state, the tender age at which they were placed under my guardianship, their amiable disposition, aptitude to learn and a most unbounded and implicit confidence in my friendship which distinguished their early years and increased with their growth...". On the death of the elder of these, he wrote to the younger in December, 1825, as follows:—"It would be fruitless to describe the effect which the loss of one of our *children*, so beloved, so respected, so highly praised, has had upon us. I say *children*, for such we always considered and loved you, and although the custom of our country prevented us from so addressing you, *we received willingly from you the endeared appellation of Parent*".

We shall give two more extracts to show how closely the two Princes were attached to each other and to show how well the Resident felt repaid for all the trouble that he took. He wrote to the younger Prince to say: "How gloriously has that union distinguished you above all the princes of the earth! After your arrival at mature age and you were married, it appeared to many that it was my duty to arrange for a permanent provision for you; but I had witnessed the rise and progress and perfection of the sacred union between you and your brother, I knew you well, my

confidence in both was unbounded, and I refused to throw between you a base alloy which might have stained the purity of your intercourse and substituted individuality and selfishness in the place of the most perfect identity of mind. I always have rejoiced and now I rejoice still more fervently that I abstained from an act, which in all other Courts that I have known, would have been an indispensable duty".

When the Rájá wrote to the mother of Major Blackburne on the extraordinary attention that was paid to his studies and general improvement by the Resident, the Resident replied to him as follows:—

"To expect that the most zealous and disinterested efforts for the benefit of a fellow creature will be crowned with a lively and affectionate gratitude would be to trust perhaps more to feeling than to experience; but that crown I have actually received from you......... The approbation which in mature age you have bestowed on my care of you and your brother's youth is very pleasing to me. But if I neglected nothing that was in my power for the improvement of your minds, I had the good fortune to find your disposition so amiable as to render my task a source of high and constant gratification to me and remove every difficulty in the execution of it. Much praise is also due to those old and faithful servants of your father, who...........discouraged and restrained the follies of youth and engaged the ductile mind to turn frivolous pursuits to serious studies and to receive the impression and adopt the principles of truth and justice".

Before chronicling the events of the time, we may mention that the Tondaimán has been known as "the Rájá Bahadúr" Tondaimán, as he was frequently called so by the Resident and others.

The reforms that were needed. An idea of the reforms that Major Blackburne desired to introduce may be formed from the following extracts from a Report to the Madras Government that he submitted on the 31st of December, 1808.

"The principal production is dry grain, the proportion of which to paddy is as four to one. The whole of the dry grain is consumed in the country. Nearly the whole of the paddy is exported to the surrounding districts and to Ceylon. The cultivation of both the paddy and dry grain is capable of being much extended.

"An equitable and liberal system of revenue and the consciousness of protection to their persons and property will, it is hoped, encourage the cultivators to double the produce of the country in a couple of years more...... The division of the produce was very irregular......all idea of a fixed rate appeared to be lost. The share of the cultivators varied from 40 to 50 *per cent.* on the crops of dry grain and from 25 to 40 *per cent.* on paddy. The late Tondiman, a year before his death obtained from me a statement of the division of the crops in the surrounding districts and after an attentive consideration of all the circumstances connected with the subject, he fixed the Circar or Government share of paddy at 50 *per cent.* and of dry grain at 33⅓ *per cent.* and directed that the calculation should be made conformably to the practice in the Company's Districts after the deduction of sotunterrum amounting to ten *per cent.* This division continues and particular attention is paid to secure to the cultivators the full benefit of it.

"I attribute the general poverty of the country which is very great and striking chiefly to the Amani system (see the chapter on Land Revenue Administration).

"With the exception of informers, no checks existed in the Revenue Department No double set of accounts as in Tanjore and the Carnatic; no Curnams; no regular Cutcherries in the District with officers appointed by Government; no regular dufter in the capital; no office anywhere in which the accounts of the country were recorded. Tondiman himself or a person temporarily and verbally authorised by him usually received the money which was transmitted from the districts by the Revenue officers; sometimes this person gave a receipt; sometimes the Sirkeel, and not unfrequently no receipt was given. The Revenue Divisions of the country seldom continued the same two years together. As caprice or interest dictated, portions of land separated from one division were added to another.

"*Abstract of Income and Expenditure for Fasli 1217 (1807–8).*

Total Revenue in Star pagodas ...	55,695–10–0.
Disbursements, charges of collection, Palace expenses, feasts, *etc.*	34,125–0–0.
Paid to creditors' servants (in waiting at Poodoocottah).	324–10–0.
Paid to creditors as per their receipts ...	16,195–10–0.
Balance realizable ...	5,050–20–0.

"The administration of justice in Tondiman's country was not less defective than that of Revenue, in succession to which I notice it, because the only regular officers of justice were the Revenue officers .... They held no regular courts, were not aided by Pundits or Shastries, kept no record of their decisions and did not report them to the Government .... Injuries committed by men of influence or in power they never noticed; and they received no complaints against the great Jaghiredars who exercised without restraint a judicial authority over the lands in their possession ....

"No alteration has been made or attempted in the ancient police establishment of the country. It is a strict cavalgar system and under the direction and control of a strong Government appears to be fully adequate to its objects. The principal cavalgars are sherogars and possessed of landed property, and a rigid enforcement of their responsibility will make them continue to exert the means which they amply possess of protecting the country from robbers and thieves. The late Tondiman was proud of this branch of his Government. At the Dussera feast, when there is a strong concourse of strangers at Poodoocottah, he was accustomed to issue a proclamation desiring the strangers and others to be on their guard against the wild beasts and the reptiles which infested his jungles, but to fear nothing else, as he would be responsible for the security of their persons and property against all other annoyance."

Arrangements for Revenue collection. "The following is an outline of the arrangement for the collection of revenue which was adopted after a full discussion and afterwards carried into execution.

1. The abolition of the Amauni system and the substitution of village annual grain ιents, wherever it should be found practicable.

2. The division of the country into five districts (or Taluks, *viz. Alangudi, Kîlânilai, Kulattúr, Kavinâdu* and *Perumâṛâdu.* See Revenue History).

3. The transaction of all public business in the public Cutcherries.

4. The appointment by the Government of all the officers of each Cutcherrie and Talook.

5. The appointment of Curnams.

6. The transmission of weekly reports and accounts to an office of record at Podoocottah under the charge of the Sirkeel.

7. The payment af all the Revenue to the Sirkeel, whose receipt should be deemed the only valid voucher for the Revenue officer".

The distribution of the Fourth Mysore War Prize-money. A portion of the prize-money received from Seringapatam (see p. 300) —2,000 out of 4,452 star pagodas—was withheld by the Managers (Máppillai Pallavaráyar and Tirumalai Tondaimán) under the name of Nazar to the Rájá. The Resident wrote to the Managers that the whole of the Nazar money should have been returned, and that "if they taught the Raja in the beginning of his reign to plunder the weak, they might be sure that before the end of it he would plunder them also." The Resident's advice had its effect, and everybody received of course the full amount of his share of the prize-money.

A force collected but not required to be sent. An army was required in August, 1809 to be in readiness to be sent to Col. Wilkinson, Commander of the Southern Army (see p. 316). In November, the authorities were informed of the high gratification of the Governor-General at the diligence shown in collecting the forces, but of there being no necessity for the employment of the forces.

Excessive rain in 1809. "The excessive rains that fell in 1809 were not less injurious to Tondiman's country than to the neighbouring districts. The banks of the tanks and large lakes gave

way, and a considerable portion of the most promising rice-crop was entirely destroyed by the inundations. The fields were also greatly injured by the beds of sand which were left upon them, and it would require many years * to restore them to their former fertility".

Taxation and Finance. All taxes not collected till Akshaya, (1806–1807)—the year of the last Rájà's death,—were to be remitted, and this was to be proclaimed throughout the State. "Catcha Wasool" (see p. 346), a new tax which was estimated to yield only 500 chackrams, but the collection of which would "derange the whole business of the country and encourage false accusations, perjuries, private animosities and all sorts of injustice", was ordered to be abolished. The Râjá had left a debt of more than 60,000 pagodas at his death in 1807. "This would have accumulated by embezzlement and usury to the utter ruin of the orphans. To prevent this natural progression of a native estate, the children were placed under the Superintendence of Major William Blackburne, then Resident at Tanjore, associated with two of their most respectable relations as local Managers, and so different was the result of this system that in 1811 not one pagoda of the debt remained unpaid, while the cultivation of the soil, owing to the steady regularity of the management, had been greatly advanced †".

Treasury Rules, &c. The following rules were laid down by the Resident :—

1. All public work should be done in public offices.

2. All public money should be kept in public Treasuries, from which such sums as might be required should be taken out when necessary.

3. No extraordinary expenditure was to be incurred without the sanction of the Resident.

4. No articles were to be purchased on credit for the State.

5. No Jívitams were to be granted and no increase of expenditure on establishment was to be incurred until the Rájá became of age and assumed the independent rule of the State.

---

* Hamilton's *Description of Hindostan* (1820).

† See Hamilton's *East-India Gazetteer.*

An accountant was stationed at Pudukkóttai by the Resident,—one Tána Pillai, who seems to have been a very trustworthy man—so as to send him once a fortnight accounts of the income and expenditure of the State as also of sums of money spent in payment of the State debt.

Establishment of Courts of Justice (1811-1814). In 1812 regular Courts of Justice were established. The Resident, in sending the details of his plan to the Managers and the Rájá, prefaced them with the remarks that "the country would be miserable where justice fluctuated according to the pleasure of the prince, where delay was great, where recommendations were admitted, and where steadiness in carrying out into execution the decisions was wanting", and that "the description was not inapplicable to the administration of justice at the time in this State."

The following were the heads of the arrangements proposed in the Resident's letter, dated 2nd December, 1811.

1. A Kotwal was to be fixed in Pudukkóttai with a suitable establishment of peons for the preservation of tranquillity and arrest of offenders.

2. Five members, *viz.* Náranappayyan, Ékanáyakam Mudali, Muttukkaruppa Mudali, Venkatakrishna Ayyan and Ayyâtturai Ayyangâr, attended by a learned Sâstri, were to assemble every day in Poodoocottah to receive petitions, to summon all evidences on both sides, to investigate the subjects fully, to form their opinions and write them down.

3. The Râjâ Bahadúr Tondaimán, attended by the Managers Tirumalai Tondaimàn and Máppillai Pallavaráyar, the Sarkíl Venkat Row, the Káryast Anantayyan, the Accountant Tánappillai and Appávayyan (the Guardian of the Princes), and the five members of the Court were to form a Supreme Court of Justice in the upper apartment of the Palace, every fifth day, to receive the reports of the five members and to hear their opinion in the presence of the plaintiff and defendant, to confirm the opinion if it should appear just, and, if it should appear to be doubtful, to send it back for further inquiry, directing the final opinion to be brought on the next sitting day. If the opinion was confirmed, the decisions were to be written immediately and

the Sarkíl was to affix his signature to three copies to be given to the plaintiff, to the defendant and to be kept in the records of the office of the Court.

4. The decision was to be carried immediately into execution by the authority of the Rájá Bahadúr.

It was laid down that the inhabitants of the Jàgírdárs were to be subject to the jurisdiction of the regular courts. "If these officers exercise justice in the land which they possess, there will be ten Rajahs in the country instead of one."

In 1814 *, the Courts were reorganised, and "some general regulations for the Courts of Civil and Criminal justice which differed in some degree from those which had been already adopted" were drawn up and sent by the Resident. Two separate Courts were formed, named *Nyàya Sabhâ* or Civil Court (of four Judges), and *Danda Sabhâ* or Criminal Court (of three Judges). A third Court called the *Mudra Sabhà*, which was to decide Civil cases of a lower grade than the Nyáya Sabhá to which it was subordinate, was also established about this time.

A learned Sástri of the name of Chakravarti Ayyangár, who had distinguished himself in the Tanjore country by his great knowledge, firmness and integrity, was sent over as Chief Judge of the Civil and the Criminal Court of Pudukkóttai. The books of law according to which the causes were to be decided were *Vignanésvariya* † and *Smriti Chandriká*.

"After the decisions in the Nyáya or Danda Sabha on two or three causes are prepared and drawn out, the First Judge shall demand an audience of the Raja Bahadur and shall wait upon him attended by the other Judges and shall read to the Raja Bahadur each decision and shall give such explanation of

* In the Appendix to the *Administration Report* for 1882-3, there is a history of the Courts of Justice, the details of which will be found to differ somewhat from those that we have given. The date 1824 given for the formation of Civil and Criminal Courts is certainly wrong, as we have statistics relating to cases that were decided in 1822-1823 by the three Courts mentioned in the paragraph. We have followed the Palace Records in our treatment of the subject.

† The book referred to is Vignànésvara's *Mitákshara*, a running commentary on Yàgnavalkya's *Hindu Law*. "Among the later works which enlarged on the *Mitâkshara* and supplied its deficiency, the digests, called *Smriti Chandrikà* and *Vyavahàra Mádhaviyà* became the chief authorities in the South of India".

the facts and the law to the Raja Bahadur as may be required by him or may be necessary to enable him to understand the case. If the Raja Bahadur should not approve of the decision, it must be reconsidered and communicated again to the Raja Bahadur at the following audience. On the Raja Bahadur's signifying his acquiescence, the First Judge will sign the decision in the usual manner,

Sammatih pràdvivákasya Chakravartivipaschitah

=the assent of Chakravarti (Ayyangàr), the learned first Judge,

and the Raja Bahadur will affix at the end of it his seal containing the *sloka* or verse,

Srî Rájà Bahadùr Nyáya (Danda) Sabhà mudràm Jayapradàm,
Brihadambà Sadá pàtu Gokarnesa Kutumbinî.

(= May Brihadambá, consort of Gokarnésa—and the tutelary deity of the Tondaimáns—always protect the victory-giving seal (authority) of the Nyáya (or Danda) Sabhá of the Raja Bahadúr) ".

One of the Judges was required to attend to the carrying out of the decrees and had to submit a written report to the Chief Judge every Sunday of the execution of the decrees entrusted to him and of the obstructions and impediments retarding or preventing their execution.

It was the Kotwal's duty to try and dispose of petty Civil suits, but " especially to preserve the peace of the town. A Sherogar and twenty or thirty peons were to be added to his establishment, if it was found that the Cutwall had not sufficient people to guard the prisoners and watch the town at night. The Sherogar's people were to be under the orders of the Cutwall and applied to all the exigencies of the Police. The Cutwall had to report every day to the Managers the number of prisoners in his charge and of the small causes which he might have decided. If the Managers had reason to doubt the propriety of any decision, they ordered the cause to be referred to the first Court under Chakravarti Ayyangár ".

The Resident was so convinced that no good would result if the Judges were corrupt that he issued the following order. " If a Judge is proved to have received a bribe or present from

any suitor, he shall be compelled to repay twice the amount to such suitor; and the rest of his property shall be confiscated for charitable purposes; he should then be mounted on a bullock and led through the streets of Poodoocottah with tomtom, his crime being proclaimed, and he shall finally be conducted to the nearest frontier and prohibited under pain of death from re-entering the province of Poodoocottah".

Till about this time it appears that the felons condemned to hard labour were sent to Tirumayyam to be confined there. According to the Resident's instructions, "they could be more usefully employed at Poodoocottah in improving the roads, digging wells for the use of the inhabitants, deepening and beautifying the tanks and in other works of public utility".

Visit of the Lord Chief Justice of Madras. In April, 1811, Sir Thomas Strange, the (first) Chief Justice of the Supreme Court of Madras from December 1800 to 1817, and "the first English writer who published an original treatise on the subject of Hindu law," paid a visit to Pudukkóttai. This distinguished guest wrote to the Rájá on the 8th of May, 1811, to say that "one of the best allies that the Company ever had could not but be an object of respect to all the King's subjects", that "to visit and to know the Rájá was a principal object with Lady Strange and himself in their tour through the Southern Provinces of the Peninsula", that "they would never forget the kind and flattering manner in which they were met and received by him," and that "he would accept their united thanks for his attention to them not merely while at Poodoocottah, but during the whole of their passage through his country."

Fire in Pudukkottai. Rebuilding of the Town, 1812. "Like other native towns, the town was originally composed, with few exceptions, of mud and thatch houses with irregular narrow streets and was consequently very liable to fires and contagious disorders; but in 1812 being consumed by fire, the young Raja was persuaded to rebuild it on an improved plan, by widening the streets and covering the houses with tiles. The more opulent inhabitants also engaged to rebuild and tile their houses at their own expense; to the poorer classes the Raja furnished some pecuniary assistance,

amounting altogether to 3,000 pagodas "*. It was on this occasion that the town was laid down in the form of a square of sixteen streets of which eight run east to west intersecting at right angles the remaining eight that run north to south. The "New Palace" to the west of the Pallavan Tank was completed in 1818, and "a mile and a half to the south of his capital, Tondiman had an excellent house built and furnished after the English fashion, where every respectable European was sure of meeting with a hospitable reception ".* The credit of rebuilding the town is due to the Resident, Major Blackburne, who wrote to the Raja. "For less than 3,000 pagodas you may embellish your capital, widen the streets, tile the houses .... For this you will be admired and praised as long as you live and your memory will be cherished by remote generations ".†

The Ràjá gets himself vaccinated In this year (1812), the Rájá and his brother boldly made up their minds to get themselves vaccinated. The Resident wrote to the Rájà as follows on 3rd March, 1812. "You are the first man who was vaccinated in the Poodoocottah country, and to your example and influence, your subjects will be indebted for a blessing which will preserve them and their children from a loathsome and fatal disease".

A boundary dispute between Pudukkottai and Sivaganga, 1812. "A considerable tract of land nearly ten miles in length and from three to six in breadth extending north-east from the hill of Pramally had from time immemorial been an object of serious contention between the neighbouring and opposite villages in Tondiman's country and in Shevagunga. Unsuccessful attempts had been made at different times to settle the dispute by British officers commanding at Trichinopoly, by the Nabob of Arcot's commandants at Madura and by the Residents at Tanjore, in consequence of which nearly four-fifths of the *land* remained

---

* Hamilton's *Description of Hindostan*, (1820).

† See Mr. Pennington's Report to the Madras Government dated 23rd April, 1875, in which he says that "Pudukkottai strikes the newcomer as an unusually clean, airy and well-built town"........and that "it is to be wished that some municipalities were endowed with as much enlightenment and as much energy as Raja Vijaya Raghunath Raya Bahadur".

in a state of nature, while the scanty crops of the remainder were sowed by armed cultivators and reaped with skirmishing and bloodshed".

In 1812, Major Blackburne settled the dispute by making an equal division of the land between the contending parties, a decision which pleased neither party, but "established peace where peace had long been a stranger". *

The marriages of the Raja and his brother. In 1812, the Rájà and his brother were married. "A daughter of Şingappuli Aiyá (probably of Kallákottai) and a daughter of Tirumalai Panrikondrán of Kattakkuricchi were married to the Raja. A daughter of Súryamúrti Panrikondrán of Kattakkuricchi was married to the Raja's younger brother". † The Rájá and his brother took a trip to the seaside (Sétubàváchattram in the Tanjore District) in the year.

The Western Palace affairs. In 1813, a petition was presented to the Madras Government regarding the Western Palace affairs by Mínakshi Ammál, mother of Rájagopal Tondaimán of the Western Palace. The Resident reported that the complaints were unfounded and the petition was therefore dismissed by the Government. She presented a petition again in 1815, and the Government forwarded it to the Resident with the remark that there was a strong conviction in their minds that she had sustained a real grievance. In 1823, the Rájà conciliated the Western Palace Jágírdâr by his munificence to him, for which he was praised by the Resident, as "the act was not less becoming in him as the prince and ruler of the province and the head of the (Tondaimân) family than it was prudent and wise". The Western Palace Jágírdár was also required by the Resident to acknowledge the liberality and kindness of the ruler to him.

The Raja Bahadur congratulated by the Court of Directors. The Resident informed the Rájá in January of this year (1813) that the Honorable the Court of Directors had expressed great satisfaction at the general state of his affairs, praised him highly

* Hamiltons's *Description of Hindostan*, (1820).

† From Mr. Venkat Row's *Manual of Pudukkòttai.*

for his attention to the administration of justice and declared their entire approbation of the Ràjá's humanity and liberality in resolving to rebuild the town of Pudukkóttai. It was in this letter from Government that the Rájá was for the first time styled Ràjá Bahadúr in an English letter by the Government of Madras.

A proposal for suppressing the manufacture of earth-salt. In May, 1813, the Resident received suggestions from the Collector of Tanjore for preventing the manufacture in the State of earth-salt, or at least for the absolute restriction of the sale of it for the consumption of the inhabitants of the State. The Resident wrote to the Collector pointing out that the suppression of earth-salt manufacture was objectionable on account of the extreme indigence of the villagers in general arising from the poverty of the soil and the frequent failure of the scanty crops which weie expected from it; the apparent cruelty of prohibiting them from picking up the salt which Providence had scattered over their fields; the impossibility of enforcing effectually such a prohibition; the certain consequences of the attempt in the exciting of evasion, fraud and perjury in the villagers and in causing them to consider as harsh and oppressive a Government, which had never yet been considered by the Rájah Bahadúr and his subjects in any other light than that of a beneficent and guardian angel; the limited scale of the manufacture, the earth-salt being confined to the consumption of the very lowest and most indigent class of people, for those only who could not afford to purchase marine salt would use the other; the vain expectation that by vigilance and care the illicit transportation of this salt into the neighbouring provinces might be effectively prevented; and the belief that the prohibition, if it were possible to enforce it even by the severest corporal punishments, would not cause the consumption of an additional garce of marine salt in the whole province. He further mentioned that the bulk of the article was so great that it was not easy to remove it from place to place without a discovery, that "without a *ravanah* * it could not pass into the province of Tanjore, unless it deceived the vigilance and activity of the Collector's Chowky† Department,

* A pass-port; a certificate from a Collector of Customs authorising goods to pass without payment of further duty.

† Custom-house.

which could not, in regard to the bulk of the article as well as the indefatigable efforts of that department, be considered to be practicable," that "it was notorious that in the southern part of the province of Tanjore the people made the earth-salt for their own consumption", that "they could make it at the same expense which it cost the inhabitants of Poodoocottah", that "it was certainly much more easy for them to supply themselves in that manner without the knowledge of the revenue officers than to obtain so bulky an article from Poodoocottah through all the impediments which were presented to its passage by a double row of chowkies and police officers".

For these reasons the suppression of earth-salt manufacture was decided against. Its manufacture was restricted to four or five central places remote from the frontier, and it was ordered that the salt should be made by the Sirkar officers and that the quantity which might appear necessary for the consumption of the neighbouring indigent villagers should be issued to them at *cost* price, so that there might be little or no temptation for these people to make it.

The Collector in his letter dated 9th May, 1813, considered the arrangements "quite satisfactory".

A Survey of the State. In May, 1813, orders were received from the Government of Madras that a survey of the country under the Rájá's authority might be made, the result whereof may be taken to be the very interesting account of Pudukkóttai that was prepared in the year, giving details relating to the physical features, irrigation channels, tanks, temples, mantapams, roads, villages, imports, exports, manufactures, *etc.* of the State.

In this year a charity school was opened by the Rájá in the town, in which children were educated free and supplied with palmleaf books and writing materials.

Interference with the lands enjoyed by Amarakarars, 1814. The Amarakárs (see p. 317) were turned away by Anantayya about this time from the lands which had been cultivated and improved by themselves and their ancestors, and which had been enriched by them with wells, tanks and dwelling houses, having

been allotted equal spaces of land elsewhere. In many cases where the natural attachment of a cultivator to his ground was very strong, he was allowed to remain in possession of his land only on condition of his paying the same rent to the Sirkar as was paid by the owner of the adjoining Sirkar land.

When the Resident heard of this, he pointed out that the nature of the tenure was altogether changed, and that the Ràjá as well as the Company would be deprived of the right to call for the military service of the Amarakárs whenever it might be required. Anantayya was blamed for not having consulted the Resident on the matter. The innovations were therefore cancelled.

It was about this time that the accounts of the State were required to be kept in Maratti, which required men knowing Maratti and Maratti systems of accounts to be appointed. The power was thus transferred into the hands of the Marattas, and most of the offices, high and low, were filled by the Marattas till about 1875.

Establishment of an indigo factory at Karambakkudi. In 1814 indigo works were started at Karambakkudi. Indigo was to be manufactured and sent for sale to England. It was a concern in which the Rájá and Mr. John Blackburne, a brother of the Resident of Tanjore, were both interested as partners. On account of Mr. John Blackburne, a sum of ten thousand Rupees was to be advanced by the Resident, and of this amount we find a sum of Rs. 8,200 remitted to the Tondaimán on behalf of the Resident's brother. "The money was to be paid to him in England from the sale of the indigo and would enable them to carry on the cultivation, working, *etc.*, without having recourse to other funds". The Rájá helped the concern with 3,825 Star pagodas, entered in the accounts for 1821–22 as "advance to the Indigo works at Karambakkudi".

In 1813 the works were in a fair way to be started, Mr. John Blackburne writing to the Rájá in August of that year that the arrangements were almost complete. An attempt was made to manufacture soap also and specimens of it were prepared. But so far as we know no soap manufactory was started.

In May, 1823, Mr. John Blackburne having left India for England, the indigo farm and the factory at Karambakkudi were handed over to the Rájá. The following details are from the memorandum relating to this transfer.

"The farm is rented for Madura Chakrams 1700 per year for a period of twenty years, of which ten years are unexpired. The produce of the last year was Madura Chakrams 6076—$9\frac{5}{8}$ panams, leaving a net profit of Madura Chakrams 2649–$5\frac{3}{4}$. [$23\frac{1}{2}$ panams=2 Chakrams and $3\frac{1}{2}$ panams=one star pagoda=Rs 3–8.] Extensive plantations have been made and gardens formed. The cultivation of the bamboo has been introduced upon a very large scale .... A weekly market has been established and is frequented by from 5 to 10,000 persons .... There are 78 bazars open. The number of houses has risen in ten years from 103 to 615. The Raja Bahadur is to provide sufficient funds for paying all the expenses attending the manufacture of indigo .... The indigo made at the works is to be shipped to London and sold there, and the net amount of sales after deducting the shipping agent's expenses in Madras and those in London is to be divided between the Raja and Mr. John Blackburne in two equal shares".

It may be mentioned here that the prosperity of the indigo works at Karambakkudi induced the Rájá to open in 1830, another indigo factory at Káraitthóppu, a little to the south of the town, and that this factory was also for a time in a fairly flourishing condition. Both these factories were found to work at a loss in 1841, and indigo manufacture was given up soon afterwards.

The Rájá wrote in 1823 to Mr. John Blackburne to say that "he would always cherish in his heart the grateful sense.........of the great trouble that he undertook in rendering Karambakkudi by various improvements quite new and very advantageous to him."

Some men from Kandy sent as State prisoners to Pudukkottai, 1816. In 1815, there was a war against the King of Kandy on account of his having seized and mutilated some native British subjects, who had gone to Kandy to trade. The city was taken "in the short space of forty days". The King was deposed

and his dominions were vested in the British Crown. A number of Kandians were sent as State prisoners to the State. It is said that the last King of Kandy, Vikrama Rájà Singha, was a native of the State, having been born in Karukappúlámpa*tt*i in Tirumayyam Taluk.* The following account of his selection † as king seems to support the tradition, as it is well-known that the Kings of Kandy married the princesses of the once powerful Madura Náyak dynasty settled down at Vellakkuricchi and other places in the tract between Sivaganga and Pudukkóttai. "The king, Rajadhi Raja Singha died in 1798 leaving no issue, and the Adigar or Prime minister, Pilâ Mé Talàivé, *in virtue of a Kandyan usage*, proceeded to nominate as his successor *a nephew of the queen*, a boy eighteen years old, who ascended the throne, as Wikrema Raja Singha; the last in the long list of kings who reigned over Ceylon".

It is very likely that many of those that were sent over to the State had relatives in these parts. The Resident in sending 13 of these Kandians on the 31st of January, 1816, wrote to the Rájâ that "they were not to be under any other restraint than their parole not to quit without the permission of the Raja the villages in which they might reside" and that "it was the desire of the Government that they should be treated with respect and kindness".

Clearing of forests It may be mentioned that the Resident made arrangements for clearing the forests and increasing the cultivable area of the State. In 1826, in reply to a question of the Governor to the Rájà whether the country was covered as much with woods as before, the Rájá informed him that "agreeably to his father the Colonel's order, the woods had been almost cut down and that cultivation was going on, some thin wood remaining still in some places".

---

* From a long genealogical statement of the descendants of the Nàyak rulers of Madura submitted to the Madras Government by the Nàyaks at Karukkàikkuricchi in the State, we find that Vikrama Singha Mahàrâjâ, the last Mahàrâjá of Kandy, was a close relative of the Nâyaks at Karuppâppa*tt*i (Karukappúlámpa*tt*i ?) in the State.

† Sir James E. Tennent's *Ceylon*, Vol. II, p. 76.

The Raja invested with full powers, 1817. In 1817, Rájà Vijaya Raghunàtha Ràya Tondaimân was invested with the full powers of a ruler. Towards the close of the year, the Resident wrote to him congratulating him on the success of his rule. The Resident informed the Rájá that "he had the highest pleasure in assuring the Rájá that his conduct, since he had had the independent management of his affairs, deserved his cordial approbation", "that he had entire confidence in his abilities for government, in his hatred of oppression, in his love of justice and in his humanity and benevolence", that "he was extremely pleased with his conduct in the restoration of the Chetram land" and that "he was certain that it would elevate him in the favourable opinion of the Right Honorable the Governor-in-Council".

A daughter was born to Raghunátha Tondaimán, Rájà Bahadúr's brother in 1817. In this year died Chakravarti Ayyangàr, Chief Judge (see p. 357).

Pudukkottai free from cholera which raged in the Tanjore District, 1818. We now hear of an outbreak of cholera in the Tanjore District. "Cholera reappeared .... a fourth time in 1817". The Rájá was informed that "his capital, the town of Poodoocottah, an eternal monument of the Raja's good sense and liberality, was entitled to expect to escape from the calamity (cholera) in consequence of its spacious streets, well-built houses, large backyards and cleanliness" .... "that laudanum was the principal remedy", and that "brandy, with which the laudanum should be mixed, could be procured at Trichinopoly".

1820. 30th June 1820. Birth of a son to Rájá Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán Bahadur. The son and heir of the Rájá died on the 23rd of December, 1823.

12th September 1820. Birth of a daughter to Raghunátha Tondaimàn, Rájá's brother.

The Resident's advice to the Raja against running into debts, 1821. The Râjà had incurred some debts, on hearing which the Resident wrote to him as follows. "For several years, I have interfered, as you know, very little in your internal affairs. I wished to see what you could do and would do when left to

yourself, and I now regret the experiment .... Let every expense which is not indispensable be struck off altogether and let all the necessary expenses be reduced to the smallest possible limits Strike off the Dussera and all similar expenses until you are out of debt ".

The Raja's powers and privileges clearly set forth by the Resident, 1822. In this year a letter was written by the Resident to the Rájá of Tanjore in which the rank, the position and the dignity of the Rájá of Pudukkóttai were very clearly explained. The whole of the spirited letter is well worth quoting.

" To H. H. Maharaja Serfoji, Raja of Tanjore.

"Captain Hardy has informed me that your Highness has refused compliance with the request which I had the honour to make to you yesterday that the compliments heretofore paid to the Sirkeel of Rájá Tondiman Behauder be directed by your Highness to be paid to the present Sirkeel on his visit to me to-morrow and that your Highness considers that the Rájá Behauder being merely a Zemindar has no right to the distinction of a Sirkeel.

" A Zemindar is a landholder, paying rent to the Government, but possessing neither Military nor Civil authority over the land of which he is the proprietor, he and all his dependents being amenable to the British Courts of Justice, Civil and Criminal. Rajah Tondiman Behauder is a native hereditary chief, the Prince and Ruler of an extensive Province. He is a dependant Chief, in regard to all matters of a political nature on the British Government, to whom as his liege lord he owes allegiance and military service. In the internal arrangement of his Province, he is absolute. He has the power of life and death. He enacts laws, appoints Courts of Justice, Civil and Criminal, maintains a considerable military force, collects his revenues and disposes of them at pleasure, paying no tribute either directly or indirectly through the well-deserved kindness and favour of the British Government. All his subjects are expressly exempted from the jurisdiction of the British Courts. The Rajah Behauder's Sirkeels and Fouzdars have been received with the compliments requested from your Highness whenever they have visited British

Stations, and it is indeed a matter of much surprise as concern to me to receive this refusal from your Highness. I shall be very happy if the explanation I have shortly offered, for a great deal more might be said of this distinguished Chief, shall incline Your Highness to grant a request of the Resident at your Court, who is responsible to the Honorable the Governor for the propriety of what he asks and considers a reciprocity of attentions and civilities as being not less graceful and becoming in your Highness than consistent with the alliance which unites your Highness so closely with the British Government.

I have the honour to be, *etc., etc.,*

Tanjore, (Sd.) W. BLACKBURNE.

31st December, 1822.

It is worthy of remark that the Rájá of Pudukkóttai did not resent the insult of the Rájá of Tanjore. He wrote to his Sirkíl that "he did not feel sorry at the objection raised to show the Sirkele due respect, since he did not think that honours were only obtained if the Raja of Tanjore honoured them", that "the Government were showing due respect in consideration of his high family, *etc.*" and that "he was thereby entirely satisfied".

Bungalows built at Viralimalai and Athanakkottai. In July, 1822, arrangements were made for building a Bungalow at Virálimalai, a camping station* of Officers and Regiments on the road from Trichinopoly to Madura. On the 1st of July "the papers issued by the Madras Government in connection with the providing of accommodation for European travellers at every station between Trichinopoly and Palamcottah were caused by the Resident to be placed before the Raja Bahadur with a recommendation that he might cause a Bangalow exactly according to the plan be erected at Veralimally, the first stage from Trichinopoly to the south". According to these instructions a Bungalow was built at Virálimalai. Another Bungalow was built in 1833 to the west of Áthanakkóttai, for the Resident of Tanjore to halt in while journeying from Tanjore to Pudukkóttai.

* We find for example that the Rájá was required to be ready with provisions for the 51st Regiment that had to pass from Palamcottah to Trichinopoly in January 1830.

Soiroba Naig was appointed Sirkil. In this year, Soiróba Naig was appointed as the Sirkíl or First Minister of Pudukkóttai. In communicating the appointment, the Resident wrote to the Ràjà as follows :—

" So much of your comfort and so entirely your independence will depend on the manner in which your unavoidable intercourse with the public officers of the British Government is carried on, that it is necessary that your principal officers should be intimately acquainted with the character, views and feelings of our public officers in general, their modes of transacting business and other particulars, which can only be attained by long and close observation and communication with them. Your principal Manager, Soiroba Naig, possesses in an eminent degree all the qualifications for the discharge of the important duties of your First Minister; and I should have resigned him entirely to your service long ago, if his situation in my office had not enabled him to be as useful to you as if he had resided constantly at Poodoocottah. His abilities are considerable; his experience and knowledge of business are great. His integrity, as you know, is unimpeachable. During your minority, I did not fill up the place of the late Sirkeel with a view to recommend to you Soiroba Naig for it".

Resignation of Lieutenant-Colonel Blackburne as Resident and his departure for England, 1823. Lieutenant-Colonel Blackburne resigned his place as Resident of Tanjore and embarked for England on the 4th of March, 1823. In the last months of his stay in India, he was ever thinking of Pudukkóttai and its Rájá. He spoke of the Rájá Bahadúr fully to the Governor and to the Chief Secretary to the Government, and he wrote to the Rájá to say that all were quite prepared to protect and befriend him, and that he did not think that the Rájá would suffer any other inconvenience from his departure than the loss of an affectionate friend. He had made up his mind to be attentive to the interests of the Rájá in England, wished to have from the Ràjá a memorandum of his wishes, and doubted not that he would be able to contribute in many ways to his comfort and prosperity. In the letter that he wrote to the Rájá on the day previous to that of his embârkation, he gave the Râjá the following advice.

"I have found no difficulty in making friends for you, in consequence of your character for justice and kindness to your people being very high. Be careful to maintain that character. Cherish the excellent and well-tried servants you possess, Soiroba Naig (Sirkíl or First Minister), Tana Pillai (Minister in charge of finances) and Tyagaraze (English Tutor after Appu Row and probably then the Rájá's Private Secretary), and you will never fail to go on well".

The Governor, Sir Thomas Munro, wrote to the Rájá on the 7th of March, 1823, that the reports that he had received from Lieutenant-Colonel Blackburne were exceedingly satisfactory, that it had afforded him further pleasure to learn that Lieutenant Colonel Blackburne's endeavours to qualify the Rájá for the high station had been correctly estimated and were thankfully acknowledged by the Rájá, that "Colonel Robert Scot, C. B., had been appointed to succeed that officer as Resident in Tanjore', and that "as the Governor's agent with the Ràjá's Samastanam, it would be his aim to follow in all respects the steps of his predecessor".

The Raja's trips to the Tanjore country. The Rájá with his brother was occasionally taken to the sea-coast for a change by Major Blackburne. We find his brother Raghunâtha Tondaimán informing the Governor in August 1826 that he was taken thrice to Sétubáva Chattram in the Tanjore District, "by his father", and to the question of the Governor whether he could go "to other countries", gracefully replying that as the country belonged to the Company and he was under the protection of the Company, he considered the Company's country as his own.

Receipts and Disbursements in 1824–5 To give an idea o the income and expenditure of the State about this time, we give the following figures relating to the receipts and disbursements of 1824–25.

RECEIPTS.

	Star Pagodas.	Panams.	Cashes.
By cash received from the Taluks ...	40,654	39	65.
From *Pannai* villages cultivated at Sarkar cost.	4,618	39	52.

RECEIPTS—(*cont*).

	Star Pagodas.	Panams.	Cashes.
From Customs offices	3,635	1	40.
From Jágír villages	375	27	...
From Arrack rent, *etc.*	2,730	16	20.
Total ...	52,014	34	17.
Profit in exchange of money	4,829	21	50.
Borrowed from Merchants	2,074	32	50
Received in advance from Renters ...	2,044	...	...
Grand Total ...	60,962	43	37.

DISBURSEMENTS.

Taluk Establishment (Tahsildars, Peshkars, *etc*)	4,827	30	40.
For Dussera feast expenses	2,691	37	5.
Pay of Sarkar Servants (including evidently Palace expenditure) ...	15,855	20	...
For Sarkar expenses (including evidently Palace expenditure) ...	8,277	19	...
For Horse Stable and Elephant expenses	6,334	41	55.
For Inams or Presents	3,097	5	8.
For extra expenses, including Marahmut and Buildings, *etc.*	11,888	21	9.
For Debt	3,200	3	...
Total ...	56,172	42	37.
By cash in store as *per* values of different articles such as grains and stuffs.	2,750	...	...
By cash due from cultivators on account of advances made to them.	2,041	1	...
Total ...	4,790	1	...
Grand Total ...	60,962	43	37

One star pagoda=Rs. 3–8–0.
45 panams=One pagoda.
80 cashes=One panam.

In connection with the account that has been transcribed above, we have to offer a few remarks. One of the tenures then in force was the *Amani* tenure, under which the Sarkar was entitled to a share of the produce [See Revenue History]. It was with great difficulty that the grain was sold, and the cash received from the Taluks must be taken to include the sale proceeds of the Sarkar grain. Customs duties were collected in a number of stations and such persons as could not pay them left certain articles with the customs officers in lieu of the duties they had to pay. We find that in the year 1824–5, grains and stuffs of the estimated value of 2,750 star pagodas remained with the customs officers to be disposed of in the ensuing year. Among the lands cultivated under Sarkar management were those at Káraiyúr, from which village specially good rice for the use of the Palace was obtained. The amount that was got from the Jágír villages was mainly due as "grass tax" (புல்வரி) paid by the Jágírdárs as "a commutation for the service of supplying grass to the Palace Stables in former times". Under the head 'Profit in exchange of money' were mentioned mainly the profits arising from the investment of Sarkar money in indigo manufacture.

A drought in the State. In 1825 the rains held off and there was a great drought in the State. To shew the great interest that Lieut. Col. Blackburne continued to take in the State even after his retirement, we may quote here the paternal advice that he sent to the ruler of the State on this occasion from Paris. "I am truly concerned", he wrote "to observe that the last two seasons have been so unfavourable in Poodoocottah, and I earnestly hope that you will have met the reduction of revenue by an equal reduction of expenses, and that you will continue to avoid debt as you would avoid dependence, vexation, distress, discredit and ruin. For all these miseries debt would bring upon you sooner or later. You will excuse my earnestness, which springs entirely and solely from my love for you".

The Raja's death and character. We have now the painful duty of recording the death of this much loved and respected ruler. The Rájâ breathed his last on the 4th of June, 1825, leaving the seal and his earrings with his brother and legal heir in token of authority; and the letter quoted above was written to him on

the 28th of October, 1825, in ignorance of this fact. The reader, who has gone through the account of his rule, will be able to judge for himself of the character of this ruler. "The Rájá Bahadúr" was a very amiable, talented and successful administrator, and the premature death at the age of twenty-eight of the Rájá "who was so exemplary in his public character and so benevolent and amiable in all the relations of private life" must have spread the greatest grief throughout the State. "His acquirements, his disposition, the regularity with which he applied himself to the business of his State "had reached the notice of the Honorable the Court of Directors, who, after referring to the papers relating to this ruler and his brother, were pleased to observe that "the details concerning the young chief of Poodoocottah and his brother were extremely interesting and reflected much credit on those personages as well as upon the Resident at Tanjore, who acted as guardian to them after the death of their father and under whose inspection they were educated".

The widow of Rájá Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán Bahadúr was determined upon committing *Sati* with her husband, and it was with the greatest difficulty that she was dissuaded from actually throwing herself into a pit of fire. The conduct of Raghunàtha Ráya Tondaimán in preventing the widow from following "the barbarous custom of concremation" won the warm approbation of the Governor of Madras and the Honorable the Court of Directors. The Chief Secretary to the Madras Government wrote to the Resident at Tanjore to say "that it was a matter of the highest satisfaction that the widow of the deceased was successfully dissuaded from following the example of his mother by sacrificing herself on her husband's funeral pile" and that "the Resident should take a proper opportunity of expressing to Raghunàtha Tondaimán Bahadúr the particular approbation with which the Government regarded his conduct on that interesting occasion". On receipt of a communication on this subject from the Madras Government, the Court of Directors were pleased to observe as follows :—

"We deeply regret the death of this Chief, of whom we had formed a highly favourable opinion. It is gratifying however that his successor resembles him in his many excellent qualities

His Excellency
Raja Raghunatha Tondaiman Bahadur
1825—1839.

"We have derived particular pleasure from the information here communicated to us concerning the meritorious endeavours of the late and present Chief to discontinue by all prudent means the practice of Suttee".

Raja Raghuhatha Tondaiman Bahadur.

As Rájá Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán died without issue, his brother and legal heir Raghunâtha Tondaimán ascended the musnud after him. The Resident wrote to him on the 14th of June, 1825, that he should keep up his spirits as well as he could, as overwhelming grief would injure his health, and that he should begin attending to public affairs to divert his mind from dwelling upon the same melancholy subject. But "his grief for the loss of his brother to whom he was devotedly attached was so overwhelming that he was seized with a most severe illness and his recovery was for a long time despaired of". On the 11th of July, the Resident wrote to the Prince that "he was anxious that the ceremony of this public investiture should take place as soon as possible" and "that he should resume his usual habits and avocations which would in some degree occupy and amuse his mind". On the 16th of July, on receipt of a letter from the Governor of Madras, the Tondaimán was once more requested to fix a lucky day for the investiture ceremony. The public installation came off on the 20th of July, but the Rájá was far from happy.

Character of Raja Raghunatha Tondaiman. "The public and private character of Raja Raghunatha Tondaiman Bahadur stood in the highest rank. He was the just and enlightened ruler of his people, their kind and benevolent master, and the faithful and devoted ally of the British Government. He was high-principled, candid and sincere, and to deceit of any kind he was a total stranger".*

The Raja's charities. One of the first public acts of the Rájá was to perpetuate the name of his brother and to secure salvation for his soul by building about four miles to the east of the town an Agrahâram of twenty houses which were all on the

* From a memorandum prepared for the information of the Resident of Kòlhapúr (see p. 348) and forwarded by Captain Maclean, Resident of Tanjore, in June, 1839.

same plan and of the same size, calling it Vijaya Raghunáthapuram after the name of his brother and presenting it with lands in 1826 to deserving Brahmins. Under the superintendence of the Residents of Tanjore, who were bent upon keeping down the expenditure of the State, there were no grants of Inâm lands in the reign of "Rájá Bahadúr". In April, 1826, sanction was applied for to the Resident to accomplish the charity of giving lands, houses, *etc.*, to Brahmins. The Rájá's only motive for deciding upon the gift of Vijaya Raghunáthapuram seems to have been his sincere solicitude for the welfare of the soul of his brother, whom he so dearly loved. And after this step had been decided upon, his officers, evidently out of selfish motives, are said to have prevailed upon the Rájá to do something for the salvation of his father also. An Agraháram was accordingly built at Kadaiyakkudi and given the name of Prasanna Raghunáthapuram, and the houses with lands were distributed among the officers of the State. The gift of Vijaya Raghunáthapuram differed from other inams of Agrahárams not only in all the houses having been built on the same plan, so that it was often a source of perplexity for the owner of a house in the middle of the street to find out his own house, but in every house having been furnished with all the household utensils and supplies for one year of every household requisite, so that it might be unnecessary for anybody to have to purchase or borrow any article in the first year, even the necessary vegetables and leaves having been supplied by the Sarkar once a week. The houses at Prasanna Raghunáthapuram were also built on the same plan as at Vijaya Raghunáthapuram.

The Ràjà's pilgrimage to Rámeswaram. Soon after making these grants, we find the Tondaímàn starting (in February 1827) on a pilgrimage to Ramesvaram to perform, we may suppose, the needful rites for his brother's soul. The necessary arrangements for "the respect and attention due to his rank and dignity" being shewn to him during the journey were made by the Madras Government, and the Tondaimàn returned to his capital on the 26th of April, 1827.

The Râjá advised to practise economy. The drought of 1825 continued till June 1826, and we find Colonel Blackburne again offering his advicé for retrenchment of expenditure. The Resident

of Tanjore wrote to the Rájá on the 23rd of May, 1826, as follows:—"You see that he (Colonel Blackburne) still acts the part of a true friend to you and gives you the best advice. It has come very opportunely to remind you that in the performance of the annual ceremony (of your brother on the 4th of June) which will shortly take place, and upon every other occasion, you should, while your finances are still suffering from the effect of a succession of unfavourable seasons, confine your expenses within what is indispensably necessary".

A hurricane in the State. The drought was followed in May, 1827, by "a terrific hurricane attended with rain, which caused great injury to the cattle, trees and houses in the State".

In October 1827, the question of the suppression of the manufacture of earth-salt was raised again, and Soiróba Naig explained the many difficulties that would befall the subjects of the State if the suppression of earth-salt manufacture should be decided upon.

Interview with the Governor at Viralimalai. In August, 1826, the Tondaimán had the honour of having an interview with His Excellency the Governor of Madras, who was then touring in the Southern Districts of the Presidency. The Resident at Tanjore wrote to the Tondaimàn that the Governor would be at Virálimalai on the 18th of August, that he would introduce the Tondaimán to the Governor, and that the Tondaimán should send his Sirkíl and Foujdár to meet the Governor at the boundary of the country on the Trichinopoly side, six or seven miles from Virálimalai. From a memorandum of the interview which was prepared and despatched for the information of Colonel Blackburne in England, we find the Governor complimenting the Rájá on his "speaking English very well", asking the Ràjá why he called General Blackburne his father, and informing him that he knew well the history of his ancestors. Two or three questions of the Governor with the answers may be transcribed here.

The Governor. Have you been to the sea coast?

The Rájá. Yes. I have been three times to Setubáva Chattram when my father was here.

The Governor. May you go to other countries? (with a smile)

The Ràjà ... As Tanjore is under the Company's authority and as I am protected by the Company, I consider the country which belongs to the Company as mine.........

The Governor. Have rains fallen in your country?

The Ràjá ... For the last two years the people have suffered much by the failure of rain; but in the last few days some heavy rains having fallen in every part of the country, it is now cool everywhere.

The Governor. About forty years ago* when I passed by this way from Melur, I saw thick wood in this country. Is it now cut down and are the lands cultivated?

The Ràjá ... Agreeably to my father the Colonel's (Colonel Blackburne's) order, the woods having almost been cut down, cultivation is now going on. There still remains thin wood in some places.†

Condition of the State in 1827. A statement in Tamil prepared for the year 1826–7 (*Vijaya*) will give the reader a fair idea of the condition of the Pudukkóttai State at the time.

1. What is the total population of the State?	According to a census that was taken in 1826–7, there were 1,07,909 males and 1,03,833 females. The total population was thus 2,11,742.
2. What is the *net* income of the State?	The annual income of the State is Rs. 1,68,920 and the expenditure is Rs. 1,68,920, (leaving no balance)

* He was then a Lieutenant in the army and was, after the conclusion of the treaty with Tipu in March, 1784, stationed for a time at Madura.

† There is a tradition to the effect that the Governor asked the Sirkìl and the Foujdár Appá Aiyar whether the State had a separate flag and that Appâ Aiyar hoisted then the Hanumán flag, specially and hurriedly prepared at the time. (See pp. 120 and 137).

3. What are the taxable articles? At what rates are taxes collected?	For every fruit-bearing tree, one panam a year. For wet lands from 5 pons to 25 pons a year and for dry lands from 1 pon to 6 pons a year. For every loom, stable and shop from one-quarter of a panam to one panam a year. [23½ panams=1 star pagoda= Rs. 3-8-0; one pon or Chakram =10 panams].
4. What are the productions and manufactures of the State?	*Productions.* Rice, *cumbu*, *sâmai*, *varagu*, and *chôlam* (different kinds of millet—ragi, maize, *etc.*) horse gram, gingelly seeds, black gram, green gram, red gram, castor-oil plant, turmeric, tobacco, chillies, betel-leaf, sugar-cane, cocoanut and ochre. *Manufactures.* Iron, earth-salt, salt-petre, indigo; dyes, white cotton cloths, silk cloths and embroidery.
5. What is the extent of lands under cultivation and of lands not cultivated?	Exclusive of forests, of purambókku lands and of land unfit for cultivation, the extent of wet lands is 12,500 velis and of dry lands, 14,200. Total 26,700 velis. Lands not cultivated, 3,300 velis.
6. How is the administration of justice carried on?	There are for the decision of cases a Nyáya Sabhá, a Mudra Sabhá, a Danda Sabhá, a Kotwal and Town Police and Taluk Police (Sub-Magistrates).
7. How are customs levied? தீர்வை is the Tamil word used in the record.	An article weighing 10 tuláms is taken to weigh 8 tuláms, and duty is levied according to the nature of the article at from one-quarter of a panam to one panam per tulám. [One tulám=120 palams].

8. Who are the chief officers of the State with whom His Excellency * conducts the administration?	Sirkíl Ry. Soiróba Naig. Foujdár Ry. Appá Aiyar. Secretary Ry. Tyágarájaswámi. Kárbàr Ry. Lakshmana Naig. Bangu Madhyastam (Superintendent of the Manóvarthi affairs) Ry. Sakháram Naig. Chief Judge, Judges, Magistrates *etc.*
9. What is the strength of the army? What is the number of troopers, sepoys and gunners, and men bearing arms and what are their equipment and pay?	Troopers 26; sepoys, 120; gunners, 30; in addition to 6,702 "Carnatic men", of whom 702 are native officers known as Rájás, Náyaks, Bárgírs, Jamádárs and Súbahdárs, and 6,000 are *Amarakàrs* and *Uiiyakârs.* †
10. Are the articles cheaper or dearer than in the Company's Territory? Does the pay correspond to the difference?	Articles are cheaper than in the Company's territory. Of those in service, three-fifths enjoy lands, one fifth receive some pay in addition to lands they enjoy, and one-fifth receive payments in cash.
11. What are the imports of the State?	All articles required for use that are not mentioned in reply to Question No. 4 are imported.
12. Is education widely spread, though it is of a low standard?	Tamil, Telugu, Sanskrit and Maratti are learnt widely and English and Persian by a few.
13. Are the roads as far as possible in a fair condition? Are they many?	There is a road passing through Virálimalai from Trichiropoly to Madura, and also another road

* The use of this title shows that this paper must have been prepared after 1830. But the date given in the record is 1826-7.

† See *Revenue History*. The *Rájâs* are supposed to be of Rajput descent. The *Nàyaks* were heads of small bodies of fighting men. *Bàrgirs* were men mounted on horses supplied by the State. *Jamâdár* was a military subaltern officer and *Súbahdàr* held a rank equal to that of *Captain*. See *Wilson's Glossary of British India.*

Is the ground unfit for the making of roads?	from Tanjore to Rámesvaram. There are also minor roads in good condition. In some places the ground is level and in other places uneven.
14. Are severe punishments awarded often or occasionally?	Guilty people are punished. Some of them are mounted on asses and adorned so as to cause them shame—with the flowers of எருக்கு, *calotropis gigantea,etc.* Imprisonment is from one month to twelve years. Whipping (from one dozen to twelve dozen stripes) is another punishment. No other severe punishment is in force.
15. What are the ordinary cases that come before the Magistrates?	Highway robbery, burglary, arson, and murder are cases that come before the Danda Sabhá. Cases relating to loans of money, rights of landed property and other civil cases are tried by the Nyáya Sabhá and other Civil Courts.
16. Has the State suffered much on account of the recent famine (க்ஷாமம்)?	Yes. But as those in employment were not merely given their pay, but were granted advances, and as His Excellency built a Chattram where the poor were freely supplied with meals and congee, the people were fairly satisfied.
17. In the last five years, has there been any difference in the income of the State? How much?	In the last year, owing to the famine there was a decrease in the income of Rs. 40,000.

In July, 1827, died Sir Thomas Munro, the Governor of Madras, and the Rájá was filled with grief when he heard the news, as he "remembered with the liveliest sense of gratitude the many obligations and kindnesses which he had received from him".

For a statue that was proposed to be raised to commemorate the memory of the Governor "who was admired for his talents and beloved for his virtues by all that knew him", the Rájá, who had been treated by the Governor with so much consideration and kindness, subscribed a sum of Rs 1,000. Mr. S. R. Lushington, who had been the Collector of Ramnad during the Pálayakár wars and who very well knew the nature of the services rendered by the father of the Rájà, became Governor of Madras in October of the year.

Marriages of the Rájá's daughters. On the 15th of May, 1828, the Rájá's eldest daughter was married to one Rangan Pallavaráyar a Jágírdar of distinction, who "was honoured as the heir and generally called the son of Ammal Ayi, daughter of Raya Ragonatha Tondiman, ruler of the State from 1769–89, as, after the death of her husband, Mappilay Pallava Row, without issue, she brought up her brother-in-law's son (Rangan Pallava Row) as her own child". The Resident who had been invited for the marriage, "to show that the descendants of the faithful Tondiman had claims upon the gratitude and good offices of the Hon'ble Company", presented the Rájá with a khilát of congratulation. The Rájá's second daughter was married to R. Raghunáthaswámi Panricondrár on the 26th of June, 1831.

Boundary disputes. There were a large number of boundary disputes between the State and the Tanjore District as also disputes relating to the boundary of the State on the Trichinopoly side. Most of these were settled by arbitration. In 1828, arrangements were made for settling the disputes relating to the boundaries of 69 villages in the Tanjore District bordering on 99 villages in the State. The Resident was requested by the Collector of Tanjore in November, 1828, to "arrange for the attendance of the Karnams and Mirasidars of the State with their accounts of the Pymashdars at the requisition of the Tahsildar of Pattoocottah in order distinctly to ascertain the boundaries of the Company's and the Territory's villages".

The Rájá's interest in literary matters. In November, 1828, the Governor presented to the Tondaimán some books "affording evidence of the exertions made by learned men in England to facilitate the acquisition of the literature of this country" and

showing the perfection to which the art of printing in Oriental languages had been carried on. In August, 1830, the Rájá became a patron of the Madras Branch of the Royal Asiatic Society, and undertook "to promote by every means in his power any inquiries or researches which might tend to facilitate the very laudable and desirable objects which the society had in view".

Birth of an heir to the Raja. In October, 1829, a son and heir was born to Rájá Raghunátha Tondaimán, who was given the name of Rámachandra Tondaimán. The Resident wrote to the Rájá that a child of his to inherit his honours was alone wanting to complete his happiness and that God that was pleased to bestow this great blessing on the Rájá should also be pleased to make the child a worthy descendant of the Tondaimán family.

In 1831, another son was born, who was named Tirumalai Tondaimán.

A question of jurisdiction in criminal trials. In 1829, a question of Jurisdiction in criminal trials was raised and decided in favour of the Tondaimán. In March, 1829, the Resident wrote to the Collector and Magistrate of Trichinopoly that "the Raja Tondiman Bahadur had till then taken sole cognisance of all offences committed within his own Territory" and desired that "the prisoners whom he requested the Magistrate of Trichinopoly to apprehend should, in conformity with the long established practice in similar cases, be sent for trial to his Court of Justice at Poodoocotah and not to the Company's Court at Combaconam"* as proposed by the Magistrate. He added for his information that "as a reward for the faithful services of the Tondiman family, the Honorable Company had left them in a state of complete independence and did not in any way interfere with the Government of the little territory" and that "it was clear therefore that, according to an acknowledged principle of international law, any inhabitant of the Trichinopoly District who committed offences in Tondiman's country, might be apprehended at once and tried and punished there without any communication to the

* In those days the Zillah Court of Tanjore was located at Kumbhakonam, and the parts about Gandharvakóttai belonged to "the Combaconam Zillah". The Fort of Tanjore was in the hands of the Râjâ of Tanjore. (See p. 301).

British officers, the converse holding good of course when inhabitants of Tondiman's country committed offences in the British Territory". The Magistrate of Trichinopoly held a different opinion of the question, and the matter was submitted to the Madras Government. The Government decided the question in favour of the Tondaimán and wrote to the Collector-Magistrate of Trichinopoly that "the services rendered by Tondiman's family to the Company in times of great difficulty entitled him to the support and protection of Government in the exercise of all the rights and privileges which had been allowed to him and of which it was believed no native prince ever made a more discreet and beneficial use" and that "the Governor was therefore anxious, instead of abridging any of the authority which Tondiman had till then exercised, to increase the consideration which he enjoyed in his country and to satisfy his wishes by every conciliatory act and indulgent concession which might not be inconsistent with former policy or usage at the time".

The question of Jurisdiction once again rose in 1834. It was decided then by the Governor-General in Council that the subjects of Pudukkóttai and other Native States should be always amenable to the British Courts for crimes and heinous offences committed within the British territory, but "that this practice should not be reciprocal, such a distinction being a proper prerogative of the paramount power". It was at the same time ruled, however, that the delivery of the subjects of a Native State who were charged with heinous crimes committed in the State and who had fled into the British territory, was entirely unobjectionable, and that a native subject of the British Government charged with a crime committed in a Native State, and apprehended before he had effected his escape into the British territory, could be tried in that State.

These rules made a very distressing impression on the mind of the Tondaimán. The Rájá felt that his people would no longer look up to him as an independent prince supported in all the authority of a sovereign, and that he would no longer be considered as an old and faithful ally of the British Government. The practical objections that the Rájá urged to the new rules were:—

1. That his country was surrounded by the habitations of notorious robbers who could plunder his villages and retire into the British territory in a few hours, that many robberies in the State had been committed even when the plunderers knew that the British authorities would give every assistance to apprehend and deliver them over to his Courts for trial, that, according to the new rules, his people had to go and make their complaints to the Magistrate of the Zillah to which the robbers belonged or had retired, that, when the plunderers were apprehended and committed for trial, the Prosecutor and witnesses had to appear before the Judges of Circuit probably at a distant period and far from their houses, and that his people being poor, with nothing to support themselves with but the produce of the small portions of land that they cultivated, their absence would be their ruin.

2. That his country had no fortified places in which property could be secured and that he could not afford to support an establishment of peons to protect his villages, and that in fact his people must submit to be plundered rather than undergo the distresses that a prosecution of the offenders before the Company's Courts must entail.

The Tondaimán also added that his ancestors and himself had always been considered the friends and allies of the British Government, but never subject to any of their laws.

The Resident, Captain Maclean, who was unwilling to send up to the Government an address to the Governor in which the Rájá had set forth his grievances in detail and also his claims for exemption from the new regulations, wrote to the Governor in January, 1835, mentioning the above objections. He also referred to the order passed in 1829 and quoted above, expressed his concern that the Regulations caused the greatest unhappiness to a Prince, highly esteemed for his many amiable and excellent qualities and for his faithful and sincere attachment to the British power, and concluded with his opinion that the concession might be granted to the Tondaimán that the depredators who made plundering expeditions into his territory might be delivered to him for trial by the Courts in his State, where his people would have the benefit of speedy redress and not be subjected to

the delays and heavy expenses that the Regulations entailed upon them. The Resident, also, when he had an occasion to go to Madras, "had several opportunities of speaking to the Governor on the subject" and informed the Tondaimán that, as the Regulations in question were made by the Government of India applicable to all the princes in Bengal, Madras and Bombay, the Governor told him that "it was impossible to have them altered", that "the Governor assured him that he was most anxious to provide a remedy for the evils complained of", that "the Governor, who would not pledge himself to any particular measure, promised to give any representations that the Resident might make every due consideration", and that "he could place the question in so strong a point of view that he had no doubt of the Government seeing the necessity of going back to the former system and giving to His Excellency those powers which he formerly possessed".

After obtaining from the Rájá detailed information relating to the Courts, the laws and criminal procedure in the State, the Resident made a strong representation on the subject to the Governor. The representation had the desired effect and the Tondaimán was informed by the Resident (18th of April, 1836) that "the Government was prepared to deliver over offenders being British subjects, to be tried in His Excellency the Rájá's Courts, at the requisition of the Resident". The Principal Collector of Tanjore, Mr. Kindersley, wrote to the Rájá "rejoicing not only for His Excellency's sake, but for the honour of the British Government in India, who paid such ready attention to His Excellency's claims upon its justice".

We may in this connection refer to another order that was passed by the Madras Government in 1836 upholding the power and dignity of the Râjá. It was usual for the subjects of the Ràjá to send up petitions against the Ràjâ's officers to the Madras Government, without seeking redress locally from the Rájá, and in December, 1835, certain people who called themselves "Mahánáttars of Poodoocottah" forwarded a petition to the Governor, containing 37 allegations on what they called the mismanagement of the Province. The Resident, Lieutenant Colonel Maclean, wrote to the Government "on the necessity of putting

down the infamous system of sending false petitions, which had grown in His Excellency's Territory" and "the Governor-in-Council considered it expedient as a general principle to abstain from interfering in appeals against the administration of native princes". In forwarding to the Rájá a copy of an endorsement made by order of the Madras Government on petitions addressed to them by some of the Räjâ's subjects, the Resident informed the Ràjà that "His Excellency would observe that those people were desired to abstain from submitting similar complaints in future", that "the Government would not allow His Excellency's just authority as Rajah to be disputed or insulted", and that "his people would look to him and consider him as their just and paternal Prince and Ruler".

The following letter of the Resident to the Rájá dated 21st of December, 1836, containing references to the two subjects dealt with above is worthy of quotation.

"Your Excellency perhaps does not know that the jurisdiction which has been conferred on you by the Government of India and also by the Madras Government is not possessed by the Raja of Travancore. Both Governments are well acquainted with Your Excellency's personal character. In my last letter to our excellent Governor, I stated my confidence that the authority conferred on Your Excellency would never be misused. Government has shown by the late endorsements on the petitions how highly they consider Your Excellency's character for justice and love for your people. I need not tell you how highly I deem myself, in being the means through which your authority and dignity have been confirmed and supported". On the 3rd of July, 1837, he wrote again to the Rájá on the subject of jurisdiction in criminal trials, mentioning that "the system of reciprocity then in use was to be continued" and that "His Excellency the Raja thus possessed privileges which were not allowed to other Native States".

It may be mentioned in this connection that, by Act I of 1849, the concession granted to the Rájá in the matter of jurisdiction was cancelled and it was rendered imperative that British subjects charged with offences in Pudukkóttai and apprehended

within British limits should be tried by British tribunals, in as much as the Pudukkóttai territory contained no court established by the authority of the Governor-in-Council. The present law on the subject is that such persons should be tried in the Pudukkóttai State, unless the Political Agent certifies that in his opinion the charges ought to be inquired into in British India.

Conferment of the title of "His Excellency" on the Raja. In the letters quoted above, we find the Rájá addressed by the title of "His Excellency". We may mention when and how this distinction was conferred on the Rájá. In March, 1830, the Tondaimán received the honorary title of "His Excellency" from the Governor and the title was from that time recognised by the Governor-General of India in written communications to the Tondaimán. The Court of Directors approved in their letter dated 27th of February, 1835, "the mark of consideration that had been shown to the deserving Chief on the ground of his own merits and of the attachment to the British Government so uniformly and zealously manifested by his ancestors". The circumstances in which the mark of distinction was granted may be briefly described.

Both the Governor of Madras and the Governor-General in 1829 were officers who were thoroughly acquainted with the unshaken fidelity of the Tondaimán family. The former of these was the Honorable S. R. Lushington, at whose request the Pánjálamkuricchi pálayakárs were captured in 1799, and who, even so late as 1834, wrote to the Tondaimán that "few things gave him more pleasure or pride than the remembrance of the Raja's fidelity to the Company when they needed his attachment during the rebellion of the Southern Chiefs in 1800, and of his having been one of the main inducements by which they stayed the effusion of blood and restored peace and order in the place of anarchy and confusion". The Governor-General from July, 1828, was Lord William Bentinck, who had been Governor of Madras from August, 1803 to September, 1807, and who presented Rájá Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán in 1803 with two gold sticks (see p. 325) in recognition of "his unshaken fidelity and the promptitude with which he served the Honorable Company as well as of his ancestors' bravery." Sir William Blackburne, who was ever

mindful of the prosperity and distinction of his ward, the Rájá of Pudukkóttai, thought that there could be no better opportunity for obtaining some honorary mark of distinction for the Rájá, "conversed with Lord William Bentinck before he embarked for India, referred his Lordship boldly to the Raja's uniform good conduct, solicited earnestly some special mark of approbation of that conduct and of the eminently faithful and meritorious and important services of the Raja's ancestors, prepared his Lordship to receive a letter from the Raja on his arrival in India and disposed him without difficulty to support and assist the Raja by all proper means". He also wrote to his Lordship in May, 1828, recommending the grant of the title of His Highness to the Rájá. We quote the following extract from the letter, which was communicated to the Rájá by Sir William Blackburne, with his recommendation to the Rájá to send up an application to the Governor-General.

" It is difficult for me to address your Lordship in India without recurring to my amiable and affectionate ward, the Raja Tondiman Bahadur, and entreating most earnestly your Lordship's kind consideration for him. He and his brother and their father before them have always been most faithful and eminently serviceable, when some of their neighbours have been in actual rebellion, and the rest without exception wavering between their desire of gratifying their disloyalty and undisguised hatred, and their salutary fear of punishment. The young Raja Tondiman is entirely indebted to your Lordship* for the education it was possible to give him, for the honourable discharge of the debts of his father, for the greatly increased prosperity of his country and for the principles of truth and honour which will continue to regulate his conduct through life. He well merits from the Company the title of 'His Highness'. The compliment would be a just reward for his own admirable conduct and the fidelity and services of his immediate and remote ancestors, and it would tend to prove that the abasement of the native princes is not so much the policy of the British Government as the unavoidable consequence of their own misconduct".

* It was Sir William Bentinck that required Sir William (then Major) Blackburne "to undertake the management of the province of Poodoocottah and the guardianship of the minors". (See p. 340).

The Rájá wrote in August, 1828, to the Resident stating that "he thought himself very fortunate as both the Governor of Madras and the Governor-General were well acquainted with his family", that "the Tondaimáns had been rewarded with great kindness, favour and protection by the Honorable Company", that "the Resident knew that his late honoured brother and himself had long entertained a wish in their heart that the Honorable Company would be pleased to complete their kindness towards them by bestowing upon them some honorary distinction which they would value more than anything else, as it would show to the whole world the Honorable Company's great consideration and favour towards them", and that "if the Resident would be pleased to communicate the Raja's wishes to the Governor and to state that he depended upon his kind recommendation in Raja's favour to the Governor-General, who during the time of his administration at Madras had manifested such favour and regard for his family, the Ràjá presumed to entertain a hope that the wishes of his heart would be gratified".

The Resident, Captain Fyfe, with whom Sir William Blackburne was often corresponding on the subject of the administration of the State, made a very strong representation, which we quote below:—

To

The Chief Secretary to Government.

Dated 24th September, 1828.

"It is impossible for any Servants of the Company not to feel the greatest regard and respect for the Tondiman family. In prosperity or adversity, from the earliest period of our connection with them, they have never failed us; neither considerations of danger nor allurements of advantage have ever induced them to swerve from their allegiance; and their services, sometimes in very critical conjunctures when we were struggling for Empire, have been eloquently recorded in the pages of history. More lately, during the last Poligar war, the Right Honorable the Governor is himself aware that the father of the present Chief, in spite of all endeavours to intimidate him, at once espoused our cause, and proved by his conduct that he inherited the same extraordinary attachment and fidelity to the Honorable Company, which

were so signally manifested by his ancestors in the memorable and perilous days of Clive and Lawrence. I shall only further add that I am convinced the present head of the family has in no wise degenerated, and, both in his public and private character, I consider him highly deserving any mark of favor or distinction, which Government may think proper to bestow upon him. I requested that he would enable me to explain distinctly the extent of his wishes; but he could not be prevailed on to do so; he observed that he could not with propriety prefer a specific request on such a subject, that personally he had no claims whatever upon the consideration of Government, and that he should receive with gratitude and perfect satisfaction whatever mark of distinction he may be honored with through the favor of the Right Honorable the Governor in Council".

The Resident did not apply for any specific title of distinction, and the honorary title of "His Excellency" was granted to the Rájá by the Government of India. About this time–in March, 1830–the Governor, the Hon'ble Mr. S. R. Lushington, was touring in the Southern Districts, and the Rájá invited him to Pudukkóttai. The Governor would have been very glad to visit the Rájá in his Capital and communicate to him personally the decision that the Government had arrived at to confer on the Rájá the title of "His Excellency". But the excessive heat of the weather prevented his undertaking the journey, and the Rájá was informed that "if he could accomplish the journey without inconvenience, the Governor would be happy to receive a visit from the Raja at Trichinopoly". The esteem that the Governor had for the Rájá will be seen from his action in sending his Secretary, Mr. Robert Clive, and his son, who was his Private Secretary, to Pudukkóttai with the following letter dated 25th March, 1830, in which the Rájá was addressed for the first time by the title of "His Excellency".

"It is a great disappointment to me to be so near the country of the son of my old friend, and not to be able to visit him But the extreme heat of the weather, whilst I was travelling in tent, has oppressed me so much that I am compelled to hasten to a cooler climate.

"My grateful remembrance of your Father's services to the Company, thirty one years ago, is as fresh and strong as on the day they were performed; and as your good education enables you to read and understand English, I enclose copies of the correspondence which passed on that occasion, that they may be deposited among the archives of a family distinguished in the history of British India for its fidelity and loyalty to the Honorable Company.

"As a proof of my own sense of such excellent conduct, and of the virtuous disposition of Your Excellency, which have been fully related to me by Captain Fyfe, I have great gratification in thus addressing you, and shall be at all times rejoiced to hear of your health, happiness and honor".

From a letter that was writen to Colonel Blackburne on the 2nd of April, 1830, we find that the letter was recived by the Rájá in Public Darbar with due honour and that a salute of 21 guns was fired on the occasion.

The Rájá found it inconvenient to undertake a journey at the time to Trichinopoly as desired by the Governor, and wrote to the Governor requesting him to accept his sincerest thanks for the particular kindness and favour which he had been pleased to manifest towards him in conferring on him the title of *His Excellency* and for his making the honour the greater by sending his own son to announce to him the happy event. He concluded his letter by stating that the correspondence of which the Rájá had received copies and the title of honour would be "a sure proof to all the world that the Company would never forget those who had always been their faithful friends".

Later on in this year, in August, 1830, the Rájá paid a visit to Trichinopoly. The Governor had gone to Travancore to see the State for himself, the visit that he paid being the first gubernatorial visit to Travancore, and "urgent business at Madras obliged him to return from Travancore by the shortest route and prevented him from visiting the Rájá at Pudukkóttai". It must have been to meet His Excellency the Governor that the Rájá went to Trichinopoly. The Rájá was gratified by the attentions that were shown to him at Trichinopoly, and the Private Secretary to

the Governor informed the Rájá that "with such distinctions (as were shown to him) it was the pleasure as well as the duty of all British officers to receive the sincere allies of the Government".

December, 1830. The Rájá visited Trichinopoly once again in this year—in December—to be present at a Review of the 4th Regiment Light Cavalry; he was received with all due honors and compliments by the guards on duty, and a salute of 19 guns was fired on His Excellency the Rájá's approach opposite the Golden Rock.

It was only in February, 1835, that the grant of the title was approved by the Honorable Court of Directors in England. According to Colonel Blackburne's letter dated 29th of March, 1830, "the Raja's name and merit and the merit and services of his family were well-known and acknowledged by all the Directors, who were well disposed towards the Raja". The Directors must have had only a general impression that the Tondaimán rulers were noted for their unshaken fidelity to the Company. To give them an idea of the exact nature and value of the services that the Tondaimáns had rendered to the British, Colonel Blackburne desired the Rájá to prepare a memoir setting forth with all possible precision the services rendered by the Tondaimáns to the Náyak rulers, to the Nawabs and the English. No historic sketch of the Tondaimán family was attempted, and the memoir took the form of a short tabular statement of the names of the places to which the forces of this country were sent, of those of the British Military officers who were helped by these forces, and the names of the Pudukkóttai Sardárs under whom the forces were sent. The correspondence that had passed between the Tondaimáns and the Governors and Military officers in the service of the Company was also printed, and copies of the same must have been distributed among the Directors in England.

Death of the Rájá's uncle. In November, 1835, Tirumalai Tondaimán, paternal uncle of the Rájá and one of the Managers of the State after the death of Rájá Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán Bahadúr, died childless, and the Governor wrote to the Rájá expressing his satisfaction at the conduct of the Rájá in interfering

to prevent the widow from burning herself with the body of her deceased husband. The Jágír he was enjoying lapsed to the State and it was granted after the death of the Rájá to his younger son Tirumalai Tondaimán, who became the Chinnaranmanai Jágírdár.

Another drought in the State. In 1837 there was a drought of some severity in certain parts of the State, and the Rájá very kindly made arrangements for purchasing and storing paddy to help his people. The Governor, Sir Frederick Adam, wrote to the Rája in March, 1837, that "Colonel Maclean had very recently mentioned to him a fresh proof of the just and beneficial principles which regulated His Excellency's conduct in the paternal care he was evincing by providing for the wants of his people, who were suffering from the effects of the drought". A sum of about Rs. 30,000 had to be borrowed for the purchase of grain, and the principal with the interest thereon could not be repaid for some years.

Abolition of 'Sayer' or Land-customs. In 1837 "Sayer duties" were restricted to 36 articles, the names of many of which will be given below. We may mention what these duties were, how they were collected and how they affected the trade of the country. Land customs, otherwise called Sayer, from an Arabic word meaning *current*, * had been levied in India from very early times. It was known in the time of the Cholas as வழி ஆயம் or tolls on articles passing from one territory into another, and the impost, which must have been vexatious, was abolished by Kulóttunga Chóla I (1070-1118 A. D.), who, by this act of statesmanship, earned for himself the name of சுங்கந்தவிர்த்த சோழன் or the Chola who abolished the tolls.† From an incomplete inscription at Mínavalli near Virálimalai, of which the date

---

* "The term 'Sayer' in the 18th century was applied to a variety of inland imposts, but especially to local and arbitrary charges levied by Zamindars and other individuals with a show of authority on all goods passing through their estates by land or water, or sold at markets (*bazar, haut, gunge*) established by them, charges which formed in the aggregate an enormous burden upon the trade of the country ....We conceive that the true sense of the Indian term was 'current or customary charges', an idea that lies at the root of sundry terms of the same kind in various languages, including our own *customs* as well as the *dustoory* which is so familiar in India". Mr. Crooke's edition of Col. Yule and Dr. Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*.

† See pp. 106 and 108 of the *Journal of the South Indian Association* for July, 1910.

cannot be ascertained, we find that Sayer duties were levied there on bullocks, cows, sandalwood, salt, paddy, rice, gram and other articles, that for each head of cattle a duty of $\frac{1}{40}$ of a panam was to be paid, that for a cart load of tamarind, rice or gram the duty was one-eighth of a panam, and so on. The Sayer duties were collected by the Nawab and the Tondaimán, when articles had to pass from the territory of each of these into that of the other. In special cases, exemption from the levy of duties was applied for, and we find Colonel Baird writing to the Tondaimán in 1792 that "as he was favourably disposed towards the Company, he would direct his men to suffer to pass the merchants and Chetties duty free, who might have been furnished with passes attested by his signature and the seal of the camp cutwal and thereby assist the conduct of the Company's affairs". The amount that was realised by the collection of such duties was at this time more than Rs. 15,000 in this State. In 1841, "the fixed rent payable to the Circar was Rs. 15,790 for the Sayer. The surplus, after paying the rent, was carried to the Rájamahal or the Palace Private Accounts. There were more than 220 articles on which Sayer duty was charged, most of them at the rate of one Gold Fanam or 2 annas per Tolam (துலாம்) weight of 120 Pullums (பலம்) or 9½ lbs; but the rate varied according to the articles. The duty was payable only once. Goods brought from the Company's Territories or in Transit thereto paid an 'ad valorem duty' of 2½ *per cent*".* Almost every article of utility or luxury that passed from one territory to another was examined at the Chowki Stations, where the customs were collected. The Chowkidars, who were in charge of the work, were generally dishonest, † and various were the vexations of those that had to pass through the Chowki stations.

The British Government realised the gravity of the situation, and in August, 1837, confined the duties to thirty-six articles, of which we may mention the following:—

All kinds of cloth, opium, arecanuts, iron, indigo, gunny bags, *cumblies*, tobacco, betel, *ganja*, *bhangi*, all kinds of ghee,

---

* From Mr. Bayley's *Report on Pudukkottai to the Madras Government*, dated 7th July, 1841.

† A well-known Tamil stanza states that "the Maiden *Falsehood* was born in a Chowki house .... and ultimately chose to live with the goldsmiths".

tamarind with or without seeds, gingelly seed, cocoanuts, saltpetre, silk thread, hides, timber.

The proclamation, dated 21st of July, 1837, which related to the reduction of the number of the dutiable goods, contained the following paragraph:—

"The Governor-in-Council being further of opinion that the promulgation of the proclamation in all the Native States adjoining the Provinces under the Government would be attended with very great advantages, especially in suppressing extortion, resolves that a copy of it be furnished to the Political Department, from whence the necessary communications will be made on the subject to the Residents or other officers at the Courts of the Native Princes".

The Resident, in communicating the Proclamation to the Rájá, informed him that "the collection of duty was confined to 36 articles, whereas till then it had been on every article of consumption, that the Proclamation was forwarded to the Rájá for his information, that the Government was always anxious for the welfare of its subjects and did as much as possible to alleviate the burthen imposed upon them in the shape of taxes, that to that end the late alteration in the levy of customs was somewhat conducive and that if His Excellency the Raja could, without prejudice to the necessary expenses of his Government, take off a part at least of the taxation upon articles of the greatest consumption among the lower orders and place an additional tax on those which might be considered luxuries or on others not till then taxed at all, he would surely do so".

In accordance with the advice contained in the Resident's letter, some alterations were made in the rules relating to the collection of Sayer, which drew forth from the Collectors of the surrounding districts loud protests. The Collector of Tanjore, for example, objected to the collection of duties on articles "in transit from one of the Company's villages to another, where the road lay intersected by a strip of His Excellency's country". The Resident wrote to the Rájá that "all the Collectors of the neighbouring districts had complained" and advised him to "cancel all the orders the Rájá had given regarding the new taxes and keep up to the old custom".

By Act VI of 1844, Sayer duties were altogether abolished in the British Territory, except on certain goods passing from or into what was described as "foreign territory". Pudukkóttai, as a Native State, was declared "foreign territory" under the Act, but when the Rájá explained that Pudukkóttai was a poor State and that it was dishonourable that his State should be treated as a foreign country, it was arranged that Sayer duties should be levied neither by the Tondaimán nor by the British on any article passing from the territory of the one into the other. The Rájá appreciated the kindness of the Government very much and wrote in February, 1845, to say that "he could never forget his personal obligation to His Lordship the Governor (the Marquis of Tweeddale) in securing his people from the indignity that would have followed the classing of the country as a foreign one" and that "the exemption of his poor Principality from the duties imposed on foreign countries was doubly acceptable to him as tending to the prosperity of his country and as a mark of personal favour to himself".

Protestant Mission work in the State. It was about this time that the Protestants thought of the State as a suitable field of work. "In the thirties some English and Anglo-Indian Christians in Madras formed a society, called the Indian Missionary Society, for work amongst the Tamils and chose, for reasons not known, Pudukotah as their field of work. They sent as their agent a catechist, who seems to have been an energetic man and who, notwithstanding strong opposition, succeeded in getting a footing in the town and in opening schools in some villages. The Râjà became interested in the schools, and on the advice of the Political Agent, Mr. Blackburne, granted a piece of land to each school as a contribution for its support. In 1845, the said Mission Society made over its work in Pudukotah to the American Board Mission in Madura. Some catechists and school teachers were sent by this Society to different places, and it seems that their work was followed by some success. In 1848 there were in Pudukotah 190 Protestant Christians and 13 schools belonging to the Mission. But the Americans, being in want of agents for their principal field of work, the district of Madura, offered in the said year their Pudukotah Mission to the Leipzic Mission Society,

which accepted the offer. In 1901 Scandinavia separated from the Leipzig Lutheran Mission enterprise, and the Mission station of Pudukotah was ceded to the Church of the Swedish Mission in that year".*

The following letter from the Political Agent, Mr. Parker, to the Rájá, dated September 4, 1849, which contains a very brief historic sketch of Protestant Missions in the State, accounts for the existence of a separate Anglican Church at Pudukkóttai.

"I am informed that the Missionary Congregations in Poodoocottah were first established by Rev. Mr. Kohlkoff—evidently Rev. John Caspar Kohlkoff, 'between whose father and himself, 110 years of Missionary labour were divided'—belonging to the Church of England; and that owing to the impediments to his care of them, they were made over first to another Society and afterwards to the American Missionaries, who, you are aware, have lately been obliged to surrender them. They have subsequently been under charge of some German Missionaries; but, as I am informed by a letter from the Rev. Mr. Guest, have petitioned to be again taken in charge of the Church of England Mission owing to some dissatisfaction with the customs of the German gentlemen. I do not suppose that the German gentlemen will make any opposition to the Christians placing themselves under Mr. Guest's instructions, if they wish to do so; and it is only with their best consent that Mr. Guest will act as their Missionary".

A visit of the Lord Bishop of Madras. In February, 1839, the Lord Bishop of Madras—Right Rev. George Trevor Spencer, D. D. a great grandson of the third Duke of Marlborough and Bishop of Madras from 1837 to 1849—who was a particular friend of Lord Elphinstone, Governor of Madras, paid a visit to this State on his way to the Nílgiris. He wrote to the Rájá on the 26th of March, 1839, that "he was truly proud and thankful to reckon His Excellency among his friends", that "he could assure His Excellency that he looked back with great pleasure to his visit to His Excellency's country" and that "he considered himself

* From a note furnished by Dr. E. Heuman, for a long time Missionary at Pudukkóttai.

peculiarly honored in having been permitted the opportunity of making the personal acquaintance and obtaining the good wishes of one for whose character he felt the highest respect ".

The visit of another Lord Bishop. In February, 1856, the State had the honour of being visited by another Bishop of Madras—the Right Rev. Thomas Dealtry, D. D., the successor of Bishop Spencer. The Lord Bishop was on a visitation to the Madura District and passed through the town of Pudukkóttai, where "the usual respects were shown to him". The Political Agent wrote to the Rájá communicating his sense of the respect paid to His Lordship. [For more information on Protestant Mission work, see Appendix D].

Catholic dissensions at Avur. Having noticed briefly the origin and progress of the Protestant Missions, we may give here a short history of the work of the Catholic Missions in the State from 1740, when we found the Jesuits working actively at Ávúr and other places. The Jesuit Fathers "had made themselves Indian to save the Indians", admitted to their service none but Brahmins, wore a long robe of salmon-coloured linen .... a turban and wooden sandals and lived on rice, milk, herbs and water. With the adoption of the Brahminical mode of life, it was inevitable that they should separate themselves from the lower castes.* Separate portions in churches were allotted to caste and non-caste Christians, and in the communion service caste people were administered first and non-caste people after them. Likewise caste people alone were admitted as servants of the Church. These social observances were objected † to by many

* See p. 12 of Rev. J. S. Chandler's *History of the Jesuit Mission in Madura.*

† The following passages will give an idea of the charges that were brought forward against the Jesuits of the Madura Mission.

"In order to sustain the fictitious character, they found it necessary to assume the dress of Cavy (காவி) .... they were never to appear in public without affixing to their foreheads the wafer made of sandal-wood powder which is worn by Brahmins and other Hindoos .... and thus carried the stamp of idolatry on their front ...... Instead therefore of condescending 'to men of low estate', R.de Nobili and his brethren exacted from them the same reverence which they were accustomed to pay the Brahmins and kept them at a distance with true Brahminical arrogance". From Rev. James' *History of Christianity.* "They did their best to render conversion as easy as possible by heathenising Christianity to the utmost possible extent...... Except that the image of Virgin Mary was worshipped in the temples and paraded upon the cars, there was little change in the old ceremonies and processions of Hindooism. There

people and condemned by the Pope in 1744 *. The result of "the abolition of caste among Christians" was that separate churches had to be built for the Panchamas. Missionaries, willing to devote themselves to the exclusive ministration of Paraiahs, were found, disproving the accusation against the Jesuits that the concessions to caste prejudice were due solely to the pride of the Missionaries. But the Jesuits were generally in bad odour at the time in Europe, and their methods and principles were so violently attacked by their opponents that the Pope found it necessary to suppress the order of the Jesuits in 1773. In 1778, the Pope entrusted the work till then done by the Jesuits to a new set of Missionaries called the Paris Foreign Missions, of which a branch had been established at Pondicherry. Ex-Jesuits continued to work at Ávùr till 1794, in which year the Pondicherry Foreign Mission Bishop attempted to take possession of Ávúr.

Now the Madura Mission was attached to the Portuguese Mission Province and depended ecclesiastically on the Padroado † Archbishop of Cranganore on the West Coast. This was considered a sufficient title by the representatives of the Padroado in these

was the same noise of trumpets and taum-taums and kettledrums, there was the same blaze of rockets and Roman candles and blue lights, there were the same dancers with the same marks of sandal-wood and vermilion on their naked bodies". From J. W. Kaye's *Christianity in India*. "They were charged by their opponents with having themselves rather become converts to the idolatrous worship of the Hindoos by conforming to many of their practices and superstitions than making Indian converts to the Christian religion". The *Letters* of Abbe Dubois.

* The Jesuit Missions, "that formerly made such a noise in the world, were suspended and abandoned in consequence of a papal mandate issued out in the year 1744 by Benedict XIV, who declared his disapprobation of the mean methods of converting the Indians that were practised by the Jesuits and pronounced it unlawful to make use of insidious artifices in extending the limits of the Christian Church". Dr. Mosheim's *Ecclesiastical History*, Vol. V.

† Syrian priests and people seem to have settled in South West India in the fifth century. "When the Portuguese reached India in 1498, they brought in their train a number of Missionaries of various religious orders, who found large bodies of Christians in the South of the Peninsula and Ceylon. The Syrians were heretics in the opinion of these Missionaries, and all the devices that an iron-willed, fearless, fervent sixteenth-century Jesuit could employ were adopted against them and they were brought into union with the see of Rome Goa became an archbishopric, with suffragan sees at Cochin, Cranganore and San Thome (Mylapore) under the royal patronage (padroado) of the King of Portugal. The Portuguese power declined from about 1650, and the Syrians sent urgent remonstrances to Rome against the Portuguese priests. Not gaining their desired object, they seceded from Rome". See pp. 137-165 of the *Year Book of Missions for India* for 1912.

parts, even against the explicit intention of the Pope, to prevent the Pondicherry Foreign Mission Bishop from taking possession of Ávúr. There were four Syro-Malabar priests in these parts that meant real fight. They professed, in the face of two ex-Jesuits who had attached themselves to the Pondicherry Bishop, to be the real successors of the former Jesuit Missionaries and continuers of their work, and opposed violently the Pondicherry Bishop. The matter was referred to the Madras Government and Major General Floyd, doing duty at Trichinopoly received orders that the French priests should return at once to Pondicherry, as their continuance at Ávúr was likely to lead to irregularities and dissensions. On their departure the work that had been done by the Madura Mission fell into the hands of 'Catenars', as the Syro-Malabar priests of the Portuguese Mission were called. One Periya Yagupar (Jacob), who reserved for himself Ávúr, Trichinopoly and Malaiyadippatti and was the superior* over the other (three) Catenars "seems to have built several Chattrams round the Church at Avur and to have also constructed a *theiru* (தேர், car) for the processions". Rájá Rahunátha Ráya Tondaimán seems to have taken some interest in the work of the Mission and paid Ávúr a visit once in 1829 and again with Appâ Aiyar, the Foujdár, in 1834. In 1838 there was published in Ávúr the decree of the Pope, Gregory XVI, declaring the jurisdiction except that of the Vicar Apostolic of Pondicherry to be null and irregular.

In the meanwhile, the order of the Jesuits had been re-established (1814) and "at the instant demands of the Bishop of Pondichery, they had been recalled to continue and revise the work of their predecessors". The first band of Jesuits reached Pondicherry in 1837, and in June, 1838, Fr. Granier was installed as the Missionary of Trichinopoly. "Immediately after his arrival, he went directly to the Rájâ of Puducottah to set forth his rights and obtained a decree acknowledging him as the only true possessor of the church of Ávúr. But his opponents had in

* From official records we find that the superior was styled *Metran*. "The local head of the church is the Bishop or *metran* (*i.e.*, metropolitan) with priests (*Cattanars*) and deacons under him. See p. 13 of Mr. G. M. Rae's *Syrian church in India*. According to the *Madras Catholic Directory* (for 1910), "*Catenar* or *Cattanar* is an abbreviated form of the Malayalam words *Carthan* (Governor) and *Nathan* (Lord), *i. e.*, the Governing lord of the parish". We believe that the word is only an honorific form of *Carthan* or *Kartan* meaning lord or ruler.

some other way forestalled him and when it came to the execution of the decree, resistance was offered and the police were found to have received orders not to interfere. As most of the Christians, however, indeed nearly all, preferred the Pope's envoy to the schismatic rebel, Fr. Granier built another small church by the side of the one he was unable to recover and every Sunday went from Trichinopoly to visit it". The French party seems at first to have tried force, as in 1846 we find the Ràjá reporting to the Political Agent that the Goa priest had presented a petition to the effect that the doors of his chapel were shut, that the key was in the possession of the French party and that it should be taken from them and given to him. The Political Agent advised the Rájá (March 3, 1846) to institute careful inquiries, and told him that "if the people liked to build new churches and give them to the French, the French should be maintained in them, provided they were at a sufficient distance from the Goa churches to prevent collision and dispute". In 1857, owing to the repeated requests of Portugal to the Pope, Goanese jurisdiction in the districts of the original Madura Mission was recognised with the result that "there was friction between the priests and Christians of the two jurisdictions as also spiritual evils of all sorts". The decree was modified a little later on, and the parties continued to work with occasional quarrels and attempts to settle them through the State authorities. It may be said that at present both the Catholic Missions are working smoothly.

Musical activity at Pudukkottai. We may give here a short account of the musicians and composers of music, who by their performances won distinction for themselves and the State. Ever since the foundation of the State, music seems to have flourished here and musicians to have been patronised by the rulers of the land. It will be remembered (see p. 120) that Râya Tondaimán received from Sríranga Ráya a couple of bards to compose songs in his honour and sing his praises, and that Namana Tondaimán of Kulattúr received from the Náyak king at the time a set of musical instruments and an establishment of dancing girls (see p. 136). The descendants of the bards have with them many songs which were composed in those days.

When Sadásiva Brahmam became the spiritual guru of Vijaya Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán, an impetus was given to the development of music. His *kîrtanas* or devotional songs, which are even now very popular in the State, must have found many admirers, who should have learned music to sing them properly. The Tondaimán himself is said to have been a good composer of music and the set of five songs that he is said to have composed imploring the grace of the Goddess Brihadambá at Tirugókarnam deserves, in our opinion, the name of "Pancharatnam" or "the Five Gems" that has been given to them. They are the supplications of a very humble devotee, which cannot fail to melt the heart of anybody that hears them. They begin with the words

- "ஏழை பங்காளி" or "Thou, that art on the side of the poor".
- "கருணைக்கடைக்கண்" or "Glance of pity".
- "பிறவி இல்லாத அருள்" or "Vouchsafe that I may not be born again".
- "மனத்துயர்தீர்த்தருள்" or "Deign to remove the cares and uneasiness of my mind".
- "தருணமிதம்மா" or "This, O Mother, is the moment (for extending to me Thy grace)".

The songs were so highly appreciated by His Excellency Rájá Ramachandra Tondaimán that he had them sung regularly during the time he spent every day in making his (fifty-six) prostrations to the Goddess Brihadamba at Tirugókarnam. *Párvati Kalyánam*, a musical play, songs taken from which are sung occasionally even now, was composed in the time of this ruler (or his successor) by Venkanna, the author of the *Tondaimàn Vamsávali*. Some of the literary works mentioned on pp. 331 and 332, such as *Viràlimalaikkuravanji* and *Kapila Nátakam*, contain a number of songs which were intended to be sung to proper time and tune. Of the other musical compositions of which we have manuscript copies, we may mention (1) a large number of *kirtanas* or songs in praise of Srí Dakshinámúrti (see p. 178) said to have been composed by Vijaya Raghunátha Râya Tondaimán, the ruler referred to above, (2) the different kinds of songs in praise of the Gods at Virálimalai and other places which are sung by the dancing girls attached to the temples, (3) dance songs for men and women like *Vàrâppúr Valandàn*, the *Kummi* on Brihadambá, the Goddess of Tirugókarnam, by Chidambara Bhárati of Malavaráyanéndal,

and the *Navarâtri Kummi* (see pp. 331 and 332), and (4) the spirited poems and war-songs composed by Sarkarai Kaviráyar of Pérâmbúr on the folly of the Turaiyúr Zamindar in resisting the Tondaimán without retreating from the battlefield (see p. 296), the thoughtlessness of the Tanjore Rájá in opposing at Arantàngi the combined forces of the Tondaimán under Sinna Annan Sérvaikár * and the Sétupati (see p. 152)), on the capture of Marudu Pándyas by Rámaswámi Sérvaikâr of Nánguppa*tti*, (see pp. 215 and 315), *etc.*

During the time of Rájá Vijaya Raghunátha, the predecessor of this ruler, the well-known *Husaini varnam* beginning with the words *Pàhimàm* (Protect me) and containing the name "Rájá Vijaya Raghunàtha of Vásavakulam" was composed. We are not sure whether Ádiappa Aiyar, the author of the celebrated *Bhairavi Varnam Viribóni* was a Court musician of Pudukkóttai, as is stated by Singarachàryalu. † But we have no doubt that his son Krishna Aiyar, a fine player on the *Vìna* and author of three compositions of the kind *Saptatâlésvaram*, which were adapted to all the seven Hindu *tàlams* (modes of keeping time), was a Court musician at this place. His son was Vínai Subbukku*tti* Aiyar, who is reported also to have played exquisitely on the Vína. These two Canarese Brahmins with the Telugu Brahmins Séshá-chala Aiyar and his younger brother Rámadás, a music composer, and Mátrbhúta Aiyar, the latter's son and a fine musician, as also Rámu Sástri of Sandaippéttai and Subbaráya Aiyar of Pudukkóttai, two other good musicians, Subbaráma Aiyar, a fine Vína-player of Tirugókarnam and Vaidyakavísvarar, a composer of a large number of devotional songs, adorned the Court of Rájà Raghunátha Tondaimán Bahadúr and several of these, the Court of his successor, Rájá Rámachandra Tondaimán. Many of the

* Either this leader or one of his descendants bearing the same name (see p. 226) adopted, according to a well-known tradition, the Hannibalian stratagem of bewildering the enemy near Trichinopoly in the desperate struggle with the French and the Mysoreans in 1751–4 with a show of a superior force which he did not possess, by leading at night with torches tied to their horns a number of oxen carrying provisions to the English garrison. See Plutarch's "Life of Fabius Maximus, Saviour of Rome", in which it is said that the oxen with lighted torches attached to their horns "appeared to the Romans like a great number of men running up and down with torches......... In their fears, of course they concluded that they should be attacked and surrounded by the enemy".

† See p. 16 of his Introduction to his Fifth Book of Music.

songs of Vaidyakavísvarar, such as the benedictory song *Kurumayi-karunàm* (Make me the recipient of thy grace), contain the name of "Rájá Rámachandra", who had a very fine taste for music and gave a very liberal patronage to musicians. Some others that flourished in the time of this ruler and made Pudukkóttai famous for its music were Swámi Sástri, son of Rámu Sástri mentioned above, Nannu Meah and Chotu Meah, two Mussulmans of whom the first could play beautifully on the musical instrument *dolak* and both could exquisitely sing Hindustani airs, *Swarabath* Krishna Aiyar, a Telugu Brahmin, who could play on the *Swarabath* instrument, fiddle Krishnan, a Telugu non-Brahmin, who could sing well and play on the violin, and *Sàrandá* Víráswámi Nàyak, a performer on the instrument *Sárandâ*. Of the musicians now attached to the Palace, we may mention Girísa Aiyar, a good vocalist and composer.

A scheme for introducing the Kàveri water into the State. In 1838, the necessity of a scheme for introducing into Pudukkóttai "a portion of the water of the Kaveri, wasted and running into the sea", was before the Madras Government. The Resident found His Lordship the Governor entirely well disposed to meet the Rájá's wishes and trusted that "even if the scheme cost a considerable sum of money, the Court of Directors, in consideration of the blessing it would prove to the people of a Prince, who merited so much from them, would in the end sanction the measure". Nothing came out of the effort of the Resident to have the project accomplished. Another scheme for obtaining in exchange for certain lands in the border of the State, a tract on the banks of the Káveri shared the same fate (1831). The introduction of a bit of a Native State in the midst of the British Territory would have been extremely inconvenient.

History of the Postal Department In 1838, a Post office was established in the town of Pudukkóttai. It was not till 1879 that sub-post offices were established at the Taluk stations. The work was confined to the transmission of letters, packets and parcels. In May, 1866, an Experimental British Post Office was established for six months in the Pudukkóttai town. The State authorities, who had not been consulted in the matter, were dead against the measure. The Rájá considered the measure as

"throwing disgrace" upon the State. The Political Agent requested the Rájá to reconsider his decision and was informed that the Rájá considered that the opening of a Post office by Government at this place would lessen him in the estimation of the public, that there existed no necessity for establishing one at the cost of the British Government, and that such measures should be adopted as would secure the rights and privileges till then enjoyed by the State. In December, 1866, the Rájá was informed that orders had been passed by the Government that the Experimental Post Office should be abolished. The question was reopened in June, 1873, by the Political Agent, who was informed again that there was no necessity for opening a British Post Office in the town. It was only during the days of the Sirkíl Sashiah Sástri, that permission was granted for the opening of a British Post Office in the town (April 1884). In July 1894, the State Postal Department was abolished and the postal work of the State was handedover to the Imperial Postal Department of India.

The Rájá's visit to the Tanjore country. Among the minor matters of interest, we may refer to "an excursion into the Tanjore country" that was made by the Rájá and his two sons in March, 1838. They were entertained at Tanjore by Mr. Kindersley, the Collector of the District, who had the highest esteem for the Ràjá, and who "considered it his duty as a servant of the Honorable Company to testify to all the people, as far as his humble means would admit, the consideration in which His Excellency's character, both public and private, was held by his Honorable Masters. The inhabitants showed the greatest anxiety to do honour to the Raja on the occasion". The conduct of the Rájá of Tanjore was not at the time particularly satisfactory, and with reference tothe interposition of the Rájá of Pudukkóttai on his behalf to the Resident, the Resident wrote to the Tondaimán that "His Excellency's interest in the welfare of the Raja of Tanjore showed what might be expected from his excellent and good heart and disposition", but that "if His Highness the Raja of Tanjore would not support his own character and dignity, any efforts of the Resident to do so would be useless". The Rájá was requested by Mr. Kindersley to permit his sons to spend

some time (about two months) at Tanjore after his return to Pudukkóttai. Mr. Kindersley wrote about these princes to the Rájá on the 17th of May, 1838.

"We are much obliged to Your Excellency for having allowed your sons to remain so long with us at this place, and I believe they have enjoyed themselves very much, and I trust too that their health has derived benefit from the change of air. Nothing could be more proper than their conduct has been in every respect, and it certainly reflects the greatest credit on the Fouzdar (Appà Aiyan) who has so well performed the part of their guardian and instructor .... Tirumal is so much attached to his brother (Ramachander) that he is only glad when he is glad and sorry when he is sorry".

Among other matters of minor interest, we may mention the permission granted in April 1834 to the Kandy prisoners (see p. 366) to return to Ceylon, the death of the second daughter of the Ràjà in June 1838, and the grant of Anganviduthi in Álangudi Taluk as umbalam (as 'pinmoney'—for வெற்றிலைபாக்குச் செலவு) to Ráni Saidámbá Sáhib of Tanjore on the occasion of her marriage to Rájá Siváji in 1833.

General remarks. (*a*) We have now to close our account of the rule of this Rájá, and before doing so we may give, from an interesting report that was submitted to the Government of Madras by Mr. Bayley *, a few extracts relating to the administration and the general financial condition of the State at the time.

Soiróba Náig, the Sirkíl, and Appá Aiyar, the Foujdár, were the most important officers in the State. "There was a little preponderance in the appointments held by the Sirkeel's family". His two sons Lakshman Náig and Gópál Náig and his brother's two sons Krishnaswámi Náig and Sakhárám Náig † held important offices in the State.

* See Mr. Bayley's Report to the Madras Government on Pudukkóttai affairs. dated 7th July 1841.

† The five members were known locally, it is said, though not very appropriately, as the Pancha (five) Pandavas.

The accounts were kept in Maratti and other Maratti Brahmins or Brahmins of other sections that knew Maratti had to be employed as accountants. All these looked up to the Sirkíl as their patron.

"The Foujdár, Appá Aiyar, exercised unbounded power. He was the bosom friend of the late Tondaimán and his oracle on every subject. He had been brought up with him from his youth, and, as life progressed, his influence increased till at last nothing could be done without consulting him. This influence was not the reward of servile adulation, but the experienced result of the late Rájá's knowledge of the Foujdár's talents and solicitude to increase the importance and wealth of the country. This influence of the Foujdár gave much dissatisfaction; public feeling against him was openly exhibited when he wished to take the young Princes in his palankeen and when he wished them to remain in his own house. This was done during the late Rájá's (Rájá Raghunátha Tondaimán's) life-time when he was considered quite as a second father to these children".

(*b*) There were four service Jágírs at the time enjoyed by the members of the family of the Rájá, and two other estates granted for the maintenance of the Ránís of the Palace and a daughter of the Ràjá.

(1) The Western Palace Jágír. [See p. 161].

(2) The Chinnaranmanai Jágír, which lapsed to the State on the death of Tirumalai Tondaimán in 1835 [See p. 393]. "The Jágir which was involved in debt and was under Sirkar management was to revert to the younger son of Rájá Raghunátha Tondaimán".

(3) & (4) The Jágírs granted to the two sons-in-law of the Rájá. [See p. 382].

(5) The Manovarti Estate, which was set apart for the maintenance of the wives and unmarried children of the Rájá. The revenues of the Jágír were generally controlled by the Rájá and appropriated occasionally for other uses.

(6) "Ammani Rájá Estate" granted to Princess Ammani Rájá, the first daughter of Ràjá Raghunátha Tondaimán.

[When Jágírs were applied for in 1868 according to precedent for the daughters of the next ruler, the Government sanctioned "an allowance of Rs. 10,000 a year for each Princess".]

Other lands wholly or partly rent-free were lands allotted to temples within and outside the State, to churches and chattrams, and lands enjoyed by the Brahmins of Sarvamányam and SRótriem villages, *etc.*, by the Amarakárs (or watchers in the town and taluks) and their chiefs called Sérvaikárs and the Ráchewárs, * by the Úliakárs or peons and servants with their Sérvaikárs who were not allowed like the Amara Sérvaikárs to sit in Durbar, and by the Umbalakárs, who were village-servants.

"Of the cultivable lands in the State, $\frac{1}{3}$ was devoted to religious purposes and another $\frac{1}{3}$ consisted of lands granted to members of the family of the Rájá, to military followers and to retired servants".

The details of the distribution of the lands are given below:—

1.	Pagodas, Foreign (Pararáshtram Dévastánam, 15 villages)	1,077 vélis.
2.	Pagodas, Home (within the State, 40 villages)	8,517 ,,
3.	Agrahàrams (96), Sarvamányam and Srótriem	7,763 ,,
4.	Chattrams (17 villages)	1,641 ,,
5.	Manóvarti Estate (16 villages)	771 ,,
6.	Ammani Rájá Estate (4 villages) ...	318 ,,
7.	Service Jágírs to members of the ruler's family.	
	(*a*) Western Palace (10 villages) ...	1,982 ,,
	(*b*) Chinnaranmanai Jágír (19 villages) ...	1,627 ,,
	(*c*) Rangam Pallava Row's Jágír (11 villages)	849 ,,
	(*d*) Ranganátha Panrikondár (4 villages)	717 ,,
8.	On Amaram and Úliam tenures	8,935 ,,
9.	Mirási and life umbalams	2,800 ,,
	... Total free land ...	36,997 vélis.

* "*Rachewars*, probably from Sanskrit *Rájá*. They claim descent from the pure Kshatriyas of the Hindus and are remarkable for their high sense of honour". See Wilson's *Glossary*.

10. Lands directly under the management of the State.

Kavinád (Southern) Taluk ...	... 3,560 vélis.
Perumànád (Western) Taluk ...	... 4,409 „
Kulattúr (Northern) Taluk ...	... 2,689 „
Álangudi (Eastern) Taluk ...	... 6,068 „
Kílánilai (South-eastern) Taluk	... 1,231 „
	17,957 vélis.

Thus the extent of free lands as compared with lands directly under the control of the State was in the ratio of 37,000 : 18,000 or 37 : 18.

(*c*) " The proportion of rent or land tax per véli of wet land was from Rs. 6 to Rs. 30 and of dry land from Re. 1 4 as. to 8 Rupees. The sale price of paddy was about 7 annas per Poodoocotta cullum ". In 1841 the price was as low as 3 annas per kalam.

(*d*) Some details relating to the income and expenditure of the State are given below :—

	Rs.	A.	P.
Land Revenue (for 1839–40)	1,45,942	8	11
By Taxes on Jágírs and Amarams, Srótriems, and by Loom and Mohterpha tax	30,401	5	...
Income from Land Customs, Salt, Abkari, Jungles and Monopoly for digging and smelting iron *	42,181	4	4
Sundry receipts	226	5	7
Total ...	2,18,751	7	10

DISBURSEMENTS.

	Rs.	A.	P.
For Palace expenses	53,160	14	9
Salary of Huzur servants, of the Foujdár, of the Judicial Department, *etc.*	83,550	8	3
For buildings, tank repairs and Maramut ...	7,143	7	...

* In the accounts for 1841—42, the income from each of these sources was derived from leases for a term of years. Sayer, Rs. 20,680; Salt, Rs. 12,666; Abkari, Rs. 3,529. 6as; Monopoly for digging iron, Rs. 2,500; Jungles including license fees for brick manufacture, Rs. 1,872 11as.

DISBURSEMENTS—(*cont*).

	Rs.	A.	P.
For funeral expenses of Rájá Raghunátha Tondaimán and his daughter	11,725	10	8
For interest on account of Sarkár debts ...	4,581	14	3
For interest on account of Rájamahal debts ...	7,978	1	10
For purchase of jewels, horses, band instruments, *etc.*	11,291	11	6
For advance for indigo works	3,210	4	4
	1,82,642	8	7
Balance on hand...	36,108	15	3

(*e*) We may explain now what the Sarkár and the Rájamahal debts that are referred to above were and how those debts came to be incurred.

i. The Sarkár or the public debt originated in the famine of 1836 (see p. 394), when money was borrowed to the extent of some Rs. 50,000 to purchase grain for the numerous Palace servants and dependants; this sum had increased by interest.

ii. The Rájamahal debts were Rs. 1,34,166 at the time of the death of the Rájá in 1839. The Rájamahal* accounts were "Palace private accounts" kept by the Foujdár under the orders of the Rájá, and debts in connection with Rájamahal had existed as early as 1832. Certain Sarkár villages and Manóvarti villages as also the revenues from the Sáyar (Land Customs) and Salt had been set apart for the gradual liquidation of the debt. When there was occasional surplus after the liquidation of the portion of the debt and interest arranged to be paid in any year, it was drawn upon for the purchase of jewels.

To shew the immense power that was exercised by Appá Aiyar, the Foujdár, we may mention that he had the following Departments under his control:—

1. The Military establishment and occupancy of lands held on service tenure.

2. The indigo business,

* *Rájamahal* means literally the king's house or the palace—often the *seraglio, mahal* meaning according to Wilson, "a place, a house, an apartment, a seraglio".

3. and the management of the three villages connected therewith.
4. Management of three villages specially set apart for payment of Rájamahal debts.
5. Management of the Kavinád pannai lands.
6. Collection and administration of the Salt and Sayer rents.
7. Foreign Pagoda (Pararáshtram) Department.
8. Management of the villages in Valnád set apart for Palace religious ceremonies.
9. Management of the lands and property of Tirumalai Tondaimán that died in 1835 (as chief administrator).
10. Management of the lands allotted to the Ráni and the widow of the preceding Rájá.
11. Superintendence of Palace affairs.
12. Education of the young Princes.

Death of the Raja. We have to bring our account of the rule of this Rájá to a close. On the 13th of July, 1839, Rájá Ragunácha Tondaimán closed his earthly career. The reader that has gone through our narrative would have gathered that the Rájá was an enlightened ruler bent on promoting the happiness of his people. The successive Residents had the highest respect for him, and Mr. Thomas Maclean, the Resident, was never tired of expressing his appreciation of the benevolence and uprightness of character of His Excellency, whom he called "the father of his people". The Governor on hearing of his death communicated to his successor "his sense of the exemplary manner in which the Rájá discharged the important duties of his station and of his fidelity and attachment to the British Government."

His Excellency Raja Ramachandra Tondaiman Bahadur.

Accession of Raja Ramachandra Tondaiman, a minor. Administration during the minority. Rájá Ramachandra Tondaimán was a minor nine years old at the time of the death of his father. Agreeably to the instructions that had been left by the late Rájá, the Government approved of the administration being conducted, during the minority of the Rájá, by "the Sirkeel, the Fouzdar and other officers in communication with the Ranee".

His Highness Sri Brihadamba Das
Raja Ramachandra Tondaiman Bahadur
1839—1886.

The Resident, Col. Maclean, wrote to the Sarkíl and the Foujdár on the subject, using the words, "While the management of affairs remains with the Ranee and yourselves, I can have no fear for the result".

On the 18th of September, 1839, the Government resolved upon continuing the title of "His Excellency" to the Rájá, and on the 15th of the month, the Governor, Lord Elphinstone, wrote to the Ráni, Kattakkuricchi Áyi, offering to her "his heartful congratulations at the wise, prudent and dutiful determination at which.........she had arrived and which had made her choose to live for her children to watch over their conduct..........., rather than sacrifice her life by committing Satee".

Both the Ráni and the Resident had the highest confidence in the Foujdár Appá Aiyar, who for the time being was the most influential man in the State, the Sirkíl Soiróba Náig having been too quite a man to assert his rights. It appears from the Resident Mr. W. H. Bayley's Report (July, 1841) that Appá Aiyar had been treated by Mr. Bayley's predecessor, Captain Douglas, (except on one specific occasion) as in rank even "before the Serkell", that "communications were made to him alone both verbally and in writing", and that "he had been led to believe that he would be supported as the leading man" in the State.

In 1841, there were some representations to the Madras Government of the oppression and injustice of the Foujdár from one Venkanna Sérvaikár, "who passed himself as a man of rank", from the sons-in-law of the late Rájá and two other relatives of the Ráni. The Resident, Mr. Bayley, was directed "to reside at Poodoocottah as much as possible during the minority of the Tondiman and to take the immediate superintendence and control of the business of the country, which was to continue to be conducted by the ministers of the Rájáh".

Mr. Bayley's Report. The Resident, on receipt of these orders, visited Pudukkóttai and submitted a report to Government (7th July, 1841) in which he laid down rules for the guidance of the ministers and prescribed the mode in which business was to be carried on. Some of the rules were the following:—

1. "A diary should be kept and signed by both the ministers containing every order given, every communication received, every petition or other business received and inquired into.

2. "No sum of money either in cash or by sunnad* above Rs. 100 is to be expended without the Political Agent's previous sanction.

3. "No jaghir, amarum, or ooliam land was to be newly granted during the minority of His Excellency and none to be resumed or sequestered, unless for very particular reasons and then only with the Political Agent's knowledge.

4. "No persons serving under the Circar should have their salaries increased or diminished and no such persons should be dismissed and new ones employed without consultation with the Political Agent.

5. "No new taxes should be levied on merchants or shop-keepers, but trade should be assisted by keeping the roads in good order.

6. "The ministers should prevent the carrying of earth-salt into British Zillahs".

Other rules referred to the duties of the Police, the Courts of law, *etc.*

Abolition of the Tanjore Residency &c. In 1841, the Residency at Tanjore was abolished and the charge of Pudukkóttai was entrusted to the Collector of Madura. The administration of the State was prosperously conducted under the control of this officer during the remainder of the minority of the Rájá. All debts were paid off and a surplus was invested in the funds of the British Government. The Political Agent regulated the revenue and judicial affairs of the State by introducing several rules which were in force in the British Territory and increased the salaries of its many servants in proportion to the work that they had to do.

A *sunnad* or *sanad* means "a diploma, patent or deed of grant by the Government of office, privilege or right". Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson.*

H. H. S. B. D.
Rájá Rámachandra Tondaimán Bahadúr
in Darbar.

Towards the close of 1844 the Rájá assumed the direct control of the State, his ministers being instructed to report direct to the Rájá, but to keep the Political Agent informed regarding all disbursements of money and cases in which public servants were dismissed.

The Raja's marriages. On the 13th of June, 1845, the Rájá and his brother were married to the daughters of the Zamindár of Kallákottai in the Tanjore District. The Political Agent was present on the occasion and presented the Rájá and his brother with Khillats and *Ven Sàmarai* or white "cow's tail".*

On the 31st of August, 1848, the Rájá was married again to the first daughter of the then Neduvásal Zamindár.

The Raja's visit to Trichinopoly. His Excellency the Rájá visited Trichinopoly on the 30th of August, 1845, when "a troop complete from the 4th Regiment Light Cavalry under the command of a Captain and in Review order was drawn up for escorting His Excellency to his place of residence, the Nabob's House at Worriore", "a detachment of Artillery was paraded on the Bridge exercising ground and fired a salute of 19 guns", "the Grenadier Company from one of the Native Corps in Garrison under the command of a Subadar and in full dress was in attendance at the Nabob's House at Worriore to receive His Excellency," *etc.*

Mr. Blackburne's Improvements. The following extract from a letter dated 20th of November, 1846 to the Deputy Secretary to Government from the Political Agent, Mr. John Blackburne, will show that the State was well managed at the time.

"In addition to the 30,000 Rupees invested in the Company's paper, as known to the Honourable Court, other 30,000 Rupees were similarly invested as the surplus profit of the year before the last; and during last month, a further sum of Rs. 40,000; and at the same time the improvement of roads and tanks is going on on a much larger (comparative) and more successful

---

* "The bushy tail of the Tibetan yak often set in a costly decorated handle..., in which form it was one of the insignia of ancient Asiatic royalty". Yule and Burnell's *Hobson-Jobson*.

scale than in Madura and possibly in other neighbouring Collectorates; whilst several Chuttrams are being erected at convenient stages for the public and all the Talook Cutcherries have been enlarged and improved, and a most excellent Jail built in Poodoocota itself, and at the same time forced services have been discontinued, the Sayer abolished and every form of monopoly abandoned with the exception of earth-salt... ..... Within a month I propose once more to visit Poodoocota, when I shall divest myself of every particle of interference which I have still continued to hold by His Excellency's sufferance and as I believe with his earnest wish .... and I shall have every confidence in leaving him to his own guidance, aided by his present able and honourable ministers, whose virtues he appears to me fully to appreciate, and it is with the highest satisfaction I venture to bring to notice the continued excellence and disposition of the Rajah and his brother and the continued improvement in education and manners, though I cannot but regret that circumstances have not permitted their education being carried to a much higher scale than is the case".

In gratitude to the Political Agent, whom the Rájá called his uncle, the Town Hospital was opened on the 14th of October, 1851, in the name of John Blackburne Esquire, Political Agent for Pudukkóttai, by "his affectionate nephew, His Excellency Rajah Ramachandra Tondiman Behaudur".* It was to be maintained with a portion of the amount which formed the Benares Charitable Endowment Fund.

In September, 1852, occurred the death of the Rájá's mother, Kamalámba Ráni Sáhib, more familiarly known as Kattakkuricchi Áyi, who has been for a time Regent.

Some administrative changes. In 1848, Annáswámy Aiyar, son of Appá Aiyar, was appointed Foujdár. In 1851 a Deputy Sarkíl was appointed as in Tanjore. In the letters to the Political Agent, there was to be the signature of the Deputy Sarkíl as well as of the Sarkíl. The official letters in future were to be addressed to the Ministers. Gópál Náig, son of Soiróba Náig, was appointed Deputy Sarkíl.

* See the inscription on the stone planted in front of the Town Hospital.

On the 13th January 1854, R. Annáswámy Aiyar, the Foujdár of the State, was appointed Sarkíl in consideration of the faithful and important services rendered to the State by his father, Appá Aiyar, the well-known Foujdár, and of the faithfulness and ability of the gentleman who was considered an experienced officer in Revenue matters. The place of the Deputy Sarkíl was abolished.

One Rámaswámi Aiyar, Translator, Madura Collector's Cutcherry, "whose abilities and habits of business would promote the prosperity of the State" was sent from Madura as Additional Karbar for the introduction of the British system of Accounts, *etc.*

1853–4. *Disturbances raised by Venkannan Sêrvaikâr and his adherents.* A few years after the Rájá was entrusted with the sole charge of the affairs of the State, he was misled by evil advisers in spite of the remonstrances of the successive Political Agents, who advised him both by official and private correspondence that he should regain the good name of his family by forbidding all his bad counsellors from entering his presence. Without heeding the advice of the Political Agents, the Rájá plunged himself deeper and deeper into debt till at last the state of affairs became very critical. The eldest brother of the Junior Ráni was also creating disturbances. Some of the designing and selfish men in the State headed by Venkannan Sérvaikáran stirred up the people to open rebellion.

Venkannan Sérvaikár was simply an Úliyakár and so lower in rank than a common Sérvaikár. He had proved disloyal and ungrateful and been removed for misconduct in the time of Rájá Raghunatha Tondaimán Bahadúr. He set at defiance the Sarkar authorities and persuaded some of the Amarakárs or the military servants of the State not to attend to the duties assigned to them and encouraged others not to pay the Sarkar kists, but to carry away by force the produce of the Sarkar lands. The band of insurgents became stronger and stronger. The unsatisfactory state of things in the Territory was taken to the notice of the British Government. A British military force was got down in the middle of the year 1854, the rebellion was quelled, and a portion of the force remained for a time sufficient to dissuade any persons hostile to the Sarkar from recommencing disturbance.

Krishnan Panrikondár of Kattakkuricchi, one of the principal rebels and a close relative of the Rájá, was dispossessed of his Jívidam lands, deported to Madura and paid a subsistence allowance. With reference to the other refractory people including Venkannan Sérvaikár, it was ruled that their Jívidam lands should be placed under attachment and ordered that some of them should be confined in the Pudukkóttai Jail.

The allowance granted to Muttuswámi Panrikondár, a brother-in-law of the Rájá, was discontinued in August 1854, for having brought discredit to the family by irregular conduct during his constant residence at Pudukkóttai.

Mr. Parker's Report on the disturbances. In submitting his final report No. 119 dated 1st September, 1854, on the disturbances, which had been quelled by the aid of the British troops, Mr. Parker, the Political Agent, while exonerating the Rájá from any charge of oppression such as might have in some measure justified the revolt, gave it as his opinion that the people had just cause of complaint against him for mismanagement of public affairs, and therefore recommended that he should be deprived of all share in the direct management of the finances. The proposal was approved by the Government and the Rájá's powers of administration were curtailed and the Political Agent was given a chief hand in the administration of the State. The appointments which the Rájá had to make through the Sarkíl were to be subject to the revision of the Political Agent. The Rájá was to manage the finances subject to the Agent, but his own expenses were to be restricted to his privy purse allowance. An annual report was to be submitted on the administration of the State. The Political Agent could expel from the State disorderly persons. The Rájá was to preside in the Chief Court with a Judge and Sarkíl as co-adjutors.

In 1856 the return to Pudukkóttai was permitted of Krishnan Panrikondár who had been sent to Madura for the offence of having joined the rioters in 1854. And in 1857 the Political Agent recommended that the persons in confinement for their connection with the riots of 1854 might, in the then state of the country, be set at liberty with perfect safety. The Government

ordered that it might be left to the generosity of the Rájá to pardon even the persons whose conduct was before particularly dangerous to the welfare of the State. All the persons were set at liberty.

A favourable Government Review. In 1856 was noticed a great improvement in the state of communications and irrigation works in the year. And the Government Review of the Administration Report for 1855 mentioned that a marked improvement was noted in the state of the country and the feelings of the people and that the results were very creditable to the administration. "The country was in a better state in all respects than Mr. Parker ever recollected to have seen it".

A check to the Maratti preponderance. "The Government entirely concurred with the Agent in the propriety of abolishing Maratta accounts and of substituting English figures and desired that measures should be at once adopted for introducing the change. The Agent was also to discontinue corresponding with the Rájá or his minister in Maratti, if that had hitherto been used".

The orders which were passed in 1858 for the abolition of Maratti accounts and substitution of English figures instead of Tamil figures were actually brought into force only on the 1st of February, 1864.

It was observed by the Political Agent that the then minister Annáswámi Aiyar, a Tamil Brahmin, had not appointed a single relation and that the establishment was even then full of the rival caste of Maratta Brahmins, who were closely connected by blood or marriage. The predominance of the Mahrattas was felt even in 1875, when Mr. Pennington wrote as follows about these Brahmins:—

"There are two subjects of universal complaint in Pudukkottai, the one is the Amani system and the other is the paramount influence of Maratta Brahmans, bound together by the closest ties of relationship and interest. Every one has his own private grievances of course, but all are agreed on these two subjects and it would be difficult to say which is the most execrated......... The effect of the preponderance of one family in the

Administration and that a family of Mahratta Brahmins may as well be noticed here; for it is, I think, almost the greatest evil under which the country suffers .... However honest the Sirkeel may be, he has not the force of character to make a stand against the rapacity of his own relations".

Madras Exhibitions of 1855 and 1857. Six cartloads of articles, representing almost every department, were sent to the First Madras Exhibition of February, 1855. His Excellency was thanked for the interest taken and the assistance rendered in promoting the success of the Exhibition. A medal of the first class was awarded to the Rájá.

In February 1857, another Exhibition was held in Madras. A First class medal was awarded to His Excellency the Rájá as a mark of recognition of the kind assistance afforded by him in promoting the success of the Exhibition of 1857.

In 1858 the following extract relating to the Native Princes of India from the **Proclamation announcing the assumption of the Government of India by Her Majesty the Queen-Empress** was received.

"We hereby announce to the Native Princes of India that all Treaties and Engagements made with them by or under the authority of the Honourable East India Company are by Us accepted and will be scrupulously maintained, and We look for the like observance on their part.

"We desire no extension of Our present territorial possessions; and while We will permit no aggression upon Our Dominions or Our rights to be attempted with impunity, We shall respect the rights, dignity and honour of Native Princes as Our own; and We desire that they, as well as Our own subjects, should enjoy that prosperity and social advancement which can only be secured by internal peace and good Government".

Some notable visits to the State. In 1841, a visit was paid to the State by Prince Soltykoff, a nobleman of rank from the country of Russia and a friend of the Governor, the Right Honorable Lord Elphinstone. In February 1856, the Lord

Bishop of Madras visited Pudukkóttai (see p. 399), and in 1858 Mr. A. J. (afterwards Sir Alexander) Arbuthnot passed through Pudukkóttai on his way to Madras from the Madura District.

In September 1858, was born to His Excellency the Rájá by the Junior Ráni Sáhib a son and heir. The child died in March 1867 owing to an attack of small-pox.

In 1859 the title of "His Excellency" was withdrawn from the Rájá for his having involved himself in spite of previous promises of amendment during Fasli 1267 (1857–1858) in additional debt to the enormous amount of 5½ lacs of Rupees, as "eminent persons who act unworthy of their high station are not entitled to be so called". The Governor, Sir Charles Trevelyan, wrote to the Rájá that he trusted that his good conduct would be such as to allow him to restore the title to him at some future time, and that it would entirely depend upon himself and on the efforts which he would make with the kind advice and assistance of the Political Agent to retrieve his good name. The Rájá requested that the order might be reconsidered, admitting that he had not observed economy, and explaining that the debt had to be incurred for the purchase of jewels, *etc.*, for his two wives, and for children that were born after the introduction of Mr. Parker's Schedule and for certain necessary purposes of charity and religion.

In 1862 it was ordered that no disbursement could be made from the Treasury except under the orders of the Sarkíl, and the Secretary of State warned the Rájá that he could expect no favour from the British Government so long as he conducted himself in a very extravagant manner.

30th April 1862. The following **Sanad issued under the orders of Her Most Gracious Majesty** (Queen Victoria) and signed by Lord Canning, Viceroy and Governor-General of India, was sent to the Rájá by the Governor of Madras, Sir William Thomas Denison, K. C. B.

"To Rajah Ramachandra Tondiman Behaudur, Poodoocottah.

"Her Majesty being desirous that Governments of the several Princes and Chiefs of India who govern their own territories, should be perpetuated, and that the representation and

dignity of their houses should be continued in fulfilment of this desire, this Sunnud is given to you to convey to you the assurance that on failure of natural heirs, the British Government will recognize and confirm any adoption of a successor made by yourself or by any future Chief of your State that may be in accordance with Hindoo Law and the customs of your race.

" Be assured that nothing shall disturb the engagement thus made to you so long as your house is loyal to the Crown and faithful to the conditions of the treaties, grants, or engagements which record its obligations to the British Government.

(Signed) Canning ".

Some Revenue matters. In August, 1854, some burdensome taxes were abolished, such as jungle fees, fees on picotahs, taxes on oil-machines, bangle earth, dyes, ... snuff, oil, chunam, trees that were not fruit-bearing.

In 1861–2 Mohterpha tax was for the first time introduced. The rates were as follows:

For each terraced house ...	One Rupee a year.
For each tiled house ...	Eight annas a year.
For each thatched house ...	Four annas a year.
For each silk loom, &c., ...	One Rupee a year.
For each cotton loom ...	Eight annas a year.
For oil mill	Two Rupees a year.
For shops dealing in cloths, gold and silver	Three Rupees a year.
For shops dealing in grains and paddy	Two Rupees a year.
For other shops	One Rupee and eight annas a year.

There was some violent opposition to the levying of the taxes—some poor people are said to have left their houses and lived for some days by the side of the Sarkīl's house—and the tax was abolished for a time. It was finally reintroduced in 1874.

Change in the Administration. Within a year after his appointment, Annáswámi Aiyar had incurred the displeasure of the Rájá. And in March, 1855, it was reported that the Rájá was conducting the administration without the intervention of the Sarkíl and chiefly by means of Kárbár Jumbu Náik, whom the Political Agent considered particularly unfit for such duty. The Rájá however informed the Political Agent that no impediment was offered to the Sarkíl in the conduct of public administration. The Political Agent had again to remonstrate on this subject.

In April, 1863, the Rájá had become quite displeased with his Sarkíl, Mr. Annáswámi Aiyar. The Sarkíl was ordered not to leave the State without the permission of the Rájá.

In November, 1863, regular charges were framed by the Rájá against the Sarkíl. The Political Agent transmitted to the Rájá the resignation tendered by Annáswámi Aiyar. The resignation was accepted by the Rájá, who passed the following orders on the Sarkíl's resignation.

"The Sirkele shall retain all lands and other property now in his possession as beneficially in every respect as he now holds them.

The relatives, dependants and castemen of the Sirkele shall not be disturbed in their offices or pensions without the consent of the Political Agent.

The Rájá ceases the prosecution of the charges brought against the Sirkele".

In December, 1863, Bhaváni Sankar Rao was appointed Sarkíl.

Some Jágír matters. In 1842 (29th of June), a proclamation was issued by the Political Agent (agreeably) to a previous order of 1820) that the Jágírdárs were merely to enjoy the produce of the lands of the Jágírs, and that they should not alienate any portion of their Jágírs. *Poruppu** was collected from the Jágírs.

* By *poruppu*, the grass-tax (புல்வரி) paid by the Jágírdárs to the State seems to be intended. In the *Administration Report* for 1881-2, *poruppu vari* is defined as the quit-rent on Dèvadáyam villages.

In October, 1864, we find the Chinnaranmanai Jájír in the enjoyment of His Excellency the Rájá, who had resumed the same from the Jágírdár and the Government advising its restoration to Ry. Tirumalai Tondaimán, brother of the Rájá, with an intimation that it was not competent to the Jágírdár to alienate any portion of it, and that should any portion be alienated by him in any way, it would be resumed and placed under the management of the Sarkíl. He continued to be in the enjoyment of the Jágír till his death in May 1871, when his son Bálasubrahmanya Tondaimán succeeded to the Jágír.

It was ruled in July 1865, that the forests situated in the Chinnaranmanai and Western Palace lands belonged to the Sarkar.

The Government ordered in February, 1866, that the Chinnaranmanai Jágírdár should be made to discontinue at once the use of any badge of authority by his peons, as the use of belts by his peons was thought likely to lead to petty oppression.

In May, 1866, the Sarkíl was addressed by the Rájá to the effect that Rádhákrishna Tondaimán, Western Palace Jágírdár from 1856, should be warned against using the musical instruments, Naqqárh, Naubat, *etc.*, contrary to established usage.

Judicial affairs. In 1840, as the Rájá was a minor, the Sarkíl directed the Judges of the several Courts to complete their own judgments, leaving it optional with the parties to appeal to His Excellency the Rájá. In 1844, the Kotwal's Office grew into the Sinnakkadan Sabhá or Small Causes Court, to which a number of Judges were appointed.

The Political Agent sent about this time (1845) to the Rájá translations of the orders of the Faujdári Ádálat Court in Madras with the remark "that the Rájá's Codes would thus be complete". In 1859 the British Code of Civil Procedure was introduced.

In 1860, the practice of appealing to the Nyáya Sabhá from the decrees of the Mudra Sabhá was stopped and appeals from all the Courts in the State were made to the "Huzur Office," which thus became the only Appeal Court in the State.

In June, 1861, the jurisdiction of the Mudra Sabhá was extended from Rs 125 to Rs. 250.

In December, 1863, a law member called the Appeal Judge was added to the Appeal Court.

These changes appeared haphazard, and in November, 1864, suggestions from the Political Agent were called for by the Government for rendering the Courts in the State more eficient. In July, 1865, the Sarkíl was required to regularly attend the Appeal Court and see whether the Kárbárs and the Magistrates attended office and discharged their duties regularly.

In June and July, 1866, there was a reorganisation of the Courts. There were to be (1) an Appeal Court with an Appeal Judge, (2) A Civil and Sessions Court of three Judges, [the Nyáya Sabhá and the Danda Sabhá were amalgamated, and the Court formed by the union was styled 'Civil and Sessions Court ']

(3) A Small Cause Court.

(4) Five Munsif's Courts for the five Talúks.

Of the Appeal Court, the Rájá, the Sarkíl and the Appeal Judge were the Judges. The Rájá was to preside, but all correspondence to the Appeal Court was to be addressed to the Sarkíl, who was to be in charge of the records and should issue orders on subjects that came before him. The Sarkíl was made to conduct the Appeal Court in the presence of the Rájá on Saturdays, Mondays and Wednesdays.

The Múdra Sabhá was split up into a number of Munsif's Courts which were to be held at different places. Each of these Courts had a single Judge and distinct local jurisdiction. This arrangement was made from a desire to give local convenience to suitors in places far from the capital.

In 1868, the Indian Penal Code and the Code of Criminal Procedure were introduced.

Transfer of Political Agency from Madura to Tanjore. On the 27th of September, 1865, the Government ordered that the Political Agency of Pudukkóttai should be transferred from the Collector of Madura to the Collector of Tanjore. The Political Agent was required to proceed to Pudukkóttai, inform himself by

personal inspection of the state of affairs there, and report the results of his inspection, suggesting any reforms that might seem immediately necessary.

The Government suggested in November, 1865, on the report of the Political Agent that the three brothers of the Ráni should be required to leave the country, as, so long as they remained in the Pudukkóttai country, there was not the slightest hope of tranquillity being restored or affairs going on quietly.

Mr. G. Lee Morris' Report. As ordered by Government, Mr. G. Lee Morris, the Collector of Tanjore and Political Agent of Pudukkóttai, submitted a report on the reforms that he considered necessary and the Government passed orders on the 1st of August, 1867, approving of the proposals of the Political Agent, for revising the establishments in the State.

The entire establishment of Pudukkóttai consisted of the following departments :—

1. The Sarkíl's office. 2. Taluk Revenue Establishment. 3. Village Revenue Establishment. 4. Town Police. 5. Jail. 6. Post office. 7. Bungalow Establishment. 8. Marammut Department. 9. Abkari and Mohterpha. 10. Jungle Conservancy. 11. Judicial Department.

The most striking features in the establishment were the large number of appointments and the smallness of the salaries attached thereto. Mr. Morris proposed

(1) the reduction of the number of Taluks from five to three by the abolition of the Perumánádu and Kavinád Taluks,

(2) the thorough revision both as regards the number of office holders and the salaries of the establishments with the exception of the village revenue establishment,

(3) the amalgamation of the offices of the Deputy Kárbár and the Joint Magistrate, which were then held by two individuals. The new officer was, in addition to his being a First Class Magistrate, to be in charge of the following departments :— (*a*) the Abkari, (*b*) the Salt, (*c*) the Mohterpha, (*d*) the Dévastánam, (*e*) the Marammut, (*f*) the Jungle Conservancy, (*g*) the Post office, and (*h*) the Jail, which was till then under the Civil and Sessions Judge,

(4) and that the Kárbár was to continue to be, in addition to his being the Chief Magistrate, the Chief Executive Superintendent of the Revenue Department, controlling the proceedings of the Tahsildars.

Further (5) the nine Magisterial divisions—five under the five Tahsildars, two under Deputy Tahsildars or Police Amins, one under the Dévastánam Peshkar and one under the Police Amin of the town—were to be abolished, and there were to be only four Second class Magistrates, *viz*, the three Tahsildars and a Sub-Magistrate for the town,

(6) the Abkari and Mohterpha establishments were to be discontinued, and the work of collecting the dues under these heads were to be entrusted to the Tahsildars,

(7) there were to be, as sanctioned in G. O. dated 23rd April, 1866, in addition to the Civil and Sessions Judge and Appeal Judge, three Munsifs who were to hold their Courts at Pudukkóttai, Tirumayyam and Kulattúr, as also a Small Cause Court at Pudukkóttai for the adjustment of all petty suits for money,

(8) and there was to be a Revenue Inspector for each Taluk.

The place of the Foujdár was abolished.

Introduction of Mr. Morris' scheme. Mr. Morris' scheme for the revision of Revenue and Judicial establishments was introduced in 1868, of which the main features were, as mentioned before, the reduction of the large number of employers on low salaries, the assignment of salaries sufficient to secure the services of competent and respectable men, and the assimilation of the Revenue and Judicial establishments to those of districts under the British Government.

A Government order dated 31st January, 1868, approved the appointment of three Deputy Tahsildars, who were to exercise magisterial powers and who were to have their head-quarters at Virálimalai, Karambakkudi and Kílánilai.

"Of the three stations, the two first are places of considerable traffic and are in consequence frequently resorted to by a large concourse of people from different parts, while the third, though not equal to them in respect of mercantile importance, consists of many wealthy villages inhabited by many wealthy Nattukkottai Chettis and other respectable classes. Viralimalai,

in particular, is on the high road between Trichinopoly and Madura. More than 500 bandies daily halt there and it is reckoned the only convenient healthy station for European travellers and Regiments, who pass by that road.

"Moreover the three stations are situated on the boundary line of this territory, *viz*, Viralimalai in the westernmost corner, Karambakkudi in the easternmost and Kilanilai in the southernmost. Each of these divisions lies at upwards of 25 miles from its respective Taluk station......"

Accordingly the five Taluks of the State were re-arranged into three Taluks, each with a sub-division or firka attached thereto. A Sub-Magistrate was appointed for the Town of Pudukkóttai. The Tahsildars of the Taluks and the Deputy Tahsildars of the firkas were invested with magisterial powers.

Visit of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh to Madras. On the 8th February, 1870, a sum of Rs. 20,000 was sanctioned for His Excellency the Rájá's visit to Madras to be present at the reception of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, and on the 16th February, 1870, the Government of Madras ordered that "the Tondaman Rajah" would receive a salute of 13 guns at Trichinopoly and Madras, and that the title of "His Excellency", formerly withdrawn, would again be granted.

The Governor wrote on the 21st February, 1870, to the Rájá communicating the decision of the Government to restore to the Rájá a portion of the marks of honour formerly enjoyed by his predecessors and himself (see pp. 319 and 416) in consideration of the happy event of the visit to the Presidency of His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh, as a mark of respect for the family the Rájá represented and in some degree as a consequence of the more satisfactory course which His Excellency had pursued in the management of his affairs. His title of 'His Excellency' would again be used by the Government in addressing the Rájá and he would receive a salute of 13 guns at Trichinopoly and Madras. The Rájá was informed that the position which his family occupied and the services rendered by the family to the English Government would be explained to His Royal Highness

the Duke of Edinburgh, and that the Rájá would be respected by the Government not for making a great show but for acting with wisdom and economy.

In March, 1870, *His Royal Highness the Duke of Edinburgh visited Madras* and His Excellency Rájá Ramachandra Tondaimán Bahadúr had an interview with His Royal Highness.

In concluding this account, we have to mention that the Government disallowed on the 18th December, 1873, the salute sanctioned in February, 1870, on orders received from the Governor-General in Council.

Transfer of the Political Agency from Tanjore to Trichinopoly. On the 18th September, 1874, the Political Agency was transferred from the Collector of Tanjore to the Collector of Trichinopoly. Mr. Pennington was the first Political Agent at Trichinopoly. He was directed by Government to reside for two or three months at Pudukkóttai, make himself personally acquainted with the working of all the principal branches of the administration, Revenue, Police, Civil and Criminal Justice and Public Works, and, after having made a complete scrutiny into the state of the country, submit a full report thereon with the recommendations that occurred to him.*

1875. *Mr. Pennington's Report.* Mr. Pennington's report, furnished in reply to this order, gave a complete account of the system of administration in force in the State as well as suggestions for its improvement. † In making his recommendations he strongly urged that the Rájá should be removed from all direct share in the administration of justice; but Government, in the order passed on this report, stated that they were unwilling to take this course.

Mr. Pennington described in detail the several circumstances relating to the Rájá's indebtedness, and the various orders which had been issued on the subject. Into this question, the Government observed that it was then unnecessary to go, as it had been just then definitely decided ‡ that the surplus revenues belonged to the State, that they must be used in improving the territory and the administration in its various branches, that the Rájá had his civil list and his privy purse, and was entitled to nothing more.

* G. O. No. 448 of the 3rd November, 1874.
† Letter from the Political Agent to Government, dated 23rd April, 1875.
‡ G. O. No. 138 of the 4th March, 1875.

The settlement that had then been sanctioned for the payment of the Rájá's debts was declared to be the last that would be allowed, and this, it was observed, was perfectly well understood by all concerned.*

In explanation of the Rájá's repeatedly running into debt, Mr. Pennington remarked as follows:—

"No doubt he is inexcusably weak and extravagant, but what can be expected of a Rajah whose only associates are narrow-minded jealous wives and intriguing parasites? If a really just estimate of the extent to which he is personally responsible could by any possibility be formed, I am inclined to think that many others would be found to be more guilty than the Rajah himself even in the matter of his continually recurring debts. It may be added that a state of indebtedness appears to be a characteristic of the family, perhaps a mark of dignity. The Rajah's grandfather died 70,000 pagodas in debt and universally respected. We may add that the same was the case with the Raja's father also". It must be said to the credit of H. H. Rájá Ramachandra Tondaimán that he was a very liberal patron of learned men and took a pleasure in supporting many poor people that depended on him.

Some reforms and minor matters. In 1857 an Anglo-Vernacular Free school was opened at the capital, which was to be maintained like the Hospital from Dévastánam Funds.

The Deputy Superintendent of Vaccination went over in March 1867 from Tanjore to Pudukkóttai and organised and instructed a staff of vaccinators. The Government expressed their satisfaction in learning that measures had been taken for introducing an efficient system of vaccination in the State.

In May 1868, the Dèvastánam establishment was revised The duties connected with the collection of the kist, *etc.*, appertaining to the Dévastánam and Charity Villages, *etc.*, were entrusted to the Deputy Kárbár. The management of the expenditure and of the internal affairs of pagodas and chattrams was vested In a separate officer styled the Manager of Dèvastánams, who was to devote his whole time and attention to it.

*G. O. No. 703 of the 15th October, 1875. paragraphs, 5 and 6.

In November 1868, the Manóvarti establishment was revised.

Special measures had frequently been taken as for example in 1847 for the prevention of the exportation of earth-salt from Pudukkòttai into the Company's districts. Additional precautions were ordered to be taken in 1870 for the prevention of the sale, *etc.*, in British Territory of earth-salt manufactured in the State.

There was a severe outbreak of cholera in 1871 as there had been in 1867–8. Guineaworm prevailed in May and June to a very unusual extent and it was ordered that the tanks should be thoroughly cleansed.

In accordance with the desire of the Madras Government, the Sirkíl was instructed on the 10th April, 1872, to take a census of the State in connection with the Imperial Census that had then been taken.

The Marammut Department was reorganised on the 19th July, 1872, and placed under the supervision of the Deputy Kárbár.

17th December, 1872. The Sirkíl was required by the Rájá to forward to the Political Agent for perusal and return the original agreement in Persian characters granted on the 28th September, 1755, to the ruler Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán by the Honorable George Pigot, Governor of Madras (see p. 211).

In connection with the proposal made by the Rájá to grant a Jágír to the 1st Princess, a sum of Rs. 10,000 was sanctioned by the Government in March 1873.

1874. Measures and weights were required to be stamped.

In May, 1874 a sum of Rs. 3,000 was sanctioned for the Madras Famine Relief Fund.

An attempt was made to introduce stamps into the State; but the Government in February 1875 did not approve the introduction of Stamp duties on legal proceedings, on the score that the existing revenues of the State were sufficient with a good administrator to provide all that was needed for the public service.

On the 10th March, 1875, it was ruled that officers to be appointed in the State in future should have been vaccinated.

The proposal to let off prisoners imprisoned for life after the expiry of a period of 30 years from the date of the commencement of imprisonment was not approved (March, 1875).

A proposal for the Survey of lands in the State was approved in March 1875.

30th June, 1875. The Government approved of a Registration Regulation to be introduced into the State. And the Registration of documents was brought to force on the 1st of November, 1875, the Department of Registration of Assurances having been organised with a District Registrar and three Sub-Registrars.

1875. A Superintendent of Public Works was appointed.

Hook-swinging was prohibited in July 1876 at Konnaiyûr, Nártâmalai, and other places where it had been practised.

The Sirkíl was asked in August 1875 to obtain sanction from the Government for resuming the Western Palace Jágír, as per instructions from the Political Agent, for having mortgaged the Jágír.

Reorganisation of the Police Department. The Police duties had been performed on a strict Kávalgár system (see p. 353). Later on the Tahsildars were empowered to transact the duties of the Heads of Police.

In May, 1875 a Police Force was organised on the British lines and placed under the orders of the Superintendent of Police, Trichinopoly, as ex-officio Superintendent of the Department. 16 stations were established.

The strength of the force as sanctioned in G. O. dated 13th February, 1875, was 3 Inspectors, 22 Head Constables and 152 Constables. As it was found necessary to place the force on a better footing, the strength was revised in G. O. dated 8th May, 1876 and was as follows:—

4 Inspectors, 20 Head Constables and 152 Constables. One Inspector was placed in charge of each Taluk and the Head Quarter Inspector was placed in charge of the office and Town.

In September 1875 the Police powers conferred on the Tahsildars were withdrawn and transferred to the Inspectors of Police.

On the 26th November, 1875 **Raja Martanda Bhairava Tondaiman Bahadur, the ruling sovereign, was born.**

10th December, 1875. **During the tour of His Royal Highness the Prince of Wales in Southern India,** His Excellency the Rájá paid a visit at Madura to His Royal Highness.

Before dinner, the principal personages were received, and among them the Native Chiefs, of whom the most conspicuous was the Rájá of Pudukkòttai.

His Royal Highness sent to the Rájá "a silver medal, with a ring bearing His Royal Highness' cypher, with a hope that His Excellency would wear them as mementos of his visit to Southern India and of the pleasure His Royal Highness derived from making His Excellency's personal acquaitance."

The gold ring and the medal presented to the Rájá by His Royal Highness, the Prince of Wales, were delivered to the Rájá at a Public Darbár by the Political Agent, Mr. Henry Sewell, who carried them to him in procession on an elephant. He wrote to the Rájá "Please stick to the original programme. I will ride on the elephant from the entrance of the Town to the Darbar; but I do not wish to be paraded all round the streets."

The assumption of the title of Empress of India by Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen. The Rájá was informed in August, 1876 that it was the intention of the Government to publicly proclaim on the 1st of January, 1877, at the Presidency and at all the headquarter stations of the several collectorates the assumption by Her Most Gracious Majesty, the Queen, of the title of "Empress of India". A copy of the *Fort St. George Gazette Extraordinary* containing His Excellency the Viceroy's Proclamation together with the Proclamation by the Queen was also received.

1877, 1st January. "An Imperial Assemblage was held at Delhi for the purpose of proclaiming to the Queen's subjects throughout India the gracious sentiments which had induced Her Majesty to make to Her Sovereign Style and Titles an addition specially intended to mark Her Majesty's interests in this great Dependency of Her Crown and Her Royal Confidence in the loyalty and affection of the Princes and Peoples of India. To this Assemblage, the Governor-General invited the Governors, Lieutenant Governors and Heads of Administration from all parts of the

Queen's Indian Dominions, as well as those Princes, Chiefs and Nobles, in whose persons the antiquity of the past was associated with the prosperity of the present and who so worthily contributed to the splendour and stability of the Great Empire."

January, 1877. **A grand Darbar was held at Pudukkottai in honour of the assumption of the title of the Empress of India by Her Most Gracious Majesty Queen Victoria** and seven life-prisoners and twenty other prisoners were released.

The famine of 1876–8. The State suffered severely from the famine of 1876–8. His Excellency the Rájá showed himself quite alive to the emergency and at his suggestion conjee-houses for the relief of the destitute were opened and arrangements were made for starting relief works. The road to Madura was specially taken up as a relief work, and money was also allotted for improving the supplies of drinking water and for removing prickly pear. Rice was purchased wholesale in the Tanjore District and retailed here at cost price. The pay of men drawing less than Rs. 8 a month was increased by one Rupee *per mensem* from January, 1877, till the famine was over. At a meeting of the leading men of the place, a handsome amount was subscribed, including Rs. 5,000 from the Rájá. In the fifteen months from November, 1876, to February, 1878, 10,41,672 persons were relieved, and when the famine was over, cloths and small money presents were given to deserving poor people with the surplus of the sums subscribed by the people and sanctioned by the State.

Adoption by the Raja of Pudukkottai of his eldest daughter's third son as heir to the Raj. His Excellency the Rájá forwarded on the 2nd of March, 1877 letters to the Government of Madras and the Supreme Government of India with a covering letter to the Political Agent, communicating that the Rájá had adopted, in conformity with the tenor of the special Sunnud granted to him by His Excellency Lord Canning, Ry. Mártánda Bhairava Pallavaráyar, his eldest daughter's third son, owing to the Rájá's decaying state of health, and had thereby freed himself from all concerns of mind.

On the 15th January 1878 orders were received from the Viceroy and Governor-General of India "**recognising and confirming the adoption by the Rajah of Poodoocottah of his eldest**

daughter's third son as heir to the Raj in supersession of the claims of the son of his deceased brother". On the 23rd of January, the Madras Government communicated the order to the Political Agent, who forwarded it to the Rájá on the 3rd of February. The Rájá "could find no words to express his humble obligations and sincere gratitude for the unparalleled kindness and estimation........... and prayed to the God Almighty for the most prosperous, predominant and everlasting Rule of the British nation—a Sovereignty most impartial and Divine,"

10th February, 1878. *A Darbar was held in conneetion with the confirmation by the Viceroy and Governor-General of the adoption made by the Ràjá, and arrangements were made for releasing some prisoners.*

8th August, 1878. **A Sashia Sastriar became the Sirkil of the State.** "At the kind invitation of His Excellency the Rajah and under the encouraging auspices of Mr. Sewell, the Political Agent, and of the Members of the Government of Madras, who were all deeply interested in the well-being of the Pudukottai State", A Sashia Sastriar took charge of the administration of the State on the 8th of August, 1878. The selection was suggested by Sir Madhava Row, who had occasion at the time to pay a visit to Pudukkóttai. He saw that things had not been going on well in the State for some time and wrote a confidential note to the Chief Secretary to the Madras Government, from which the following is an extract.

"The present Rajah of Pudukota is one of those princes, who possess in a remarkable degree the power of producing the most favourable impression on visitors. He speaks many languages, English included. This last he speaks with fluency, correctness and elegance, which I have not seen surpassed in the whole range of my experience of native princes. He also possesses most agreeable manners. Yet in point of fact he has not been a successful and popular ruler. This is partly due to defective education and bad company in early years and partly to other causes.........

"A ministerial crisis appears to be impending at Pudukota. The choice of a suitable minister is obviously one of the most essential conditions on which the healthy development of the

State will depend........ Why not utilise the services of Sashiah Sastri (the Retired Dewan of Travancore) or of Sadasivam Pillay (Retired Chief Judge of the same State) in this direction?"

The place was offered to Sashia Sastriar, who was not very willing at first to accept the place, as he thought that it was almost beyond his power to bring the State to order.

Sir Madhava Row pressed Sashia Sastriar to "vouchsafe to Pudukota what it so much required—the services of a first rate man," observing

"Here is a suffering patient and here is a first rate Doctor—quite near him (Sashia Sastriar was then living at Trichinopoly). What can be more desirable than that they should be brought together?"

Sashia Sastriar reconsidered his decision and finally made up his mind to accept the place, When Sir Madhava Row heard of this, he was delighted and wrote to the Rájá

"I think this is the most fortunate thing that can occur in the interests of yourself and the State. I can assure Your Excellency that Sashiah Sastri is one of the most distinguished natives that India has produced and he is intrinsically a very good man. He is just the man that is capable of placing the State on a safe and durable footing and of promoting your own honour and dignity. In short much larger and more important States might envy Pudukota for having so easily secured the services of such a man."

The Governor of Madras, His Grace the Duke of Buckingham, expressed his gratification at the appointment and had no doubt that the arrangement would be attended with early benefit to the State; and later on the Secretary of State for India expressed his satisfaction that the Rájá should have availed himself of the services of so competent a minister.

Matters Judicial. The appellate power over all the Courts had been till 1878 vested exclusively in the Huzúr Appeal Court, consisting of His Excellency the Rájá as President, the Sirkíl or Minister as ex-officio Judge and an Appeal Judge. During 1879–80 the appellate jurisdiction over the Munsiffs' Courts and the Small Cause Court was transferred from the Rájá's Court of Appeal to the Civil Judge.

No fees had been levied till October, 1879, for the institution of suits in the Courts. A regulation was passed authorizing the levying of fees from the 1st of November, 1879, on the institution of all suits, appeals and proceedings in the Courts of Civil judicature.

The Munsiff's Court at Kulattúr was abolished and amalgamated with the Town Small Cause Court.

The abolition of the 'Amàni' or the sharing system. The Amáni system of settling the revenue from lands, under which the ryot was a mere tenant at will *was abolished*, so that the lands which were held on this tenure became the private property of those that held them, subject to the payment of a fixed assessment. The general result of the settlement after a few year's experience was one of satisfaction to the ryot, who felt the change as an emancipation from thraldom. (See Revenue History).

The reorganisation of the Dévastánam Department. "The Department of Devastanam Manager was found worse than useless and was abolished. The supervision of the pagodas and their establishments together with the accounts of receipts and expenditures connected therewith was transferred to the Tahsildars. Two travelling Superintendents were appointed, one for the pagodas in the British Territory, where special services are performed at the cost of the State and the other for those in the State. Much abuse having crept into the working of the department, the management was remodelled without additional cost to the State and placed under the Tahsildars and Deputy Tahsildars under the orders of the Karbar".

The resumption of the Western Palace Jágir. The Government ordered the resumption of the Western Palace Jágir on the 14th of May, 1881.

"The estate had almost entirely passed into the usufructuary possession of creditors. The Jaghirdar was in some straits and appeal to the Madras Government for relief. The matter was referred to Sashia Sastri, who went into the question of the tenure of the estate and found that the estate was inalienable by sale, gift or mortgage; and under the advice of the Madras Government, the Jaghir was absolutely resumed in 1881 and a money

pension amounting in round numbers to Rs. 15,000 a year was granted to the family upon such conditions as would ensure to every member of the family his share of the benefit of the arrangement. Liberal provision was also made to meet reasonable extraordinary charges".

The restoration of salute and the grant of the title of "His Highness". In consideration of the introduction of many important reforms and a general improvement in the character and tone of the administration after the appointment of A. Sashia Sastriar as the Sirkíl, the Madras Government forwarded in June 1882 to the Viceroy and Governor-General of India an appeal from the Sirkìl for the restoration of salute to His Excellency the Rájà.

The following extracts are from the Sirkíl's letter to the Political Agent.

"His Excellency the Raja would now assure Government that it will be his study for the future, as it has been during the recent past, to bring the administration of his State to the highest pitch of perfection which the resources of the State and the help of the wise ministers at his command would permit.........

"For my part, I hope and believe that the restoration of honours taken away and the grant of new ones will not make His Excellency the Rajah forget the past or neglect the future; for he now knows that "all honours" are based on and inseparable from, good administration".

The event of the year was the sanction on the 22nd April, 1884 by Her Most Gracious Majesty the Queen-Empress of India of a salute of 11 guns to the Raja and his successors as a hereditary distinction. "Simultaneously, the Government of Madras was pleased to order that the Raja of Pudukota would thenceforward be addressed as "His Highness".

A grand Darbar was held on the 19th of May, 1884 to celebrate the happy event. "The Political Agent, after repeating his assurances that the Tondiman of to-day would not be found less loyal than his ancestors, should occasion arise, handed over to the Rajah the communication of Government conveying the intelligence of the conferring of a hereditary salute of 11 guns and

the title of "His Highness". As an act of mercy, several convicts were pardoned and set free.

The lighting of the town was commenced with 100 street lamps.

The destruction of prickly pear, "the spread of which most pernicious plant had been rapid and was proceeding with accelerated velocity year after year, was taken on hand".

1883–4. The Pallavankulam was completely dried, and the old bathing ghats were removed. From other tanks also the slush and silt of years were removed with the result that guinea-worm that "seemed to be the everlasting curse of Pudukota" was stamped out, and "those who year after year bore the badge of the curse came to breathe free and think of the return of summer without a shudder".

"The work of removing the slush and silt of the Pallavan tank seemed at first sight an insuperable one, and the *modus operandi* by which it was accomplished was rather unique. All the available labourers of the three taluks had to be called out and mustered for the purpose. The *average* number at work *every day* for 10 days was 3,000, while the highest number in a day reached 5,000......... A free conjee and water pandal was maintained at the time on the spot, the season at the time being intolerably hot. The labourers were relieved every three days by fresh sets from their respective vattams. So the hardships of the compulsory labour were minimised as much as possible, for the very short time it lasted". The name of the tank was changed into Sivaganga, by which name it is now known (see p. 103, foot-note).

Abolition of certain petty cesses. "Certain petty cesses called *Mahimés* or presents collected from ryots in the days of the Amani system for the benefit of (1) Pagodas, (2) certain Pandarams or religious mendicant Sudras, (3) a certain Iyavaru or Vaishnava Astrologer and (4) lastly, a family of Mudaliyars who collected these cesses and conducted therewith certain services in the temples at Chillumbrum, Avadaiarcoil and Madyarjunam (or Tiruvidaimarudúr), were abolished. In all probability these were originally voluntary alms given by the ryots at the threshing floor for the various charities indicated. In most cases, the handfuls

were taken out before division into Mèlvaram and Kudivaram...... They had acquired the character of prescriptive right and continued to the time of the supersession of Amani system in 1879–80, when the grain doles were commuted into money cesses. These petty cesses after all amounted to no more than Rs. 915 altogether. The cesses were entirely abolished with effect from the 1st of July, 1884, thus ensuring to the ryots freedom for ever from the petty and vexatious demand. A sum of Rs. 1,000 per annum was sanctioned from the State Treasury to be paid as compensation to the pagodas and persons concerned".

Some minor reforms and other matters. The powers of registration were withdrawn from the Tahsildars and Deputy Tahsildars, and separate Sub-Registrars were appointed for the discharge of the duties (28th of October, 1878).

In 1878, the Administration Report of the State was for the first time printed and supplied to the important public officers of the State. Till 1878, the Administration Reports had been kept confidential and even high public officers including the Kárbár were not permitted to go through them.

Regulations were passed for the recovery of arrears of revenue and for the acquisition of lands for public purposes.

The printing press was considerably strengthened and a State Gazette was published for the first time.

A census of the State in connection with the Imperial Census of February, 1881, was undertaken and completed. It showed an increase of 8,560 in the number of inhabitants of the State according to the previous census.

The Government communicated (10th December, 1881) to the Political Agent that "the Rájá's prefixing to his name the initials 'S. B. D.'=*Sri Brihadambà Dàs* appeared unobjectionable on political grounds, with which alone the Government was concerned".

August, 1882, Certain differences having arisen in connection with the settlement of the boundary between this State and Ramnad Zemindári, the Political Agent at great personal trouble inspected the localities with Mr. Gompertz, the Government Arbitrator, and the Sarkíl, and settled the differences.

22nd August. A regulation was passed for the protection of the earth-salt revenue. The rules which had been in force from time to time for the control of the manufacture and sale of earth-salt had never assumed a legal shape. The regulation embodied them into a systematic enactment.

7th October, 1882. Regulation II of 1882 declared distinctly the Acts of the British Indian Legislature relating to Civil and Criminal matters which were to be followed in the Courts of the State.

1883, 13th June. A Town Sarkar Girls' School for imparting instruction to the girls of the town was opened.

The English school started in 1857 at the Capital was raised to the grade of a Second Grade College. It was ordered in 1883 that the supervision of the State schools by a British Inspector of Schools which had been going on from April, 1878 was unnecessary.

1884, 1st April. His Highness cheerfully consented to the establishment of a combined British Post and Telegraph office and the people were thus given the modern advantages of the Money Order System, Insurance of parcels, Value Payable System, Savings Bank, *etc.*, (see pp. 405–6).

April, 1884. The Friday Fair was removed to the spacious grove to the south of the Sandaippéttai suburb.

1884. To arrest the destruction of jungles and to create new sources of fuel supply, a beginning was made with a small casuarina plantation on the banks of the Vellar.

1885, April. For the encouragement of Primary Education, grant-in-aid rules were promulgated and came into force on the 1st of April, 1885.

24th May, 1885. Marriages of His Highness' Granddaughters by the Senior Princess.

"No former ruler of Pudukota lived long enough to witness the marriages of grand-children, and according to Hindu notions, it was a singular good fortune, which it was reserved to His Highness (Rájá Ramachandra Tondaimán Bahadúr) to attain".

The Treasury full. "For the first time in the history of Pudukota (in 1883) there was literally no room in the Treasury for the money that had accumulated in it, and it was thought

advisable, rather than so much money should be idle, to invest the surplus in Government securities, not only as a source of some profit but generally as an Insurance Fund against future years of adversity. There was no intention of hoarding, for expenditure on public works was allowed to the fullest amount that could have been carefully and economically spent".

His Highness the Ràjà's Tours. His Highness the Rájá started on the 30th May, 1884 on a tour to the Trichinopoly and Madura Districts. "After visiting the shrine at Nerúr in the Coimbatore District (see p. 179, foot-note) and the temple at Madura, the Rájá was on the 30th of July at Trichinopoly, waiting for Their Excellencies the Governor and the Commander-in-Chief, who were then about to pass through or visit that station".

16th July, 1884. His Highness the Rájá accompanied by the Political Agent had an interview with His Excellency the Governor in the Waiting Room of the Trichinopoly Railway Station.

27th July, 1884. His Highness the Rájá had an interview at Trichinopoly with the Commander-in-Chief, Sir Frederick Roberts. His Highness was received with military honours by His Excellency's Military Secretary at the carriage door and by His Excellency Sir Frederick Roberts at the entrance of the house and conducted to the drawing room where he had a very cordial interview. His Highness and His Excellency with the Political Agent then drove together in His Highness' carriage to the Race course.

On the following day, His Highness the Rájá accompanied His Excellency the Commander-in-Chief to witness a Review of the troops in the Parade Groond.

His Excellency the Commander-in Chief returned the visit of His Highness the Rájá on the morning of the 26th July at His Highness' Camp. After a tour which lasted 60 days, His Highness the Rájá returned to Pudukkóttai on the 30th July, 1884, and was received in a decorated Pandal, a little way outside the Town, and led into the Capital in procession amidst the rejoicings of His Highness' subjects.

His Highness made a second tour in November and December' 1885 to Trichinopoly and Madura, with the object chiefly of

fulfilling a vow, which he had taken on his previous visit, to light one hundred thousand lamps in the famous pagoda at Madura. His Highness left Pudukkóttai on the 9th of November, 1885, and after visiting the shrine at Nerúr, went to Madura where he fulfilled his vow. His Highness, after visiting the shrine of Kunasékharam in the Trichinopoly District, returned to Pudukkóttai on the 6th of December.

Changes of the designations of the Chief administrative officers. At the suggestion of His Highness the Rájá and at the recommendation of the Political Agent, the Governor-in-Council of Madras approved on the 29th May, 1885 of the designations Sirkíl, Kárbár, and Deputy Kárbár which were not known or properly recognised outside the limits of the State and were not familiar to the Foreign Office, that is, the Political Department of British India, being changed into those of 'Dewan',* 'Dewan Peishkar'† and 'Deputy Peishkar'. The change was adopted from the 1st of July, 1885.

The first gubernatorial visit to the Capital, 1886, 2nd—4th February. "His Excellency the Right Honorable Sir Mountstuart Elphinstone Grant Duff, G. C. I. E., Governor of Madras, was the first Governor to visit the Rájá in his capital. His Excellency arrived a little before the noon of Tuesday, the 2nd of February, 1886, and left on the afternoon of Thursday the 4th *idem.* A grand Darbar was held on the occasion. A levee was held, at which the Rájá presented all the members of his family, officers of the State, Sardars of the State, and other gentry of the Town. There was the usual display of fireworks, *etc.* His Excellency witnessed also the native game of வளையெறி or the throwing of the Boomerang" (see p. 242).

The following details are from Sir M. E. Grand Duff's *Notes of a Diary kept chiefly in Southern India in 1881–1886.* ‡

---

* *Diwàn,* (incorrectly Dewan) means "a minister or a chief officer of State. Under the Mohammadan Government, it was especially applied to the head financial minister. whether of a State or a province......"

† *Peshkar* (Hindustani) means "an agent, a deputy, a manager in general for a superior or proprietor, or one exercising in revenue and custom affairs a delegated authority". The word also means in Telugu and Canarese "a subordinate officer. who is employed to keep the accounts".

‡ See Vol. II, pp. 171—173.

"I went to Vellum near Tanjore, passed thence on the 2nd of February to Pudukota where I remained to the 4th.........Next came the rejoicing plains of the Tanjore delta and the populous villages on the road to Pudukota.

"No Governor had ever before visited the little State †, somewhat smaller than two Surreys, which owns the sway of the Tondiman, and I was naturally received with much *empressement*. At the fireworks on the night of the 3rd, there may have been well on to 30,000 men. Everywhere (throughout the tour) it rained wreaths and nautch girls".

The Governor officially noticed his visit to the State in his Review Minute of 1886.

"And I have been able to visit the Nizam, the Maharaja of Mysore, the late Maharaja of Travancore, the Raja of Cochin the Raja of Sandur, the late Raja of Pudukota, each in his own capital. No previous Governor had, I believe, ever entered the chief town of the interesting little State, which is ruled over by our old ally the Tondiman............

"The last Raja of Pudukota fell at one time under the displeasure of the Paramount Power; but I had the satisfaction long before his death of seeing the agreeable relations, which prevailed between this Government and his family, completely restored. Pudukota has advanced considerably in recent years under the care of the experienced and able minister whom we have now nominated Regent for the grandson of the late Raja, who is still a boy. I trust that he will grow up to be a credit to the Government, with which his ancestors were so long connected".

Death of Rájá Rámachandra Tondaimán on the 15th April, 1886. His Highness the Rájá Rámachandra Tondaimán Bahadúr died at the age of 57. All the public offices and institutions of the State were closed for sixteen days as a mark of respect to the memory of the deceased. He left an heir to the Ráj in the person of His Highness Martanda Bhairava Tondaimán Bahadúr. (See p. 434).

---

* See pp. 377-8 for an account of the visit of the State by Sir Thomas Munro. What is meant is the capital town of the State, containing the Palace of the Rájá.

Raja Martanda Bhairava Tondaiman Bahadur.

Education of His Highness the Raja.—On May 2, 1886 the religious installation of the young Ràjá—known as the *Pattâbhishekam*—took place, according to the custom of the family, in the State Pagoda at Tirugókarnam, a suburb of the capital town; and on 8th July the Rájá was formally installed by the Political Agent, who presented a *khillat* from the Government of Madras and a letter from the Governor, congratulating His Highness on his accession to the *musnad*. A Darbár was held on the occasion and the usual *nazars* were presented to the Political Agent. His Highness was then conducted in a procession through the four main streets round the Palace, during which the installation was proclaimed. Six convicts were set at liberty in honour of the occasion.

The Rájá was about eleven years of age at this time and had already made considerable progress in English, Tamil, Sanskrit and Drawing. As observed by (afterwards Sir) A. Sáshiah Sástri, the young Rájá was blessed with natural talents and a keen desire to learn. His disposition was frank and affectionate and he appeared to possess a natural repugnance to whatever was impure. He was diligent and industrious and had also taken kindly to manly sports and exercises. A guardian was appointed to look after him in the hours of study as well as of recreation, drives and riding exercises; and in the beginning of 1887, a graduate of the Cambridge University—Mr. F. F. Crossley—was appointed English tutor, with a staff of assistants to give instructions in the several branches of study.

The education of the Rájá, now inaugurated, was continued for eight years and comprised a course of studies and exercises, that was calculated to bring out and develop all that was best in him. As reported by his English tutor, year after year, His Highness' uniform good conduct and the zeal with which he entered into all he undertook made the task of training a very pleasant one. He showed a tenacity of purpose in what he believed to be right and an individuality which, it was expected, would be of great service to him in the future.

His tastes were catholic, if not exactly scholastic. He soon learnt to speak English 'absolutely without accent' as if it were his mother tongue. In Sanskrit he soon acquired proficiency enough to compose short verses himself. He then took a course of lessons in French under educated French gentlemen and, with his natural facility of accent, easily acquired a correct pronunciation. After a course in English literature, he turned his attention to administrative questions and with his English tutor went through a selected course of studies on Land tenures, Survey and Settlement, the British system of administration, Taxation, Agriculture and Criminal Law.

He had a very decided talent for drawing and painting. He possessed, in a marked degree, the knack of catching a likeness and had, besides, a correct eye for line. He had also the advantage of lessons from a master—Mons Van Strydonck—and was able to execute portraits from life and paintings from nature, which showed that he had talent of no mean order. He had also a good ear for music and learnt to read music fairly and play a large number of breakdowns, *etc.* At an earlier stage he had learnt photography and carpentry.

The young Rájâ early showed the will and ability to excel in manly pursuits. He learnt cricket, rowing, rackets and lawn tennis and became an expert in most of them. He also learnt to shoot and became a capital shot. His keenness and perseverance in pursuit of game were marked; and after a blank day his cheering, "At any rate we have had good exercise" spoke him a sportsman at heart, as did the fact that despite many temptations, and disappointments, stalking and driving, he never fired at a doe. In 1893, His Highness visited Travancore twice on elephant-shooting and shot two elephants—one with tusks 5 ft. 8 in. long, which weighed 78 lb. The coolness he displayed and his straight-shooting on these occasions were considered remarkable.

In December, 1886, Lord Dufferin the Viceroy toured in Southern India and during the tour visited Trichinopoly on 6th December. His Highness the Rájá went to Trichinopoly and had a cordial private interview with the Viceroy. His Excellency made many kind inquiries about His Highness' health and

progress in studies and treated His Highness with parental affection. This was a memorable event in the annals of Pudukkóttai, no previous Rájá having had an interview with a Viceroy or Governor-general.

In 1887, the Governor of Madras, Lord Connemara, visited Trichinopoly and on that occasion invited His Highness in person to pay a visit to Madras. It was also thought that it was time the Rájá travelled a little every year as part of his education. A trip to Madras was accordingly resolved upon and His Highness, accompanied by (Sir) Sáshiah Sástri, Dewan-Regent, and a retinue consisting of his personal staff and tutors and servants went to Madras in January, 1889, and made a stay of two months there. His Highness received the utmost consideration and experienced the kindest treatment at the hands of the Governor. While in Madras he visited the several institutions and places of interest, made the acquaintance of the then Maharájáh of Mysore who was also then staying at Madras, the Members of Government, the Chief Justice and other leading gentlemen and officers and attended a Convocation of the University of Madras. On his way back His Highness visited Pondichery and paid a visit to the Governor who returned His Highness' visit. He also attended a Ball given at the Government House in his honour. His Highness returned to his capital in March, vastly improved in his knowledge of the world and of men and manners.

His Highness had the honour of a private interview with His Royal Highness Prince Albert Victor during his tour in India in 1889.

In January, 1890, His Highness made a second trip to Madras, which lasted for a month and a half. While at Madras His Highness made the acquaintance of the Maharàjáh of Travancore, who was halting at Madras on his way to Calcutta. During the return journey His Highness visited Bangalore and Mysore. This visit was most interesting and instructive to His Highness. He was the guest of the Maharájáh of Mysore and it was felt that no words could adequately convey the kind personal attention and the brotherly affection shown by the Maharájáh and the brilliant reception and entertainment given to him both at Mysore

and Bangalore. The country, the people, the manners and customs—everything was new and what His Highness was able to observe of the home-life, manly sports and rational amusements of the Maharájáh and of the many educational institutions in that premier Hindu State left lasting and useful impressions on the young Rájá's mind.

Since the beginning of 1891, Trichinopoly had been virtually made the ordinary residence of the Rájá, as that station furnished facilities for games and field sports and for mixing with European society. To keep in touch with his subjects, His Highness drove into Pudukkóttai for all important feasts and festivals and religious ceremonies. In November, 1892, Lord Wenlock, Governor of Madras, paid a visit to Pudukkóttai and the Rájá proceeded to Madras immediately after and returned the visit of the Governor and there had the opportunity of an interview with the Viceroy, the Marquis of Lansdowne, who was then on a visit to Madras.

In December, 1893, when his educational course was drawing to a close, His Highness undertook and accomplished a tour through Upper India. He visited Bombay, Allahabad, Benares, Calcutta, Agra, Ahmedabad and Baroda. His Highness at his own request ravelled *incognito* most part of the tour, the public receptions being confined to Bombay and Calcutta, where he was received in Darbár by Their Excellencies Lord Harris and Lord Lansdowne.

Writing in December, 1889, to a friend in England–William Digby, C. I. E.,—Sáshiah Sástri had thus written of His Highness and his progress in studies.

"A week hence the young Rajah will be entering on his 15th year. His progress in his studies has been so far very remarkable. He rides and drives well. He is excellent at Tennis. He has taken very kindly to Drawing, Carpentry and Photography as his indoor recreations and has shown great taste and aptitude. He moves with dignity and is ever cool and collected. He is blessed with an engaging countenance and a kindly harmless disposition. If all goes well, there is every reason to hope that six years hence the Pudukota State will be able to congratulate

itself on the possession of a Ruler in no way inferior to the best of Native Rulers in India, in training, ability or character".

That this promise was fulfilled is seen from the concluding words of the last report on the education of His Highness by his tutor Mr. Crossley.

"I cannot refrain from expressing in this, I believe, my last report, the pleasure I have in being able to say honestly that I cannot in the past seven years recall to mind one single instance of deviation from the strict truth or misbehaviour of any description on the part of His Highness. It is a record to be proud of and, I trust also, of happy augury for an honourable and useful career".

Installation.—On the completion of his nineteenth year, His Highness the Rájá was installed by His Excellency the Governor of Madras, Lord Wenlock, and invested with the powers of administration at a grand Darbàr that was held for the purpose. His Excellency the Governor, who was received with the usual honours at the Darbár, delivered an address to the Rájá, from which we quote the following:—

"It is with great pleasure that I find myself here to-day with the object of personally giving effect to the decision of the Government of India that Your Highness should, on attaining your 19th year, be entrusted with the administration of the State of Pudukkottai .... The inheritance upon which you are this day entering was twenty years ago financially and in every other respect in a most dilapidated condition. The aspect of affairs is now very different; you will have made over to you a State not only unencumbered with debt, but possessing a balance of more than three lakhs, while there is every prospect of its yielding an increasing revenue if it is administered with due care. On every side material improvements are visible. Every branch of the administration has been more or less reformed, the revenue has improved, the roads are excellent, and the capital is adorned with modern public buildings. All these are due to the untiring energy and devotion to his duties of Dewan-Regent, Mr. Sashiah Sastri, one of that talented body, the proficients of the High School. Mr. Sashiah Sastri became Dewan in 1878 and after

serving your grandfather until his demise in 1886, has since then continued to work for the well-being of the State of Pudukkottai with great ability and remarkable fidelity and honesty of purpose. The result of his labours has been so successful that what was at the time of his accession to office almost a wreck is at the present moment a prosperous possession .. .. Your forefathers assisted in the laying of the foundation of the British Empire in India by supporting our arms in the struggle for supremacy with the French, a very important episode of which was the siege of Trichinopoly in 1752, next by aiding them in making head against the famous invader Hyder Ali Khan, and lastly, when alien enemies had ceased to oppose us, by affording, after the cession of the Carnatic, material help in suppressing the outbreaks of rebellious usurpers in what now forms the Madura District. Those days of warfare and bloodshed are now, as far as Southern India is concerned, happily at an end, with no prospect of return, but you can still follow in more peaceful paths the example of your ancestors of more than a century ago and support the British rule by a wise and just government of the State, to the administration of which you this day succeed..........".

The following extract from His Highness' reply is worthy of quotation. "Appreciating the value of the good advice Your Excellency has given me, I recognise the solemn nature of the trust now conferred on me; and relying on the help and advice of the Political Agent and my Dewan I shall use my whole endeavour in striving to assure to my people a just and progressive administration. Striving to rule without fear or favour I shall seek to be honourable and upright in all my actions, with the Almighty's help and guidance in making the destinies of my people happy and prosperous".

His Excellency the Governor then conducted His Highness to the *musnad* and declared His Highness invested with the powers of administration. A salute of eleven guns was fired and His Excellency the Governor then handed over to His Highness the State Sword.

The following was then read by the Dewan under a salute of eleven guns and a *feu de joie.*

Proclamation by His Highness Srí Brihadambà Dás Rájâ Martanda Bhairava Tondaimàn Bahadúr, Rájá of Pudukkóttai: "Be it known to all that, under the auspices of the Supreme Government, we have assumed direct charge of the State from this date on the completion of our nineteenth year of age".

His Excellency held a levee on the day, where His Highness the Rájá presented to His Excellency the members of his family, the Dewan, the principal officers of the State, the Sardars and others.

Regency.—During the minority of the Rájá, the State was administered by (afterwards Sir) A. Sáshiah Sástri. He was invested with the powers of a Regent and was styled Dewan-Regent. To relieve him of a great part of his routine and less responsible work, an assistant Dewan was appointed at the beginning of the Regency. This arrangement continued till His Highness came of age and assumed the reins of Government in November, 1894.

During the eight years preceeding the Regency, the foundations of good government had been well and deeply laid. The Land Revenue system had been remodelled; the *amáni* tenure, which was prejudicial alike to the State and the ryot, had been abolished. Most of the irrigation tanks had received the necessary, urgent repairs. The main trunk roads to Trichinopoly, Tanjore and Madura had been put in order. The service had been reformed and the tone of the service raised. Crimes had been put down. A second grade College had been raised and the ranks of office had come to be supplied with young men educated on modern lines. All this had necessitated a series of energetic measures and vigorous changes.

The eight years of the Regency mark a period of comparative rest and assimilation. The salient administrative features of this period are noticed below.

The Salt convention.—The first of these administrative measures was the suppression of the local earth-salt. The revenue from salt was, till 1887, a monopoly of the State. The State has no sea-board; but earth-salt was manufactured. It was gathered and stored in depôts and sold for the benefit of the

exchequer. Much abuse had crept into the department. In 1882, the management was remodelled and a regulation was passed for the protection of the salt-revenue and it provided also for penalties against the importation of the earth-salt into the British territory.

The British Government had been complaining from time to time (so early in fact as 1817) that the Pudukkóttai cheap earth-salt was being smuggled across the boundary. The question threatened to become a source of misunderstanding in 1881–2 between the State and the British Salt department. On a strong representation made by the State, the Madras Government agreed to let matters stand as they were. But a little while after, the question was opened again and Government insisted on the suppression of earth-salt in the State. The late Rájá, though at first unwilling, had ultimately agreed to the opening of negotiations in deference to the repeated wishes of the Madras Government. As a result of these negotiations it was agreed that the manufacture of earth-salt should be suppressed, the State receiving in compensation an annual payment of Rs. 38,000. The British authorities insisted at the outset that the head of the State preventive force should be an officer selected from the graded officers of the British Salt department. The Darbár protested against this on the ground that the late Râjá had consented to open negotiations only on the distinct understanding that the management of the preventive force should be entirely left to the Darbár. The British Government agreed to this after some correspondence.

The annual indemnity of Rs. 38,000 that was arranged to be given to the State was calculated thus : Rs. 15,000 for direct loss of salt-revenue, Rs. 13,000 for loss of revenue by the abolition of house-tax on the houses of the poorest classes, as a *solatium* for the enhanced salt-tax they would have to pay, and Rs. 10,000 for cost of the preventive force. To give effect to this Convention, " the Pudukkótai Earth-Salt Supression Regulation " was passed and came into force on January 1, 1888.

The Madras Government had at first suggested that the arrangements should be introduced tentatively for two years, as it was expected that at the end of that period a fair judgment could be formed

as to the adequacy of the preventive arrangements made by the State and the probability of the Madras Government securing a fair return for the large sum to be paid as compensation to the State. If found satisfactory in these respects the arrangements were to be made permanent: otherwise they were to be declared to be at an end and the *status quo ante* reverted to. A. Sáshiah Sástri represented that two years was too short a period for judging fairly of the working of the new regulation and its results, and five years would be the least time required if any reservation of time was at all necessary. There was no reason to think that the subsidy would not be a paying concern to the British Government. If however the Government should find it at any time to their interest to discontinue the indemnity and revert to the old state of things, the Convention might be cancelled, sufficient notice being given to the State and sufficient consideration being shown to such claims as might then arise and be brought forward by the State.

The Madras Government acquiesced in these proposals and decided (No. 671—Revenue dated July 12, 1887) that the arrangements would be cancelled at the option of Government after sufficient notice, if they found it to their interest to discontinue them and any claims for compensation to the State, arising from the resumption of earth-salt manufacture, shown to be justly due, would receive full consideration, though the decision as to the amount payable on this account must rest with Government.

A. Sáshiah Sástri evidently believed that he had made a good bargain for the State. The Madras Government were not quite sure that they would secure an adequate return for the indemnity they had to pay. The people of the State grumbled that they had to pay many times more than before for the salt they required and that the heavy price was out of all proportion to the better quality of the sea-salt. The salt duty in British India was raised about this time and this enhanced the unpopularity of the salt Convention.

For ten years the Convention worked more or less smoothly. In 1897, the Madras Government doubted whether the working of the preventive force in the State did not require closer

supervision. In 1900, the Darbár was informed that the Governor in Council would be obliged to take the terms of the Convention into reconsideration unless the statistics of the import of Madras Government salt into the State under any new system of record afforded satisfactory grounds for believing that the terms of the Convention were being faithfully carried out.

A reliable system of registration was organised for ascertaining the quantity of British salt annually imported into the State and it was shown that the Darbár was faithfully carrying out the terms of the Convention. But the Darbár had found that the quantity of British salt annually imported into and consumed by the State could not be less than one lakh of maunds. The British Government were actually getting a duty of two and a half lakhs of rupees on the sea-salt consumed in the State and their net gain was by no means less than two lakhs of rupees which would thus represent the annual drain on the resources of the State. The Darbar then asked for a revision of the convention contending that this revenue of two lakhs was in equity due to them but after some controversy their request was refused by the Government of British India. The subsequent reduction of the British salt duty has mitigated the drain on the State to some extent.

The Settlement of Inam.—A more successful measure was the enfranchisement of Inams. The total acreage under Inam (more than 3,00,000 acres) greatly exceeded the acreage paying revenue to the State. The greater part of the Inams was connected with the militia of the State. These Inams were originally granted to the men who were employed in fighting with the neighbouring Poligars or as contingents to the British troops at Trichinopoly in their marches to Srírangapatám and other places at the close of the eighteenth century and they were continued to their descendants, who were at a later time employed in guarding palaces, temples, cutcheris and forts and who were more recently employed as watchmen of the crops under the *amani* system. The unit of Inam was about three acres of wet land known as one Ál Jívitam (literally as much as is necessary to support one man or family). The ordinary militia men were granted one or more Ál Jívitams, according to the

service rendered by or required of them. The captains of the militia, known as Sérvaigárs, who had to supply a number of militia men for military service had been granted a considerable number of jívitams. These militia tenures—generally known as *amarams*—had long become out of date and the services connected with them had become more or less nominal. The tenures wpe-mostly rent-free and were theoretically liable to absolute resumption at any time at the pleasure of the ruler. They were inalienable and the holders had no property in them.

There were also Inams granted for the services connected with the State temples, of which there are several, for the support of minor temples scattered throughout the State, for the support of chattrams (feeding-houses), ooranies (drinking ponds) and other similar charitable and religious institutions. There were also Inams granted to Mirasdárs or village head-men, to carpenters, blacksmiths, barbers, washermen and other artisans for village service.

Following in the wake of the ancient Hindu sovereigns and actuated by a zeal for acquiring religious merit according to the accepted notions of the land, the rulers of the State had also, by gifts of lands and villages, induced a considerable number of Brahmin colonists on the bank of the Káveri, to come and settle in the State. These lands were known as Brahmádáyam, were held rent-free and exempt from restrictions as to inalienabilitey.

A very considerable proportion of lands in the State had in these ways come to belong to Inam tenure. The services connected with several Inams had become unnecessary; the purpose for which some Inams had been granted had come to be neglected and the services connected with them, though useful, had ceased to be rendered; other Inams had come to be fraudulently or irregularly inherited.

The Madras Government had noticed the large extent of lands under Inam tenure and had suggested the desirability of enfranchising the antiquated service tenements on suitable quit-rent and bringing the other Inams under some such settlement as was effected by the Madras Inam department. As a preliminary step a special agency was set on foot in 1887 to collect information from old records and classify the various Inam tenures from

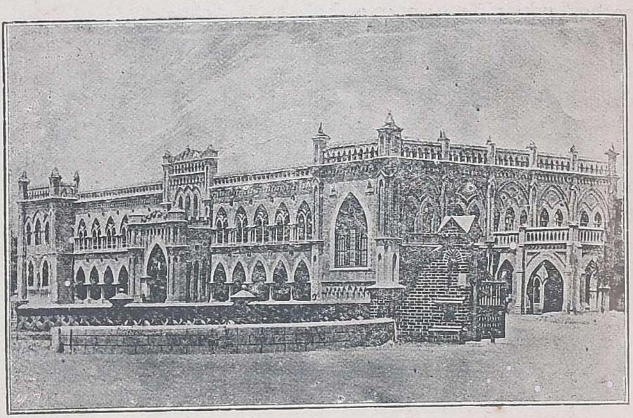
old returns. Special parties of paimashdárs (surveyors under the *kole* measurement system) were also detailed to the several taluks to conduct measurements. The preliminary operations occupied about two years. The rules, which were drafted much on the model of the Madras Inam department, came into force from September, 1888.

The Sardárs and Sérvaigárs, who held a considerable extent of lands under militia tenure, were at first inclined to oppose the enfranchisement, as the immediate result of the settlement was the imposition of a fractional rent where before there was little or no rent. They had great influence in the country and a considerable following. The question of Inam Settlement had therefore to be handled with tact and firmness. Fortunately the minister at this time had both tact and firmness in abundance and by 1894 about all the militia tenures were enfranchised, resulting in a total additional revenue of about a lakh of rupees. The effect of the settlement cannot be better described than in the words of the minister who carried it out.

"Their enfranchisement on the payment of a moderate quit-rent in commutation of service was a *magna charta*. Lands which were worth nothing came to be valued hundreds and thousands of Rupees. Several who were hopelessly involved in debt suddenly found themselves rich and solvent. Those who had opposed it at first found themselves mistaken and hailed the enfranchisement of the tenures as their deliverance".

The Inams granted for the upkeep of religious and charitable institutions or for the performance of village or temple services were registered on their existing tenures in cases where the performance of the service or the charities was considered satisfactory and necessary. In other cases the tenure was altered and the lands were brought under full assessment.

Town Improvement.—Another undertaking that was attended with brilliant success during this period was the improvement of the town. Though the town had been originally well laid out, the streets and lanes had been largely encroached upon and the side drains had almost become bogs. The weekly market was held along the public thoroughfare and obstructed all traffic. The



View of the College building.

View of the Hospital building.

Paracheri, with narrow lanes and the filthy habits of the Pariahs, then stood where now stands the Diamond Jubilee Arch and invited the cholera and the smallpox which often spread into the town and claimed their annual victims. The several offices of the capital were held in dingy corners or rented private houses. The College building was cramped for space with no grounds for recreation. The scanty dimensions of the Hospital building left little provision for in-patients, surgery or dissection. The jail was ill-housed and ill-suited for the purpose and was in the heart of the town.

The change that has come over the town would appear like the magic of a good fairy to one who might revisit it now for the first time after twenty-five years. Houses which obstructed the roads were removed; lanes were broadened; new roads were opened; new suburbs were formed; the market was removed to a spacious tope and became a great centre of trade. The Paracheri was laid out on spacious grounds in regular streets; towering edifices were constructed in airy situations for the use of the College, the Hospital and the Public offices and strike the visitor with wonder and admiration. A spacious tank in the town was improved and enlarged into a large reservoir capable of containing several years' supply of drinking water to the town and became a magnificent sheet of fresh wholesome water which is now supplied by pipes throughout the town.

Reorganisation of the Judicial Machinery.—In the early "eighties" there were a few Munsiff's courts, a Civil and Sessions court at the capital and an Appeal court. In the highest court of appeal the ruler himself sat *in propriâ personâ*, the Dewan was an ex-officio Judge and there was a judicial officer called the Appeal Judge. A court of judicature in which the ruler and the head of the executive were ex-officio judges and formed a standing majority against a single professional Judge was an anachronism, which demanded a reorganisation of the judicial machinery. A scheme was drawn up by the Civil Judge. Based on this and the constitution of analogous courts in other Native States, a Chief Court consisting of three judges and independent of the executive was brought into existence in January, 1887. After some experience it was found that the work turned out by the

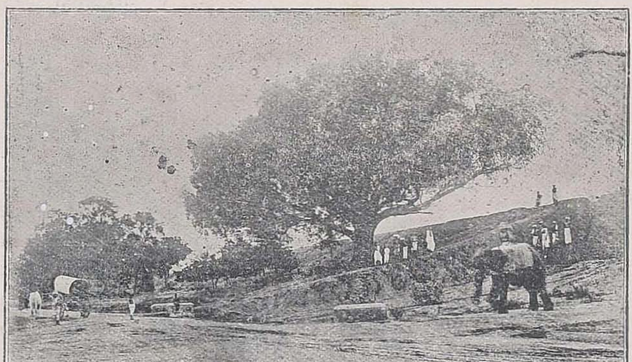
Court was much too little for its strength. To give sufficient work to the judges, the two existing Munsiff's Courts were abolished.

Survey and Settlement.—The change from the *amani* had been dictated by urgency and had admitted of no delay—such as a regular survey and settlement required. In view to correcting the inequalities found in the existing assessment, caused by the absence both of a correct measurement of area and a correct classification of soils, measures were set on foot in 1893 for a Revenue Survey and Settlement. Young men, some of whom were already in the service, were selected and sent out for being trained in the several processes of cadastral survey, which was being carried on in the neighbouring district of Trichinopoly and after their return from training actual field work was commenced and fair progress was made by end of June, 1894. A doubt, however, was thrown on the competency of the agency employed and the work was stopped for a time. In April, 1895, work was recommenced, under the superintendence of an officer of the Madras Survey.

Certain permanent remissions.—Since the change from *amani* and introduction of money assessment, complaints came to be made that the general incidence was heavy and the impression gained ground that measures of alleviation were necessary before the circumstances of the ryots could be materially bettered. The year 1892 was exceptionally disastrous and as it was preceded by two successive bad years the resources of the ryots were so crippled that they were ill-prepared to stand another and more crucial test. The character of the season offered a favourable opportunity for granting certain permanent reductions of the revenue demand. The special assessment on garden crops was abolished and replaced by the ordinary rates. All rates higher than Rs. 60 a *Veli* were reduced to this figure and proportionate reductions were made in lands assessed under Rs. 60 a *Veli*. The tax on trees standing on patta lands was also done away with. The total remission of revenue on these accounts amounted to over half a lakh of Rupees.

Among other measures may be mentioned the introduction of the excise system and the abolition of the State Postal Department.

View of the Public office building.



View of the Pudukkulam.

The excise system was introduced and a distillery was constructed at the capital town. In 1893, the tree tax system was introduced in its entirety. Negotiations were entered into with the Madras Government for the amalgamation of the State postal department with the British postal department. In 1894, a regulation was passed for the purpose and the State postal department was handed over to the Imperial post.

Change of Ministry.—A. Sáshiah Sástri retired on the termination of the Regency in November, 1894 and R. Védánthachárlu, Assistant Dewan, was appointed as Dewan. He continued in sole charge of the administration for about three years. During this period, rules for the grant of agricultural loans were passed; a Sanskrit School was opened at the capital; Stationary Magistrates were appointed to relieve the Tahsildars of their magisterial work; an agricultural farm, with a training class, a dairy farm and a technical school for giving instruction in carpentry, tailoring and painting were opened. But this administration was characterised by weakness and laxity of control over the finances and many of these useful institutions had to be closed after brief periods of usefulness.

Brahmadayam Inams were taken up for Settlement. The Brahmin Inamdars—the *mahajanams* as they are called—vehemently opposed the measure and appealed to His Highness the Rájá. The Rájá tactfully reconciled the *mahajanams* to the step and also granted them some substantial concessions. Inams that continued in the line of the original grantees were registered in *status quo*, those that had changed hands and excess over the original grants alone being brought under a slight quit-rent.

Another noteworthy measure, if of doubtful expediency, that was carried out by this Dewan was the abolition of the Dévastànam department as a separate branch of the Administration, in 1897. The lands attached to the important temples and chattrams of the State, (and they formed a considerable proportion) had been till now administered by a separate agency. The Dewan proposed to amalgamate these lands and villages with the *ain* lands of the State and make allotments out of the general receipts for the maintenance of the temples and the charities,

The Madras Government were at first disposed to consider that the amalgamation of Dévastánam and Charity lands would be unfair to the departments for which alone the lands concerned were held in trust and which therefore had a *prima facie* right to the enjoyment of their surplus revenues, and the tendency in an age of practical utility would be to undervalue the requirements of those departments which primarily appealed to sentiment. But they ultimately approved of the proposal. From this time, the revenue from these villages was included under the general Land Revenue and fixed money assignments were made out of the general revenues for the upkeep of the religious and charitable institutions.

Constitution of a State Council.—Early in 1898, His Highness the Rájá made arrangements for a visit to Europe and for the satisfactory conduct of the administration during his absence he formed a council of administration consisting of a Dewan and a Councillor. To the post of the Councillor, His Highness appointed his brother M. R. Ry. Vijaya Raghunátha Durai Rájáh Avl., B. A., (then a Deputy Collector in the British Service). The post of Councillor, tentatively created for a year, was made permanent after the period and the constitution of the Council remained unchanged for ten years.

Visit to Europe.—In April, 1898, His Highness left for Europe in the P. and O. Steamer *China* but was wrecked off Perim, near Aden and completed his voyage to Brindisi in the *Carthage*. He visited the principal towns of Italy and was vastly interested in the art treasures of Naples, Rome and Florence. On May 23, 1898, His Highness was received by the Prince of Wales (afterwards EDWARD VII) at Marlborough House and on 14th July had the great honour of being received by Her Majesty Queen Victoria at Windsor Castle. During his stay in England His Highness also attended a levee of the Queen at Buckingham Palace. His Highness returned to his capital in November, 1898 and was received by his people with all demonstrations of joy and loyalty; it was proposed in a meeting of the people assembled to erect a Town Hall in commemoration of the interview accorded to His Highness by Queen Victoria and the foundation stone of the building was laid by the Governor of Madras, Sir

A group photo taken on the occasion of the visit to Pudukkóttai by His Excellency Sir A. Havelock, Governor of Madras, in 1899.

Arthur Havelock, who visited Pudukkóttai in February, 1899. Since then His Highness has visited Europe several times, his health having failed owing to the contraction of a severe type of malaria caught during a shooting excursion to the Bengal jungles and necessitating residence in a more genial climate during the hot weather of India and a regulated course of cures in the watering-places of the Continent.

A change in the Council.—R. Védànthachárlu's connection with the State came to a close in January, 1899. A British Deputy Collector—the late Dewan Bahadur S. Venkataráṁadas Naidu Garu–was appointed Dewan, M. R. Ry. Vijaya Raghunátha Durai Rájáh Avl., continuing as Councillor. This arrangement continued almost uninterrupted till the beginning of 1909.

Finance.—The first problem that the new Council had to face was the restoration of the finance to a sound basis. A fund--known as the *amanut*—had, till now, enabled the minister to incur expenditure, untrammelled by the Budget figures. This fund included all sorts of miscellaneous receipts, which were not brought within the general accounts of the State; nor was it included or shown in the yearly balance of the State. This fund was closed. The Treasury department was reorganised and the accounts were brought to order and a special Treasury Officer was appointed a little later; and a policy of retrenchment was followed for a time. The Agricultural and the Dairy Forms which had been working at a loss were abolished; as also the three Deputy Tahsils at the Firka stations. Revenue Survey and Inam Settlement were nearing completion and the establishment in these departments was curtailed and the expenditure minimised, A few additional sources of revenue were created. In 1900. toll-gates were established near the frontiers of the State. Stamped papers and labels—judicial and non-judicial—were introduced in 1905. In these and other ways the finances of the State were brought to a satisfactory footing.

In other respects also the administration of the State by the new Council, during the decade 1899 to 1909, was marked by substantial progress in the several departments of the State. The salient features of the administration are noticed below.

Representative Assembly.—One of the earliest and most noteworthy measures was the attempt to associate the people with the administration of the State. In 1902, a Representative Assembly consisting of thirty members was called into being. The members were representative of the various classes of His Highness' subjects and were at first selected by the Council out of those nominated by the Heads of Departments and by the existing public associations in the State.

It meets once a year when the Darbár gives it an account of the progress made in the several departments of the State, and replies are given to the interpellations by the members and a discussion is held on the requests and suggestions made by the several members. Apart from the annual meeting, the Darbár consult the members occasionally on questions about which they wish to elicit an expression of public opinion. Addressing the members in 1902, the Dewan thus spoke of the views and motives of His Highness the Rájá which led to the formation of the Assembly. "His Highness felt that, to govern the country well, the needs of the people must be learnt not only from persons charged with the administration of the State but also from persons like you who have better opportunities of mixing with the people and understanding and voicing their grievances. It was further thought necessary that the public should have accurate information regarding the action of Government in every branch of administration so that there might be no misconception abroad regarding the motives of Government, which, I need hardly assure you, is ever anxious to do everything calculated to further the interests of His Highness' subjects. It is not unlikely that, in the absence of information regarding the views of the public in respect of any matter, the Government may unwittingly introduce a measure counter to the wishes and the interests of the public and it is hoped by the formation of this Assembly to avoid such mistakes and, to this end, the Government welcomes from you all suggestions which you may wish to make in the interests of the public".

This institution has been in existence for about twelve years. At the outset, all the members were nominated by the Darbár but from 1907 the majority—three-fifths—came to hold elective

seats. The usefulness of the institution as a means of communication between His Highness' Government and the public has been repeatedly acknowledged by the Darbár. The service rendered by this Assembly cannot be better expressed than in the words of the Dewan who said in his address to the members in 1906 "......It has a fair record to show for itself and is developing a capacity for further substantial work. It has helped the Darbar with wise counsels; by judicious interpellations and practical suggestions it has drawn the attention of the Darbar to remediable evils and shown the way for their rectification; it has exerted a wholesome influence on all the Departments of the State by strengthening their sense of responsibility in that once a year at least they must show before a public assemblage a fair correspondence between their promises and their performances".

Irrigation Improvements.—Considerable attention was paid during this period to the improvement and expansion of irrigation works in the State. About 1899, the Council took up the question of increasing the irrigational facilities of the State and an experienced Engineer was specially appointed for suggesting projects which might improve irrigation. The Engineer reported that there was little or no scope for really fresh irrigation projects; he was however of opinion that there was much to be done for the improvement of the irrigation of the country. The ancestors of the place seemed to have done their best for the irrigation works of the State and studded the country with a system of irrigation tanks, connected like the links of a chain, the surplus of one filling the one next below, so that not a particle of water that heaven might send could escape unutilised. The works were however in a neglected condition and continued and devoted attention had to be paid to their restoration, improvement and enlargement. In 1903, a special party was entertained for the restoration of tanks and investigation of new schemes. A special staff was also appointed for strengthening the Railway affecting tanks in the State and about five lakhs of rupees were spent in this decade on the repairs to the irrigation sources of the country.

Agriculture also received considerable attention. In 1906, an Agricultural Association was started under the liberal support o.

the Darbár and it has been working to place up-to-date methods and appliances of agriculture within easy reach of the ryots. A Meteorological observatory was opened in 1905. In 1907, a Veterinary Hospital was brought into existence and has been doing useful work. Arrangements were made to grant loans for seeds and other agricultural purposes and for sinking irrigation wells. New varieties of seeds suited to the conditions of the State, sets of well-boring instruments, the services of men trained in well-boring were made easily accessible to the people. In 1904 and for some years after, cattle shows were held in the Taluk stations, for improving the breed of cattle and in 1908 a big cattle show and an agricultural exhibition were held in the capital. A Co-operative Credit Society Regulation was passed and came into force in 1908.

Revenue Settlement.—The lands that were held under a fixed money assessment before the *amani* settlement were all under low rates ranging from Rs. 18 a Veli wet to Rs. 25. The rates determined on a five years' average during *amani* settlement ranged from Rs. 30 to Rs. 60 in general. The older rates were not revised with reference to the rates of the *amani* settlement. These inequalities were obvious and gave rise to complaints for redress. A regular survey and scientific settlement had been decided upon for removing these inequalities and bringing the land revenue administration into line with the system obtaining in the adjoining British districts. The survey which was started in 1894 was completed in 1903.

It was not found feasible to introduce revenue settlement immediately after the completion of survey. The first thing that had to be done before commencing revenue settlement was to overhaul the revenue accounts of the State and correct the inaccuracies in the accounts and bring up the registry of holdings. This preliminary work, which involved sub-division on a large scale, was commenced in 1907 and actual settlement was started in 1908. The new settlement was conducted on the lines of recent settlements in the British districts. But in two respects the peculiarities of the old system were retained—no seasonal remissions were to be granted for failure of crops and there was to be no double crop assessment. Under the *amani* settlement

the ryots were not allowed to relinquish the lands for which they had once accepted a cowle. This was perhaps a necessary step at the time, as the newly created proprietory interest of the ryot was likely to take some years to fructify and give sufficient money value to the land and as, till then, the ryot might be tempted to throw up his land, if allowed, at the earliest sign of unfavourable seasons. The new settlement allowed relinquishment.

Legislation, etc.—The attention of the Darbár had been drawn in 1882 to the desirability of defining the Pudukkóttai code of laws distinctly and consolidating the laws to be followed in the State. For a long time however after this, mere notifications were published in the State Gazette, as circumstances required, to give validity to any departure from the practice in the British territories or to any procedure or policy the adoption of which was considered desirable or necessary for the State. It was brought to the notice of the Darbár that such notifications could not have the force of law; and at the suggestion of the Representative Assembly a legislative committee was formed in 1904 to advice the Council in drafting regulations and for reporting on the legislative needs of the State and a Law Reporter was also appointed to compile for easy reference law reports of the important judgments of the Chief Court. In 1904 was introduced the system of trying sessions cases with the aid of assessors. In capital offences the extreme penalty was imprisonment for life and not "hanging"—as the traditions of the State are against the taking of life. From 1908 life convicts are transported to the Andamans in accordance with a regulation passed for the purpose in that year.

Elementary Education.—Perhaps the most note-worthy feature of this administration was the carefully planned efforts to introduce and extend primary education on modern lines. In 1907 opinions were invited from educational experts in the Madras Presidency and a conference was held to discuss and recommend the measures to be adopted for the improvement and expansion of primary education. A great many primary schools were opened and the pay and the allowances of the teachers were raised so as to secure a better class of teachers.

A training school was opened for training the village teachers in the improved and up-to-date methods of teaching. New educational rules were framed; revised inspection and grant-in-aid codes were drawn up and brought into force and many important changes were introduced in the elementary course of studies, so as to harmonise it with the requirements of the ryots' children. In 1907 was held the first exhibition of the works of school children and teachers. It was first called the Sarasvathi Exhibition, and it has since expanded into the annual general exhibition.

Among other important measures may be also mentioned the opening of a Women and Children's dispensary in 1902 and the constitution of a Board in 1903—called the Sanitary Board—consisting of a few official members to attend to the sanitary needs of the capital and to get all executive work done by a full time officer called "the Secretary to the Sanitary Board".

Political.—A few events of political importance that occurred during the period are worthy of note.

In honour of the coronation of KING EDWARD VII, EMPEROR OF INDIA, a Darbár was held at the capital by His Highness the Rájá on November 27, 1902 and there were general rejoicings in the town for three days. In January, 1903 His Highness attended the memorable Coronation Darbár held at Delhi on the 1st of January, 1903. A Darbár was also held at Pudukkóttai on the same date when the Proclamation was read. Arrears of revenue amounting to about Rs. 34,000 were written off in honour of the Coronation and special facilities were granted for the formation of new topes in the State, to be styled 'coronation topes' and rules were framed for the purpose and published in 1903.

Rájasrí Brihidambál Rájámani Sáhib Avl., senior daughter of His Highness the late Rájá died on December 4, 1903, leaving behind her five sons and two daughters (in addition to His Highness the present Rájá adopted by the late Rájá). She was the last representative of the last generation of the ruling family.

The Chinnaranmanai Jágírdár, cousin of His Highness the Rájá, died in May, 1903 and after his death the Jágír was resumed by the State, allowances being settled on his sons, wives

and daughter. The villages belonging to the Jágír were surveyed and the settlement of the Inams under the Jágír was started in 1908 after the close of the survey.

In January, 1906 the present Emperor (then Prince of Wales) paid a visit to Madras in the course of a royal tour in India and His Highness the Rájá paid an official visit to His Royal Highness at Madras on the 25th of January.

Modification of the administrative Council.—In March, 1909 Dewan Bahadúr S. Venkatarámadás Naidu Garu was granted three months' privilege leave, preparatory to his reversion to British service and His Highness modified the constitution of the State Council a little. The Council was henceforward to consist of three members—a member of the Indian Civil Service as Superintendent of the State, a Dewan and the Chief Judge as ex-officio Councillor. Mr. G. T. H. Bracken, I. C. S., was appointed Superintendent of the State and M. R. Ry. Vijaya Raghunátha Durai Rájáh Avl., B. A. was appointed as Dewan and the new Council was installed on the 15th March. Mr. G. T. H. Bracken went home on furlough in February, 1913 and has been succeeded by Mr. J. T. Gwynn, I. C. S.

Revenue Settlement.—The Revenue Settlement, begun in 1908, was completed by the end of 1912. Having regard to the marked rise in prices during the last fifteen years the increase of revenue by settlement (about 3½ *per cent.*, in the whole State) must indeed be considered very moderate, the practical effect of the settlement having been merely to readjust the inequalities of assessment under the old system and apportion the land tax more equitably according to the fertility and irrigational facilities of the soil. No small measure of the success was due to the personal interest taken by the responsible head of the administration, who, during the four years of settlement work, inspected almost every *ayacut* in the State and its irrigation facilities and corrected and modified the settlement pass abstracts as circumstances required. After the resumption of the Chinnaranmanai Jágír in 1903, the only Jágír that remained as a separate estate, managed by a special agency, was the Manovirti Jágír intended for the maintenance of the Ranis of the Ruling Chief. In 1911, this was also amalgamated for administrative purposes

with the *ain* villages of the State and a fixed sum of Rs. 18,000 a year was to be paid annually for the maintenance of the Rani or Ranis of the Ruler in lieu of the varying net surplus contributed by the Jágír. These villages also were brought under the operations of the revenue settlement. Since then, all the lands in the State have been brought under one uniform treatment, sharing equally the benefits of the several reforms and improvements in the land revenue administration of the State.

Special Jamabandi.—Another important measure was the holding of a special jamabandi throughout the State for the collection of old arrears. Owing to the suspension of collection in Faslis 1314 and 1315 and other causes, there remained about five and a half lakhs as arrears uncollected. The accumulation of arrears of assessment on land impeded transfers and mortgages, injured credit, interfered with the making of improvements, discouraged the ryot and placed him at the mercy of subordinate revenue officials. It was desirable to clear off these arrears before the introduction of settlement and enable the pattadars to enter on the new settlement freed from the encumbrance which was weighing on them. A special jamabandi for this purpose was commenced in September, 1909 and completed by the beginning of 1912. The Superintendent of the State camped for a few days, in convenient centres for every four or five vattams or groups of villages, and came face to face with 75 to 90 *per cent.*, of the pattadars, granted remissions according to the means and circumstances of individual pattadars, inspected all important tanks and *àyacuts*, heard complaints and *takaràrs* and decided them immediately after personally inspecting the scenes of dispute.

It was not simply a clearing of the arrears of revenue. It was a clearing of the arrears of general administrative work. The capacity and integrity of the revenue and other officers were personally noted and necessary action was promptly taken; questions left pending for a long time were decided on personal inspection; the habits of the people, the economic condition of the several villages and the scope for their improvement were shrewdly observed and noted for immediate action or future guidance.

One feature of village administration, which is perhaps peculiar to the State, may be mentioned here. It is the institution of "Village mirasdars". In matters of village administration, the mirasdar stands midway between the rulers and the ruled and interprets each to the other. He is not paid for his work and would, in some cases, consider it undignified to be paid. But he is generally in enjoyment of a certain extent of Inam lands (known as miras *oombalam*, one acre wet or three acres dry), which he values not for its money value but as a mark of recognition by Sarkar. Each village has one or more of these mirasdars. The mirasdar is often the wealthiest man in the village and his influence in the village, hereditary and acquired, is always very considerable. The kisi collections by the village officers are left with him for safe custody. He settles disputes, heals factions and helps collection. The obstinate tax-payer sooner obeys him than he does the official tax-gatherer. The habitual burglar or vagrant is more afraid of him than of the police. The mirasdar is, in most cases, ready to make his position and influence available for the general well-being of the village and the Darbár have, of late, utilised this source for increasing the efficiency of village administration.

Irrigation and other improvements.— Special attention was devoted to the improvement of the irrigation works of the State and many of the more important reservoirs were repaired and brought to an efficient condition. A minor irrigation system was introduced in 1909, whereby the smaller irrigating tanks and *yendals* were transferred to the Revenue department for the execution of repairs and a great many of these have since been satisfactorily repaired and improved.

A Museum was formed in 1909 and a model agricultural farm was opened at the capital in 1911 and is maintained under the supervision of agricultural experts. The Sarasvathi exhibition was developed into a general exhibition in 1911. This exhibition embraces several sections–Agricultural, Industrial, Educational, and Fine Arts. In addition to the highly finished exhibits that are invited and received from several Native States and other parts of India, experts are also invited from outside to give

lectures on subjects connected with agriculture, industries and primary education and practical demonstrations are held for nearly a month in the year and arrangements are made to gather together in the exhibition premises a large number of elementary school teachers from all parts of the State, for demonstrating to them the latest and improved methods of teaching and a considerable number of ryots, weavers and other artisans for showing to them practically the methods and benefits of improved working.

In 1909, a Village Conservancy Regulation was passed, providing for the appointment of village panchayats for the management of local affairs in unions or groups of villages outside the limits of the capital and a few large and important villages were constituted as 'unions' under the regulation in 1912. In the same year, another regulation was passed for the conservancy of the town of Pudukkóttai and under the terms of this regulation the Sanitary Board was replaced by a Municipal Council, consisting of a few official and some non-official members.

In 1910, the Chief Court and Second Appeals Regulation was passed, consolidating the provisions of law relating to the Chief Court and providing for the appointment of two appellate judges to hear appeals from the Chief Court on points of law in civil cases and to advise His Highness the Rájá in the decision of second appeals and the Second Appeal Court sat for the first time in May, 1911.

In March, 1911, a census of the State was conducted in connection with the Imperial Indian Census of 1911. The population of the State was found to have risen to 4,11,878 from 3,80,440 in 1901, in spite of the fact that in seven years of the decade from 1901 to 1911 the agricultural seasons were more or less unfavourable.

Political.—His Highness the Rájá was invited for and attended the coronation of Their Majesties King George V and Queen Mary at the Abbey church of Westminister on June 22, 1911. The Rájá returned to India in November, 1911, and attended the Imperial Darbár at Delhi on the December 12, 1911, and paid the homage due to the King-Emperor. The visit of Their Imperial Majesties to the Indian Empire was celebrated at

Pudukkóttai with the widest expressions of loyalty and enthusiasm. In honour of this glorious event, His Highness the Rájá on his return from Delhi remitted for one year the village service cess, amounting to Rs. 20,000 and permanently abolished the tax on weavers' looms. He also extended the boon of free elementary education to all parts of the State outside the capital and granted certain special allowances to the lower ranks of State servants and pensioners.

On January 1, 1913, the title of Grand Commander of the Indian Empire was conferred on His Highness the Râjâ by His Imperial Majesty the King-Emperor and the bestowal of the honour was a source of great joy to His Highness' subjects.

In January and February, 1913, His Highness the Ràjá paid an official visit to the Benares State and another to Bikánir to attend an entertainment given by the Maharájáh of Bikánir to Native Chiefs in honour of the Silver Jubilee of his reign.

The Silver Jubilee.—In February, 1913, the Silver Jubilee of His Highness the Ràjâ's reign was celebrated by the people at the capital in a manner befitting the occasion. The celebrations were held for three days—22nd, 23rd and 24th February. A considerable number of European ladies and gentlemen, including the Political Agent, and some Indian gentlemen of wealth and position from outside the State attended the celebrations at the invitation of His Highness.

A large and beautifully decorated Darbár Pandal, capable of accommodating more than a thousand persons, was erected in the Palace square and extensive enclosures were provided for the public on the sides of the pavilion. Welcome arches were put up on the main streets and the town with its decorations presented a most beautiful appearance. People from all parts of the State flocked to the capital and everywhere one saw multitudes of happy faces eager to offer their greetings to the Rájá on the auspicious occasion. A grand Darbár was held on the morning of the 22nd February in the pavilion in the Palace square. The President of the Celebration Committee read an address to His Highness on behalf of the people. The address was then presented to His Highness enclosed in a beautiful casket. The following extracts from the address and His Highness' reply are worthy of quotation.

"It is now a little more than twenty-five years since YOUR HIGHNESS ascended the *musnad* of YOUR HIGHNESS' illustrious ancestors, which, though a period short in the life-time of a nation, has been so full of many-sided activities and healthy reforms introduced under YOUR HIGHNESS' benign auspices that we cannot but look upon these eventful years with feelings of pride, joy and gratitude. We may be pardoned if, on an important and festive occasion like this, we afford ourselves the legitimate pleasure of mentioning, though briefly, the different factors that have materially contributed to our undoubted prosperity, and of showing, in our own humble way, our very keen appreciation of YOUR HIGHNESS' generous and anxious solicitude for our progress, political and social, mental and moral, which, more than anything else, has contributed to make the State what it is now, one of the most enlightened of the Native States in India.

"The net-work of fine roads which has secured freer and more rapid communication between the capital and the interior, and free and easy access to the outlying British parts, and has given an impetus and a buoyancy to the ever-increasing trade in the State; the excellent edifices well furnished and accommodating every department of the State according to modern requirements; the introduction of necessary reforms in all departments to cope with the increasing work and responsibility; the supply of free and wholesome drinking-water through pipes in the town; the beautiful Hospital with its branches all over the State in every taluk and firka equipped with modern scientific appliances and manned by a capable body of men to combat the ills flesh is heir to; the sanitary reforms introduced throughout the State and the constant attention paid to them; the maintenance in good repair of most of the irrigation tanks, the importance of which cannot be too highly appreciated, considering the purely rainfed nature of the country; the institution of Union and Co-operative banks to help the poor ryots in times of trouble and prevent them from falling into the clutches of the rapacious money-lender; the noble efforts that are being made by the establishment of State Farms and the fostering of an Agricultural Association to educate the ryots in scientific methods of cultivation so as to get from mother earth the maximum of yield with the minimum of labour; the Revenue Settlement favourable to the ryots; the holding of the

annual Educational, Industrial and Agricultural Exhibition, serving as a powerful incentive to local enterprise and kindling a spirit of healthy emulation; the satisfactory administration of justice and the establishment of a Second Appellate Court; the Second Grade College with its brilliant career and noble traditions, its alumni occupying positions of trust and responsibility here and elsewhere, the most notable among them being our present Dewan (cheers); the facilities afforded and the handsome encouragement given to the education of girls;—these are some of the many reforms and great benefits conferred upon us by YOUR HIGHNESS to advance our progress and prosperity.

"The boon of Free Primary Education, the inauguration of the Representative Assembly and the constitution of the Town into a Municipality, are all reforms so generously conceived and so nobly carried into effect that, containing, as they do, enormous and infinite possibilities for our political advancement, they require special mention.........".

His Highness, rising amidst deafening cheers, replied as follows:—

"MY SUBJECTS,

I am deeply touched by your expressions of loyalty and attachment to me. I am not as a rule in favour of any public demonstrations, as they necessarily involve a great deal of show and pomp. Still I readily fell in with your wishes when I learnt and felt how sincerely anxious you were to celebrate the Silver Jubilee of my reign in a fitting manner; and when I see everywhere around me to-day such heartfelt rejoicings and such genuine manifestations of joy I feel that it is something more and deeper than the traditional loyalty of the Indian people to their Sovereigns, that has prompted these festivities.

"Gentlemen, you have referred in graceful and grateful terms to the benefits you have received during my reign of over 25 years. During the first eight years of this period which formed my minority Sir A. Sashiah Sastri was in charge of the State and laid the foundations of good government and made it possible for the State to achieve all the progress that it has made to-day. I need not say more about his good work as I am sure you well remember

it. In November 1894, I assumed the reins of government and during all these 18 years I have always felt and acted as if the responsibility for the good government of my country and the well-being of my subjects rested primarily on myself. The several measures of reform and improvement mentioned in your address were only brought about after careful and deep thought and had to be gradually introduced as time became ripe for them. Nothing has been done without forethought or taking into account its immediate or future results; and if the aim or the scope of any measure was not correctly understood by the people at the initial stage, I quietly went on hoping that time wood justify its existence. Gentlemen, I am most thankful to find now that all I have done has proved acceptable to you and conducive to your prosperity. I am aware that a great deal more remains to be done. There is no such thing as coming to an end, in this world. and so we must progress or cease to exist. Above all without the blessings of the Higher Powers, no human work can prosper and I feel devoutly thankful that God has blessed the work for my people.

"It is most kind of you to have given me all this credit. But I, honestly, do not feel justified in taking it all to myself. As you know, a great measure of the credit is due to my ministers and advisers, who have always unstintedly helped and co-operated with me. Among these, it would be unjust not to mention my present Dewan, M.R. Ry. Vijaya Raghunatha Durai Rajah Avergal, who has served me and the State for more than 14 years. His vast experience of State affairs, his high sense of duty and his readiness to place all he knows at my disposal, I have found to be of invaluable service. In this connection, I am sorry that Mr. Bracken, my Superintendent, who has been working so admirably for the last four years is leaving us shortly and the best thing we can wish for the State is that his successor, Mr. Gwynn, may prove as successful. From what I know of Mr. Gwynn, I have no doubt, this wish will be realised.

"Gentlemen, you have referred to the expression of my regret on a former occasion, at my having had to be away from you for a time on account of my illness. I may tell you once more that, whether in your midst or abroad, your interests have always been

the first with me and that whenever health permitted I devoted myself to the work of the State, and no important measure went without my giving it the careful deliberation it deserved. I may add that, during my absence abroad, I have been fortunate in making friendship with great and important men, who represent much of what is best in modern western life, and I hope that the larger and wider out-look that my travels have given me may be of some service to my country.

"The institution of the Representative Assembly, to which you have referred in your address, was due to my desire that it should act as the interpreter between my government and my people. It has now been in existence for 11 years and I am glad to learn from your address that you have begun to appreciate its usefulness. It is in my contemplation to give you a voice in the legislation of the State, the details of which will be announced later.

"Now coming to the subject of education I am strongly of opinion that higher education has been overdone and that the time has come for us to encourage agricultural and technical education. In this connection I may tell you that an Agricultural School will soon be started at the capital, where instruction will be given by experts, in up-to-date agricultural methods and the use of scientific appliances. We shall also grant two scholarships, to commence with, to deserving students of the State to enable them to undergo a higher course of training in the Agricultural College at Coimbatore.

"As you are aware, I am greatly for the spread of Primary education and it gives me great pleasure to find that my grant of free Primary education has evoked your sympathy and co-operation and that already great grogress has been made in this direction. I am making a special grant of Rs. 5,000 *per annum* for the next three years for the construction of School-buildings in the rural parts.

"The industrial development of the country has, also, not escaped my attention. It is needless to refer to all that has been done. I may, however, mention here that the total mileage of roads, which was 92 in 1886, is at present 307. I have gone over most of these roads at different times and I can say they are all

well kept up. We are so well off in the matter of roads now that they are very few villages in the State that we cannot get at with comfort. This, of course, must mean a greater development of internal traffic. I have recently sanctioned the construction of bridges over the two rivers on the Karambakkudi road and also the construction of a new road from Pilivalam through Viracchilai to Konnaiyur which will open out a new tract of country.

"But what is further needed is the introduction of the Railway into the State. I have been taking some active interest in this question and I may here tell you that we may hope to have a line through the State before long. Meanwhile, as you know, a new motor service has been started since the 1st January and though we cannot talk of long experience, the service has been working excellently.

"I am glad to find that the citizens of the capital are beginning to think well of the Municipality. I know some of you were inclined to look askance at the municipal taxes; but it appeared to me unfair that men in the town should enjoy the comforts of a city-life and the poor toiling ryot in the far-off villages should pay. It was also my wish that as the people prove themselves fit they should have a progressive voice in the Government. I am now giving the Citizens of Pudukkottai Town, the privilege of electing two members to the Municipal Council as vacancies occur.

"In regard to our finances, it was far from my idea to burden the people with fresh taxes. On the other hand I have always felt that it will be prejudicial, alike to the interests of the rulers and the ruled, to collect from the people more than is necessary to meet the charges of government and the not infrequent contingencies of drought or famine, as a safeguard against which the major portion of the present surplus should be kept untouched as reserve fund. Then alone need we have no fear on that account.

"In token of the Silver Jubilee, I have remitted the house-tax, known here as *Mohturpha* and the karnams' cess throughout the State for three years and if our finances continue to be as satisfactory I hope to be able to remit the cesses permanently. The effect of this remission would be that the ryot will be actually paying less land tax *per* acre than he was paying 25 years ago

when I succeeded to the *Guddee*. I may assure you that not a pie will be raised that is not necessary for good government or for the interests of the people. But if ever the time should come—which God forbid—when it should be found necessary to make a call on you for an increment of revenue I hope you will willingly come forward and help.

"It is indeed a happy coincidence that the bestowal of the distinction of G. C. I. E., should synchronise with the celebration of the Silver Jubilee. I am most happy for two reasons:—*First*, that HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE KING-EMPEROR should have thought fit to recognise my humble work; and *Second*, that it has gladdened the hearts of my people so much.

"Gentlemen, you have spoken of the loyalty of the Tondimans to the British Throne. That loyalty has been the pride of the Tondimans and our most precious heirloom. History has eloquently recorded our services to the British. What pleases me most is that you are now, in no way, less willing than your forefathers to place yourselves and all you possess at my disposal for serving HIS IMPERIAL MAJESTY THE KING, OUR EMPEROR.

"Gentlemen, it is easy to talk of loyalty, sacrifice or brave deeds, so long as there is no necessity for their practical exercise. You can only know what the man is made of, when he is put in a tight corner. I need hardly tell you that my services are always at HIS MAJESTY'S disposal and I feel that I shall not be in any way less, in spirit or deed, than my forefathers.

"Again I thank you all for your kind congratulations and the beautiful casket in which you have enclosed your address, which I value very greatly.

"I shall now here mention the different boons I am now conferring on you in commemoration of this occasion.

Silver Jubilee Boons:—

i. Remission of the village karnams' cess commonly known as the "Kanakku Vari" amounting to Rs. 25,000, for a period of three years.

ii. Remission of the house-tax commonly known as "Mohturpha" amounting to Rs. 5,000 for a period of three years.

iii. Remission permanently of the tax levied on bangle-makers and dhobies' earth.

iv. Association of elected representatives in a legislative advisory council to be newly constituted.

v. Grant of the privilege of election of two members of the Municipal Council as vacancies occur.

vi. Opening of an Agricultural School in the town and the grant of two continuation agricultural scholarships in the College at Coimbatore.

vii. Special grant of an annual sum of Rs. 5,000 for three years for the construction of buildings for Elementary Schools in rural parts.

viii. Grant of special grain compensation allowances to permanent and temporary servants of the State drawing Rs. 10 and less for four additional months.

ix. Grant of special local allowances to servants of the State drawing Rs. 30 and less when employed in localities where prices are especially high in the neighbourhood of Nattukkottai Chetty villages.

x. Grant of Rs. 1,000 to the Town Hall in the capital to enable the Committee to finish the building.

xi. Grant of Rs. 10,000 for the formation of Silver Jubilee agricultural seed banks".

There was a grand procession in the evening, with His Highness on a richly caparisoned elephant, through the four main streets of the town and to Tirugókarnam and back. It was perhaps the most brilliant procession ever witnessed in the annals of Pudukkóttai. On the evening of the 23rd February, the people gave a garden party to His Highness and at night a grand display of fire-works was held on the *maidàn* opposite to His Highness' summer Palace and the town and all the public buildings were also beautifully illuminated. On the evening of the 24th, a Carnatic Darbár was held in the pavilion in the Palace square and the several brilliant functions came to a close with the State banquet given to the European guests on the evening of the 25th February.

Economic condition.—The State (about 1200 square miles, in extent) is poor in natural resources. There are no minerals

to speak of—no alluvial lands under unfailing irrigation, no rich black cotton soils. There is only one river worth the name—the Vellár. It is a jungle stream in which water runs for a few days in the year when rains are abundant. There are no forests, like those of Travancore or Cochin, where valuable trees like teak or sandal rear their proud heads in native grandeur, no mountains where coffee, tea, cinchona or cardamom plantations can be grown. There is no sea-board. More so here than in other parts of Southern India agriculture is and must continue to be the mainstay of the people and as there are no perennial rivers, the ryots are at the mercy of falling rains.

The economic condition of the State is not, however, as unpromising as these natural disadvantages would suggest. The most prominent classes (or castes) of people in the State are the Kallars, mostly in the Kulattúr Taluk, the Udaiyans mostly in the Álangudi Taluk and Nattukkottai Chetties almost exclusively in the Tirumayyam Táluk. The Kallars—to a sect of which belongs the ruling line of the State—are a sturdy warlike race, with a natural partiality for brave and heroic deeds. Their energies found full scope for exercise during the contest of the British with the French in Southern India, especially in the stirring events in the neighbourhood of Trichinopoly and subsequently in the wars against the Mohammedan dynasty of Mysore. In later and more peaceful times after the establishment of British suzerainty in Southern India, a great many of these warlike people, left with no scope for the legitimate gratification of their spirit of daring and no natural leaning towards the peaceful arts of husbandry took to dacoities and robberies and bold deeds of violence. But these pursuits could not thrive in the vigorous and efficient administration of the country during the last 25 years. Notorious dacoits were hunted down and most of them were convicted and imprisoned. With the disappearance of the leaders, the gangs dispersed. A few found employment as watchmen in the neighbouring British districts and the rest have settled down to the more common-place calling of small husbandmen; and the daring deeds of the older generation now live only in the memory or the retrospective gossip of a solitary old survivor here and there, who talks, half in pride and half in sorrow, of the glorious achievements of the brave leaders of the older generation and sighs in

memory of times that have died for ever. The Kallars in the Kulattúr Taluk are in the process of transformation and the State has done a great deal of late to help the process—by opening up the more inaccessible and less law-abiding Kalla centres in the eastern half of Kulattúr Taluk and increasing their facilities for more assured cultivation.

The process may be said to be almost complete in the Álangudi Taluk,—thanks to the example of the Udaiyans there. The Udaiyans are essentially a cultivating class. They appear to have originally settled as tenants under the Kallars to whom the lands originally belonged and by dint of hard labour, intelligent methods of cultivation and thrift they have come into possession of a considerable portion of the lands and are now substantial farm-proprietors, proud of their well-cultivated acres and spending their time on their continued improvement, and the Kalla neighbours, with ill-concealed contempt for the now prosperous Udaiyans who were once their servants, have in most places retrieved their fortunes by perseverance and attention to their ancestral lands.

The characteristic class of the people of Tirumayyam Taluk are the Nattukkottai Chetties. About a fourth of this community live in this Taluk, the rest having their homes in the Ramnad District. The Nattukkottai Chetties are a very enterprising people and make their fortunes in the British settlements overseas, by banking or speculation. Their traditions do not, however, allow them to settle permanently anywhere except in the country bounded by the Vellár on the north and the Vaigai on the south. The following extract from Dr. Caldwell's History of Tinnevelly would show how the Vellár came to be the northern *terminus* of the Chetti land :—" There are certain geographical stanzas current in Tamil which give the boundaries and extent of the three Tamil Kingdoms—the Chera, Chola, and Pandya. These stanzas are regarded by the Tamil people as classical and authoritative. The river Vellaru, which is represented in the Pandya stanza as the northern boundary of the Pandya country, is also represented in the Chola stanza as the southern boundary of the Chola country ......The Vellaru, adopted as their common boundary, is not the Vellaru which falls into the sea near Porto Novo, for this would exclude the Cholas from Tanjore, the most valuable portion of their dominions. The Vellaru referred to rises in the hills near

Marungapuri in the Trichinopoly District, takes a south-easterly course through the Native State of Puducotta, and falls into the sea in Palk Strait, south of Point Calymere. This identification of the Vellaru is confirmed by the circumstance that it was an old custom prevalent amongst the Nattukkottai Chetties that their women should never be allowed to cross the Vellaru, it being considered an act of bad omen for women to cross boundaries".

Thus it is that wherever else the Chetties make their pile they return to the Chetti land where their women and children have their settled homes. Here the first use to which they put their wealth is to construct palatial mansions for their residences. For, the grandeur of their houses is the measure of their prosperity. There is, in this and many other ways, great demand for labour in this taluk and the wages are high and all commodities fetch high prices. Land is also passing gradually into their hands and is coming to be worked on a capitalist basis.

Partly on account of the settlement of these Chetties and partly owing to the gradual growth of a well-to-do middle class, the older class of small Pattadars are going out and being replaced by a far more well-to-do class, who go in for lands more for prestige, security and the innate partiality of the Indian for property in land than as a speculative investment. A Pattadar of this latter class is not solely dependent on the profit of his land and can afford to improve his land, free from the ever present apprehension of failing seasons or persecuting Monigars, which oppresses and crushes the needy cultivating proprietor. To the latter the change from a cultivating proprietor into a cultivating tenant would generally be a change for the better. For, his security being gone he will be no longer able to borrow; he can look on the tax-gatherer or the money-lender without fear. He is assured of half the produce as the price of his labour (the *Varam* in the State being in equal shares) and can trust to his landlord to keep him and his family when the season fails. For, the landlord cannot do without the cultivator and takes upon himself the burden of his tenant's maintenance.

Conclusion.–If the State is poor in natural resources, it is rich in historic associations. Small as it is, it is the only principality that

stands to-day to represent the ancient Kingdoms of the Pándyas and the Cholas–the most important Kingdoms of Southern India mentioned in the Edicts of Asoka, to go no further back. The river Vellár, mentioned as the boundary between the Pándya and the Chola Kingdoms in the stanzas referred to above and ascribed by tradition to that prince of Tamil poets, Kamban, runs about 3 miles to the south of the capital town of Pudukkóttai and at present marks the boundary between the Taluks of Kulattúr and Álangudi on the one side and the Taluk of Tirumayyam on the other just in the same way as in ancient times it divided the Pándya and the Chola Kingdoms. As remarked by Dr. Caldwell, the boundary line between two such restless, bellicose nations as the Pándyas and the Cholas must have been continually shifting. We accordingly find that the same tract within this State formed at one time part of the Pándya kingdom and at another time part of the Chola kingdom. For instance, Irumbánádu, in the south-eastern corner of the State, was at one time part of Pándya Mandalam (Sundara Pándya Valanádu) and at another time a portion of Rájendra Chola Valanádu. On some auspicious occasion, however, when both parties were cementing peace by a marriage, their representatives seem to have been able to agree in fixing on the Vellár as their common boundary; and once this settlement had been arrived at, the poets of both sides seem to have been commissioned to perpetuate the remembrance of the boundary in verse. It is something to be thankful for that when most of the ancient landmarks of India have been swept away by the efflux of time there should still be left a State to represent, albeit in a small way, two of the most prominent kingdoms of ancient and mediæval India. And as the Pándyan King, as recorded by Strabo (A.D. 20), sent an embassy to the Emperor Augustus, so his modern representative, the present Rájá of Pudukkóttai, in a manner more appropriate to the present relations, paid his homage and allegiance in person to Queen-Empress Victoria in 1898.

To the Tamil people and lovers of Tamil literature the State would appeal as the only Tamil State in the whole of India, ruled by a Tamil King who liberally supports the present Tamil *Sangham* just in the same way as the Pándyans of old supported the historic and renowned *Sangham* at the capital of

the Pándyan land—as the land wherein are found some of the villages described in *Silappadikâram*,—that classical Tamil work of exquisite beauty and pathos written 18 centuries ago—and the Kumára hillock to whose God is dedicated that celebrated Tamil moral text book, the *Kumarèsa satakam*, which has, for a hundred years or more, served to form the morals of the juvenile population of the Tamil land. The large number of inscriptions in the State, of which *fac-simile* impressions have been taken and which are at present being copied and deciphered is likely to throw further light on the connection between the State and the historic kingdoms of the Pándyas and the Cholas.

To the British and the Indians alike the State would appeal as a standing monument of unshaken fidelity on the Indian side and unswerving attachment on the British side. As observed by Captain Fyfe, Resident, in his letter dated 24th September 1828 "It is impossible for any servant of the Company not to feel the greatest regard and respect for the Tondiman family. In prosperity or adversity, from the earliest period of our connection with them, they have never failed us; neither considerations of danger nor allurements of advantage have ever induced them to swerve from their allegiance; and their services, sometimes in very critical conjunctures when we were struggling for empire, have been eloquently recorded in the pages of history. More lately, during the last Poligar war, the Right Honourable the Governor is himself aware that the father of the present chief, in spite of all endeavours to intimidate him, at once espoused our cause and proved by his conduct that he inherited the same extraordinary attachment and fidelity to the Honourable Company, which were so signally manifested by his ancestors in the memorable and perilous days of Clive and Lawrence".

It may not be out of place to give here one or two short extracts from the letters of these makers of British India. Lawrence writes in A. D. 1758 "I will lay before His Majesty and the Court of Directors in the most favourable manner all the pains and trouble you took for us and the assistance which you afforded us, to which we owe our victory..........Though I shall have gone to a distant country the assistance which you have bestowed will always remain uppermost in my recollection". Clive writing

in A. D. 1798 says " To the best of my recollection your ancestors have long since evinced perseverance and presence of mind in assisting the Honourable Company in times of distress and difficulty and I have now received a fresh proof of attachment and fidelity from one so eminently representing the illustrious family of the Tondiman. By this you have not only rendered yourself conspicuous among the allies of the Honourable Company but far extended the good name your ancestors have secured to you ".

As described by Sir W. Blackburne (31st December 1822), Rajah Tondiman Bahadur is a native hereditary chief, the prince and ruler of an extensive province.........In the internal management of his province, he is absolute. He has the power of life and death. He enacts laws, appoints Courts of Justice, Civil and Criminal, maintains a considerable military force (now no longer needed), collects his revenues and disposes of them at pleasure, paying no tribute, even directly or indirectly, through the well-deserved kindness and favour of the British Government ".—

Yes. Paying no tribute, direct or even indirect—Is this not a unique distinction shared by no other ruler in all India,—a signal instance of British good faith, which seems to say to us " As you do to us so we will do unto you now and for generations yet unborn ? "

And the present representative of the illustrious line of the Tondaimans has, by his innate gifts, liberal training and travels abroad, so wisely and sympathetically held the reins of Government that to-day his name has only to be mentioned to evoke the heartiest greetings of loyalty from his subjects and the recent bestowal of the title of G. C. I. E., is felt to be but a foretaste of further and higher honours which he has already earned by his intrinsic worth as a man and a ruler.

MAY HIS HIGHNESS THE RAJA LIVE LONG.

APPENDIX.

APPENDIX A.

The Irukkuvels of Kodumbalur.

Kodumbálúr, as has been mentioned in the first paragraph of the history, is a very old place, referred to in the very ancient Tamil classic, *Chilappadikáram.* It was the chief town of a chieftain named Idangali Náyanár, one of the Saiva devotees mentioned by Sundara Múrti Náyanár, who must have lived before the ninth century A. D. Nambi Andár Nambi, a Saiva priest, who has in his திருத்தொண்டர் தொகை written a stanza on each of these devotees, speaks of Idangali Náyanár as connected with the Cholas (and subject to them), and of his chief town Kodumbálúr as Irukkuvélúr, * that is, the place of the Irukkuvéls, who formed a family of Vél or Vellála chieftains that ruled at Kodumbálúr. An attempt is here made to collect all that is known of this Vél family.

A note may first be inserted on the name *Vél.* The Véls referred to in *Puranánúru* and other ancient classics † were chieftains of the Vellâla class, that were generally subject to the three great Kings of the Tamil land. They were often employed as leaders of armies ‡ and were considered so high in position that the Tamil Kings married girls of their families. One of the most prominent of such families was the Irukkuvél family of Kodumbálúr. Another well-known family was that of Evvi, who ruled over Milalai Nádu, the tract of land in and near the south-eastern portion of the State.

It may be supposed that the two families mentioned above were related to each other. From a perusal of *Puranánúru* and its commentary §, it appears that the latter Vél family—the family of Evvi—was no other than the Irungóvél family, of which the founder is said to have come out of a sacrificial vessel or fire of a Muni in Northern India.

வடபான் முனிவன் தடவினுட் டோன்றி

And an inscription at Tiruvisalúr $ in the Tanjore District connects the Irukkuvéls with the Irungóvéls, as Pírántaka Irungóvélar is said to have been known as சிறிய வேளார் (or the young Vél chief) of Kodumbálúr. From numerous inscriptions at Kudumiámalai, Tirumálpuram, Kodumbálúr,

---

* See stanza 65, where we have

"திங்கட் சடையர் தமரதென் செல்வ மெனப்பறைபோக்
கெங்கட் இறைவ னிருக்கு வேளூர்மன் னிடங்கழியே."

† See Tirumangai Alwàr's *Periatirumoli*, VI. 6. 6.

‡ See commentary on Sutra 30 of *Tolkàppiyam Poruladhikáram.*

§ See the 201st poem. It is not clear that Irungóvél was the name of a person. Nacchinárkiniyar, in his commentary on *Pattinappàlai* (line 282) explains Irungóvél as "the (five) great families of Vél chieftains."

$ See inscription No. 320 (as also No. 317) in the *Madras Epigraphica Report* for 1907-8.

Tirucchendurai, Tiruppalátturai, Uyyakkondán Tirumalai and Purattukovil, we learn that it was the Irukkuvéls that were ruling at Kodumbálúr. And the inscription at Visalúr identifies these Irukkuvéls with the Irungóvéls.

The fact seems to be that a member of the Irungóvél family, ruling in and to the south-east of the State, went over to Kodumbálúr in the western portion of the State and established himself there with the title of *Irukkuvél*, of which the first part *Irukku* (or a Vedic hymn) may be taken to contain a reference to the mythical origin of the family. Probably it was this fact that gave the family at Kodumbálúr its other name of Ilangovélár or "the young king-like Véls", an assumption supported by the word இளய or "young" in Visalúr inscriptions. The tradition mentioned in *Puranánúru* that the family was Yádava in origin may be taken to be supported by the title "Yaduvamsakétu" or "the distinguished hero of the family of Yádavás," assumed by a ruler of this line, Samarábhirámanan.

A genealogy * of the family is supplied by an inscription in one of the Múvarkóvil shrines at Kodumbálùr. It runs as follows :—

Name not known—lost.
(Vanquisher of the Pándyan elephants)
|
Paravírajit (descendant).
|
Víratunga, who conquered the Malavas
|
Ativíra
|
Anupama (*Samgha krit*)
|
Nripakésarin
|
Paradurgamardana, conqueror of Vátápi.
|
Samarábhiráma (called Yaduvamsakétu).
Killed the Châlukya at the battle of Adhirájamangala ; married the Chola princess Anupamá.
|
Bhúti Vikramakésarin
Destroyed the Pallava army on the banks of the Kávérí ; conquered Víra Pándya in battle ; destroyed Vanchivél ; married Karrali and Varagunà.
|
Parántakavarman — Adityavarman.

* See p. 87 of the *Madras Government Epigraphical Report* for 1907-8.

The names of the Irukkuvéls found in inscriptions in other places do not mostly agree with these. They are :—

(1) Sáttan Márpidugu Ilangóvélár.
(2) Vidélvidugu Ilangóvélár.
(3) Vírasóla Ilangóvélár.
(4) Tennavan Ilangóvél *alias* Maravan Púdiyár.
(5) Madurántaka Accha Pidáran.
(6) Madurântaka Irukkuvélár *alias* Acchan (Adityar in Sanskrit) Vikramakésariyár.
(7) Pirántaka (Parântaka) Irukkuvélár.
(8) Sembiyan Irukkuvél *alias* Púdi Parántakan.
(9) An Irukkuvél whose name is not known. In an inscription at Ténimalai in the Pudukkóttai State, he is said to have endowed lands for feeding one Malayadhwajan, probably a Jain ascetic.

The names Mârpidugu and Vidélvidugu are clearly connected with the Pallava kings and the first two chieftains in the list given above were evidently feudatories of the Pallavas. Of these the first is said to have flourished in the time of Pallava Mahárájá Danti Nandivarman, or in the time of Nandivarman son of Dantivarman * or Nandippottaraiyan, victorious at Telláru—*i. e.*, in the second half of the eighth century A. D. The second chieftain Vidélvidugu Ilangóvélár, whose wife was Púdi Arindigai, lived in the time of the Ganga Pallava king Kovijaya Kampavarman, who ruled in the ninth century A. D.

Vírasóla Ilangóvélár in the above list is found from inscription No. 306 of 1907 to have been the father of Maduråntaks Accha Pidáran, who has been identified with Vikramakésarin in the above table, the chieftain who seems to have been the most distinguished of Kodumbálúr chiefs.

The following extracts are from the Madras Epigraphical Reports and refer to Vikramakésarin.

"Bhúti Vikramakésarin was also called Tennavan Ilangóvélár, Madhurántaka † Irukkuvel, Adittan Vikramakésarin or Maravan Púdiyar (this seems to be the Tamilised form of Bhútiyár); consequently Parántaka Ilangóvél appears also to have been another surname of Bhúti Vikramakésarin. In inscription No. 337 of 1904, he seems to bear the title Sambiyan Irukkuvél".

* See inscription No. 88 of 1910 and *Report of the Madras Epigraphical Department* for 1912-3. See also inscriptions No. 306, 316, 319, 323, 349 of 1903, 321, 335. 336, 337, 339 of 1904, 129, 317, 320 of 1907, 470 of 1908 287 of 1911 and 131 and 174 of 1912.

† "The name Madhurántaka Irukkuvél might have been assumed by him (or conferred on him) after the accession of the Chola king Parantaka I".

It will thus be found that the names 4–7 in the above list refer to one and the same ruler.

It was this Vikramakésarin that built the Múvarkóvil at Kodumbálúr. "The Múvarkóvil has nothing to do with the three kings of the south as is generally supposed" or with the three Saiva saints, Appar, Sambandhar and Sundarar. "An inscription at Kodumbálúr tells us explicitly that the three shrines were actually built by the chief Vikramakésarin in his own name and in the names of his two wives. The third shrine, of which no traces now exist, was evidently pulled down at a later period and the stones used up—perhaps for building the fresh-water pond in front of the Muchukundésvara temple in the same village. A few inscribed fragments have been found on the margin of the pond, some of which are in the ancient Kanarese language and alphabet. "The temple of Tiruppudísvaram at Kodumbálúr referred to in inscriptions might have been the Múvarkôvil built by Púdi Vikramakésarin".

"Having built three shrines (vimánas) in his own name and in the names of his two wives, he *i. e.*, Vikramakésarin set up Mahésvara (Siva) and presented a big ma*th*a (brihan-ma*th*am) to Mallikârjuna of Madhurá (Madura), who was the chief ascetic of the Kálamukha (sect) with eleven villages for feeding fifty ascetics of the same sect (here called *asita-vaktra*). Mullikárjuna belonged to the Atréya gótra and was the disciple of two teachers Vidyárási and Tapórási."

"Vikramakésarin had two wives, who were named Karralippiráttiyár and Varagunà and had by his first wife two sons called Pârantakavarman and Adityavarman. Sembiyan Irukkuvél *alias* Púdi Paràntakan, who built a stone temple at Andanallúr in the Trichinopoly District, might be identical with Paràntaka (varman) son of Púdi Vikramakésarin". One Púdi Adittapidàri, daughter of Tennavan Ilangóvélàr and queen of the Chola prince Arikulakésarin, who was a military officer under Paràntaka I, built a stone temple at Tirucchendurai. As Tennavan Ilangóvélàr was one of the names of Púdi Vikramakésarin, Púdi Adittapidàri might have been his daughter. The fact that members of this family built temples in the Chola country (at a distance from their territory) and that a Chola prince and princess married into the family shows that intimate friendly relations existed between the Chola kings and Kodumbàlúr chieftains".

I believe we shall not be far wrong if we take Púdi Vikramakésarin * to have lived towards the close of the ninth century and in the first half of the tenth century.

* It is not clear whether, and if so, how, Vikki-Annan who distinguished himself in the conquest of Tondainàdu by Aditya I, and to whom a throne, a fly-whisk (*chámara*), mansions, an army of male elephants and the hereditary title of Sembiyan Tamiladiaraiyan were granted was connected with the family of the Irukkuvéls of Kodumbálùr.

APPENDIX B.

More about the Pallavaraya line of rulers.

The following additional information relating to this line based on inscriptions found within, and outside the State, and on two Tamil works—*Seventheluntha Pallavan Pillai Tamil, Seventheluntha Pallavan Ula,**—may also be found interesting.

The Pallavaráyárs † are said in both the manuscripts to have originally lived at Mallai or Mallapuram, an old historic town in the Chengleput District called கடல்மல்லை by Tirumangai Alwár in his hymns and generally known as Mahábalipuram. One of these is said to have been invited by a Pāndya, when he was attacked by a Chola king, and, having defeated the latter, he is said to have been appointed Governor of Kéralasingavalanádu near the southern border of the State (see page 76 and map opposite to that page). Another is said to have been born in and settled at கோனிப்பதி by which Perungulúr near Vaittúr is evidently meant, Perungulûr being called 'கோனி' in inscriptions. The Pallavaráyars are said to have subdued the eighteen Vanniar castes, to have destroyed Alumbil, to have been victorious at Kadáram and Súraikkudi (see p. 118, p. 68 & p. 82), to have won distinction at Kalabham. Valuttúr is described as a fertile wet land village in Kónadu (see pp. 61 & 62) under the sway of the Pallavaráyars called Konádárs.

The name Pallavarâyan seems to have been in use from very early times. An inscription at Sólapuram in the Madura District refers to one Tennavan Pallavaráyan, *alias* Máran Acchan (Adityan) of Póliúr in the 4th year of the Pándya king Máran Sadaiyan, *i. e.*, towards the close of the eighth century. Other chiefs that bore this title were

1. Vidélvidugu Pallavaráyar of Umbalanádu.
2. Mayilaittindan *alias* Avantiyakóvappallaváyar.

---

* These two manuscripts were kindly lent to me by Mahâmahòpàdhyâya M. R. Ry. V. Swaminatha Aiyar Avergal, Tamil Pandit, Presidency College.

† That the custom of giving children the names of men of power by whom they were patronised or to whom they were subject was very common, as is shown in the first footnote on page 98, will be clear also from the following lines in the 12th stanza of the "Seventheluntha Pallavan Pillai Tamil

"அங்கவங் கர்குடகு கர்னட தேசத்தி லரசரெல் லாரு முடனே
யவரவர்கள் மகவைநின் பேரிட்ட ழைப்பதவும்."

that is, "the Kings of Anga, Vanga (Bengal), Coorg and Canara gave their children your name—the name of Seventheluntha Pillaiârâyar."

3. Ingunâttu Pallavaráyar.

4. Pallavaráyar, chief of Tunjalúr, Milalai Kúnam (see p. 61).

5. Muvendra Pallavaráyar * *alias* Adittan Pidáran, son of Víranárana Pallavaráyar of Kúhúr near Kunnandârkôvil in Vadapanangádu division in the modern Kulattúr Taluk of Pudukkóttai State.

In the war of Pándya succession in the twelfth century A. D., a Pallavaráyar is said to have gone with a force as directed by the Chola king to help Kulasékhara Pândya, who, defeated by Lankápura Dandanáyaka, had fled to the Chola king for protection and help. The Pallavaráyar was defeated.†

The Pallavaráyars seem to have helped both the Cholas and the Pandyas. One of them is said to have married a Chola princess and to have been treated by the Cholas as their son-in-law. Their throne is said to have been a six-footed stool ‡, their flag is said to have borne the figures of both the tiger (the Chola symbol) and the fish, (the Pândyan symbol), and they are said to have worn garlands of the காவி, (the symbol of the Vellâlas, a Pallavaráya having married a Vellála Malavaráya princess), the (Chola) Agatti, and (the Pándya) margosa. They are often referred to as "பாரசங்கிலி" of which the meaning seems to be that the Pallavaráyars put in heavy chains those whom they captured in war. The lands over which they ruled are given below.

"ஆலங்குடிநாடமராபதிநாடு
கோலங்கடுவன்குடிநாடு—மேலான
செங்காட்டுநாடு திருப்பேரையூர் நாடு
மங்காதவல்லவளநாடு—கொங்காரும்
மெய்யமலைநாடு மேவு சந்திரரேகை நா
டையன் கொடுங்குன்றணி நாடு—செய்யதிருக்
கோளக்குடிநாடு கோனுடெனப்புரந்தே
ஆளப்பிறந்தவரசர்கோன்.

* See Madras Government Epigraphical Reports, Inscriptions No. 162 of 1912, No. 322 of 1904, No. 228 of 1908, No. 186 of 1912 and No. 425 of 1911.

† See Madras Government Epigraphical Report for 1898—99.

‡ The special importance of such a stool is not clear. In the Introduction to Tiruvilaiyádal Purànam by Paranjòti Munivar, the author, when he read the manuscript for acceptance by the learned, is said to have been seated on a six-footed stool in the presence of Sundarésar of Madura.

These lands were, (1) Alangudi nádu, (2) Amarávàti nádu, (3) Kaduvankudi nádu, (4) Senkáttu nádu, (5) Péraiyúr nádu, (6) Valnádu, (7) Meyyamalai (Tirumayyam) nádu, (8) Chándra rékhá nádu, (9) Kodunkundra nádu, (Piránmalai nádu) (10) Thirukkólakkudi nádu, (11) Kónádu. *

The annual income of their State is said in a petition presented by a Kannanúr Sérvaikar to have been 30,000 *pon*.

Seventheluntha Pallavaráyar, the hero of the two poems referred to above, is said to have married a lady of the Malvar caste. He is said to have been a great Saivite and worshipper of the Gods at Tirugókarnam, Kudumiámálai, Péraiyúr and Tiruvarankulam and at Conjeveram. He is said to have purchased jewels and lamps for the temple at Tirugókarnam and to have added to the temple at Kudumiámálai, porches, towers, halls flower-gardens, groves etc., and built cars.

The following names of the Pallavaràyar rulers are given in the *Ulâ* after the names of several Pallava kings mentioned in Tamil literature. The list seems to have been based on no reliable or verified information. The object of the poet seems to have been to bring together all that he had ever heard of the Pallavaràyars. Probably several of the names are merely periphrastic expressions applicable to Pallavaràyars bearing other names. At first certain Pallavas Pallavaràyars are described without names. Of these were

1. The Pallava that came to help the Pàndya king, got rid of the Chola trouble and ruled over Kéralasingavala nàdu.

2. The Pallava who ruled the world with the title Malava, having married the daughter of a Vellàla Malava family.

3. The Pallava, who wore a garland in which *Kâvi* flowers were put in between the Agathi (Chola) and the Ním (Pàndya).

4. The Pallava that was born at Kóli (Perungulúr).

---

* Most of these formed portion of the last mentioned Kónàdu. See pp. 66—68 for 1, 4, 5, 6, 10 and 11, p. 1 for land 7 and p. 4 for land 9.

The second nàdu Amaravati nádu may be taken to be the tract about Ponnamaràvati. The third nâdu Kaduvankudi is the tract about Virâlimalai.

These lands were not far from the modern Pudukkòttai town. The eighth nàdu, Chándra rékha nâdu, is the tract about Sendalai in the Tanjore District (according to the Journal of the *South Indian Association* for July 1911). But it seems to be a little too far from Pudukkottai to be taken to be meant. Probably it denotes the land watered by Ambuliyàru (see p. 4) *ambuli*, meaning Chandra.

In another place கபிலைவளர்நாடு (Tirugôkarnan) and குலமங்கலநாடு (see Gazetteer under Tennanúr) are mentioned.

5. The great Pallava that made for himself the six-footed throne.

6. The king that mounted and rode a daring war-horse and thus got the additional name of Ràyar and became *Pallavarâyar*.

7. The Pallavaràya that plundered Alumbil and captured Súraikkudi,

8. The Pallavaràyar that defeated the eighteen Vanniars.

Those with names other than Pallavaràyar were,

1. Periavudaiyàn Pallavaràyar.
2. Tirumèni Pallavaràyar.
3. Nítialaga Pallavaràyar.
4. Narapàla Pallavaràyar.
5. Valuthimànamkàtta Pallavaràyar.
6. Adaikkalamkàtta Pallavaràyar.
7. Adiyàr Vélaikkàra Pallavaràyar.
8. Mukunda Pallavaràyar.
9. Kulasékhara Pallavaràyar.
10. Tennava Jayatunga Pallavaràyar.
11. Kàtchikodutta Pallavaràyar.
12. Villiputtúr Pallavaràyar.
13. Ativíraràma Pàndya Pallavaràyar *alias* Bhattarmànam kàtta Pallavaràyar.
14. Srívalava (Srívallabha) Jayatunga Pallavaràyar.
15. Nayinàr Pallavaràyar.
16. Avudaiyàn Pallavaràyar.
17. Acchamariyàn Pallavaràyar.
18. Bhàskara Nàrayana Pallavaràyar.
19. Sríranga Pallavaràyar.
20. Mukunda Seventheluntha Pallavaràyar.
21. Singa Pallavaràyar.
22. Sríranga Pallavaràyar, who captured Kíranur in the morning Tenungúr in the midday and Kúttanúr in the evening.
23. Sàranga Pallavaràyar known as பாரசங்கிலி or Bhàra Sangili and described as "the ruler of the Sàluvàs, who were originally feudatories of the Vijayanagar Kings."
24. Vallaiyaràyan *alias* Vararàma Pallavaràyar.
25. Kônêri Pallavaràyar.
26. Tirumakuta Pallavaràyar.
27. Vilitturangum Pallavaràyar.
28. Tirumalai Ràja Pallavaràyar.
29. Tirunírru Pallavaràyar.
30. Tirumàncholai Pallavaràyar.

31. Alaga Pallavaràyar.
32. Achyuta Pallavaràyar.
33. Mallappa Pallavaràyar (son of No. 32).
34. Seventheluntha Perumàl Pallavaràyar (brother of 33).
35. Avudaiya Pallavaràyar.
36. Chidambara Pallavaràyar.
37. Muttappa Pallavaràyar (son of No. 36).
38. Kandappa Pallavaràyar (son of No. 37).
39. Mallappa Pallavaràyar.
40. Seventheluntha Pallavaràyar (said to have been the son of one Perianàyakam, son-in-law of Mallappa No. 33).

APPENDIX C.

Notes from a petition of historic interest.

The following information is from a petition containing historic references from Valamkondàn Ràmaswàmi Sérvaikàr, son of Valamkondàn Kumàraswàmi Sérvaikàr (see p. 161). The manuscript may be taken to be of as much value as the petition of Ilandàn Ambalakaran, occasionally referred to in the book (see pp. 160 and 127). The income of the dominion under Seventheluntha Pallavaràyan was 30,000 *pon* a year and the Pallavaràyan left no descendants (see p. 126 footnote). Periya Ràma Bànam also came from Ramnad (see p. 123). The Setupati's agent at Tirumayyam was Kurunda Pillai (Dharma Pillai is not mentioned) to whom earrings were sent (see p. 159) as well as the State finger-ring. Namana Tondaimân subdued the Vísenginàttu Kallars (see p. 137). For his services to the Tondaimân Nallakutti Valàmkondân, is said to have got Kannangudi, Mângudi, and some lands near Kavinâdu. Avudaippa Valamkondàn, his son, is said to have been of help in getting for the Tondaimàn from the Sétupati, Tirumayyam, and the tract of land adjoining it worth 30,000 *pon* a year. He is said to have received Kannanúr, Durvàsapuram on the borders of Tirumayyam in exchange for lands granted to his father and to have received various honours such as palanquin, horse, umbrella, &c. (see p. 152). He is said to have annexed to the Pudukkóttai State the Ràngiam tract then in possession of Udaiyanna Tévan, brother-in-law of the Sétupati.

Ragunâtha Ràya Tondaimàn (1686–1730 A. D.) is said to have had 32 sons, legitimate and illegitimate (see p. 146).

The account in the last paragraph of page 160 is partly based on this manuscript, which states that Rámaswàmi Tondaimân was also sent as a prisoner (perhaps for a time) to Tirumayyam and that Ananda Row, when he invaded Pudukkóttai, took with him from Tanjore 3,000 horse (see p. 171).

APPENDIX D.

A Note on Protestant Mission work*.

[See pp. 397 and 398 of the book].

"Puducotta was called a station from 1846 to 1849 and a band of Indian workers were employed there under the supervision of Cherry (Rev. H. Cherry) and then of Murry (Rev. C. F. Murry). It had been passed over to the (Madura) Mission by the Church Missionary Society. But no Missionary of the Society ever resided there and it can hardly be considered as having fully entered the circle of stations. The Rajah of Puducotta recognised his relation to the work of the Mission in the year it was taken over by visiting Pasumalai Seminary in company with the Collector Blackburne. They showed their appreciation of the Seminary by each giving a donation of Rs. 200. But Puducotta was far too away from Madura and the funds of the Mission were too limited for the Mission to take that work; as the Church Missionary Society had passed over lands, schools and catechists to this Mission, so this Mission passed over to the Leipsic Lutheran Mission the lands, schools and catechists and the good-will of the Rajah, let us hope. Negotiations were carried on in 1848, but the representative of the Lutherans, Rev. C. Ochs, was detained in Mayavaram; so at his request the transfer was considered to be from and after the end of 1848".

* **From Rev. J. S. Chandler's** *Seventy-five years in the American Madura Mission.* See p. 76.

APPENDIX E.

List of Residents of Tanjore and Pudukkottai.

Names.		From	To
Captain William Blackburne	Tanjore	... 24- 3-1801	6- 8-18 09
	Pudukkôttai	... Feb. 1807	
Captain Butler, Acting Resident		... 7- 8-1809	4- 3-1810
Captain William Blackburne		... 5- 3-1810	3- 3-1823
Captain William Hardy		... 4- 3-1823	21- 8-1824
[Colonel Scot's name appears in the Madras Almanac (see p. 371) but he never seems to have taken up that appointment].			
Captain Fyfe		... 22- 8-1824	9-11-1830
Captain M. Tweedie, Acting		... 10-11-1830	31-12-1830
W. Hudleston, Esq., Acting		... 1- 1-1830	31- 3-1831
J. Blackburne, Esq., Acting		... 1- 4-1831	16- 8-1832
Captain Douglas		... 17- 8-1832	18-10-1834
Lieutenant Colonel T. Macleane		... 19-10-1834	20- 7-183

Names.	From	To
Captain C. M. Macleane, Acting	... 21- 7-1837	20-10-1837
Lieutenant Colonel T. Macleane	... 21-10-1837	2- 7-1839
Lieutenant W. Lockhart	... 3- 7-1839	23- 9-1839
Lieutenant Colonel T. Macleane	... 24- 9-1839	14-10-1839
Lieutenant W. Lockhart, Acting	... 15-10-1839	13-11-1839
Captain A. Douglas	... 14-11-1839	3- 4-1840
Lieutenant Halpin (officer in charge), Resident's escort	... 4- 4-1840	6- 7-1840
Captain A. Douglas	... 7- 7-1840	20- 3-1841
Lieutenant Selby (officer in charge), Resident's escort in charge	... 20- 3-1841	14- 4-1841
W. H. Bayley Esq.	... 15- 4-1841	21-12-1841

The Residency of Tanjore was abolished under Court's letter No. 3, of 1-9-1841.

List of Political Agents.

J. Blackburne Esq., Collector of Madura, 1st Political Agent	... 22-12-1841	22-12-1842
G. D. Drury Esq., Commissioner in charge of Madura (under G. O. Rev. No. 1415 dated 6th December 1842)	... 23-12-1842	24- 4-1843
W. A. Morehead Esq.	... 25- 4-1843	23- 6-1843
W. Elliot Esq., Acting Sub-Collector in charge	24- 6-1843	31- 7-1843
J. Blackburne Esq.	... 1- 8-1843	5- 7-1847
R. D. Parker Esq.	... 6- 7-1847	24-10-1856
R. J. Sullivan Esq.	... 25-10-1856	19-11-1857
A. Hathaway Esq.	... 19-11-1857	21-10-1858
T. Clarke Esq.	... 22-10-1858	21- 2-1860
V. H. Levinge Esq.	... 22- 2-1860	27- 9-1865

Political Agency transferred to Tanjore (under G. O. No. 241 dated 27-9-1865).

G. Lee Morris Esq., Collector of Tanjore and Political Agent	... 27- 9-1865	4- 3-1866
G. Banbury Esq.	... 5- 3-1866	30- 3-1873
Hon'ble D. Arbuthnot	... 31- 3-1873	18- 9-1874

Political Agency transferred from Tanjore to Trichinopoly

(under G. O. No. 387 dated 18th September 1874).

J. B. Pennington Esq.	... September 1874	May 1875
H. Sewell Esq.	... May 1875	April 1879

Names.	From		To	
C. W. W. Martin Esq. ...	... May	1879	December	1880
H. Sewell Esq. ...	... December	1880	August	1885
H. R. Farmer Esq. ...	... August	1885	September	1886
W. P. Austin Esq. ...	... September	1886	April	1887
W. H. Welsh Esq. ...	... April	1887	December	1888
G. W. Fawcett Esq. ...	... January	1889	April	1891
M. Hammick Esq.	... May	1891	June	1891
C. J. Weir Esq. ...	... July	1891	December	1891
W. H. Welsh Esq. ...	... January	1892	July	1893
L. C. Miller Esq.	... August	1893	November	1893
J. Andrew Esq. ...	... December	1893	August	1896
J. K. Batten Esq. ...	... September	1896	January	1897
B. Macleod Esq.	... February	1897	October	1897
R. H. Shipley Esq.	... November	1897	February	1899
J. H. Robertson Esq.	... March	1899	November	1899
R. H. Shipley Esq.	... December	1899	February	1901
G. W. Elphinstone Esq.	... March	1901	April	1901
R. H. Shipley Esq.	... May	1901	August	1903
J. P. Bedford Esq.	... September	1903	April	1904
C. G. Spencer Esq.	... May	1904	August	1904
A. Thompson Esq.	... September	1904	November	1904
A. Butterworth Esq.	... December	1904	March	1905
E. L. Thornton Esq.	... April	1905	October	1905
A. Butterworth Esq. ...	... November	1905	June	1906
A. L. Vibert Esq. ...	... July	1906	August	1906
A. Butterworth Esq. ...	... August	1906	March	1908
A. L. Vibert Esq. ...	... April and May 1908			
C. T. H. Johnson Esq. ...	... May	1908	October	1908
M. Young Esq. ...	... November	1908	January	1911
E. W. Legh Esq.	... February	1911	October	1911
M. Young Esq.	... November	1911	May	1912
J. C. Molony Esq.	... June	1912	August	1912
R. Narayana Aiyar Esq. ...	... September	1912	November	1912
L. E. Buckley Esq. ...	... December	1912.		

APPENDIX F.

List of the Administrators of the State from 1807 A. D.

1807

A. 1. Tirumalai Tondaimàn, Chinnaranmanai Jâgirdâr.
2. Màppillai Pallavarâyar son-in-law of the ruler that died in 1807.
} Managers.

Venkappayya or Venkat Row was Sarkil, to whom the Resident's orders were issued through the Managers.

1808 Anantayya was appointed the Resident's Agent to exercise the powers of the Ràjà under the superintendence of the Resident and be the medium of instructions to the Managers from the Resident.

1814

B. 1. Soiroba Naig, Principal Manager.
2. Anantayya
3. Tàna Pillai
} Managers.

[There was no Sarkil from 1814 to 1822].

1815 (to 1817 or 1822*).

C. 1. Soiroba Naig, Principal Counsellor.
2. Anantayya
3. Tàna Pillai
} Counsellors.

[A to C during the minority of Ràjà Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán Bahadúr (till 1817].

1822 Soiroba Naig, Sarkil.

1839

1. Ry. Kattakkurichi Ayi Avargal.
2. Appà Aiyar, Foujdàr.
3. Soiroba Naig, Sarkil.
} formed a council of Regency.

[During the minority of Rájà Ràmachandra Tondaimàn Bahadúr].

1844 Soiroba Naig, Sarkil.

1851 Soiroba Naig, Sarkil,
Gopal Naig, Deputy Sarkil.

1853 Gopal Naig, Sarkil.

1854 R. Annaswami Aiyar, Sarkil.

1863 Bhàváni Sankar Row, Sarkil.

1878 Sir A. Sashia Sastriar, K. C. S. I.

[He was styled Sarkil from 1878 to July 1885 and Dewan from July 1885 to 1886].

---

* This arrangement which should have come to an end in 1817, seems to have continued till 1822, when Soiroba Naig was appointed Sarkil.

1886 Sir A. Sashia Sastriar, K. C. S. I., Dewan-Regent.
[During the minority of the present ruler].

1894 R. Vedantacharlu, Dewan.

1898 R. Vedantacharlu, Dewan,
M. R. Ry, Vijaya Raghunatha Durai Rajah Avargal, Councillor.

Jan. 27, 1899 M. R. Ry. Vijaya Raghunatha Durai Rajah Avargal, Acting Dewan.
A. Venkat Row, Acting Councillor.

Feb. 18, 1899 Dewan Bahadur S. Venkataramadas Naidu, B.A., B.L., Dewan.
M. R. Ry. Vijaya Raghunatha Durai Rajah Avargal, B.A., Councillor (till July 1908).

March, 1909 Mr. G. T. H. Bracken, I. C. S., Superintendent of the State.
M. R. Ry. Vijaya Raghunatha Durai Rajah Avargal, B.A., Dewan.
M. R. Ry. C. Rajagopala Pillai Avargal, B.A., B.L., Councillor.

Feb. 1913 Mr. J. T. Gwynn, I. C. S., Superintendent of the State.
M. R. Ry. Vijaya Raghunatha Durai Rajah Avargal, B.A., Dewan.
M. R. Ry. C. Rajagopala Pillai Avargal, B.A., B.L., Councillor.

APPENDIX G.

List of Inscriptions in the Pudukkottai State.*

No.	Locality (Taluk and village).	The number of inscriptions.	Remarks.
	I.–ALANGUDI TALUK.		
1	Kulavâippattî village, Atavíswaran Kóvil.	1	
2	Alangudi Siva temple ...	24	
3	Ambukkôil Siva temple ...	5	
4	Kôvilúr Siva temple ...	23	
5	Maniambalam Siva temple ...	7	
6	Palankarai (Pàlaiyûr village) Siva temple.	14	
7	Perungulúr Siva temple ...	8	
8	Pudukkôttai (Town Hospital) ...	1	
	,, Kalasakkàdu ...	1	In archaic characters.
	,, Hanumàrkoil near the Public offices building.	1	
9	Sembàttúr Siva temple ...	9	
10	Sôttuppàlai Siva temple ...	1	
11	Tirugókarnam Siva temple ...	16	Contains an old inscription of Mârânsadaiyan.
12	Tirukkattalai Siva temple ...	13	Contains three inscriptions in archaic characters
13	Tirumanamchéri Siva temple ...	6	
14	Tiruvarankulam Siva temple ...	72	
15	Tiruvappúr Siva temple ...	4	
	,, Vishnu temple ...	1	
16	Tiruvidaiyàpàtti Siva temple ...	4	
17	Vadavàlam Surandarkoil ...	1	
18	Vàrâppúr Siva temple ...	6	
19	Vàgaivàsal Siva temple ...	1	
		219	
	II.—KULATTUR TALUK.		
1	Alattúr Siva temple ...	5	
2	Aluruttimalai, west of Ammàchatthiram.	1	
3	Annavàsal Siva temple ...	3	
4	Ariyúr Siva temple ...	1	
5	Irumbàli Siva temple ...	3	
6	Kadavampatti ruined Vishnu temple.	1	
7	Kàyàmpatti ruined Jain temple ...	1	
8	Kílaikkuricchi Siva temple ...	6	

* The list was supplied by Mr. S. Vaidyanatha Aiyar, the State Archaeologist.

No.	Locality (Taluk and village).	The number of inscriptions.	Remarks.
9	Kilikkúdalúr ...	2	One on a stone planted in the agrahâram and the other on another stone found in a prickly-pear jungle, half a mile to the west of the village.
10	Kîranûr Siva temple ...	13	One in archaic Tamil characters.
11	Kodumbàlúr Siva temple ...	15	See the Gazetteer.
	,, Múvarkóvil ...	2	One Sanskrit inscription in grantha characters.
12	Kudumiàmalai Siva temple ...	117	One inscription in archaic Pallava grantha. A treatise on music. Some old Tamil inscriptions. One in grantha and one in Telugu. See the Gazetteer.
13	Kulattúr Siva temple ...	10	
14	Kumàramangalam (on a stone planted in dry lands).	1	
15	Kunnandàrkôil Siva temple ...	41	Some inscriptions in old Tamil.
16	Lakshmanpa*tti* (in front of a ruined dargà).	1	
17	Madattukóvil ruined Siva temple ...	13	
18	Madiyanúr Siva temple ...	4	
19	Malaiyadippa*tti* rock cut Siva temple.	7	Some old inscriptions.
	,, Vishnu temple.	2	One in Maratti.
20	Màngudi Siva temple ...	1	
21	Mînalvéli ,, ...	3	
22	Mé*tt*uppa*tti* (near the sluice) ...	1	
23	Nàrttàmalai Siva temple ...	1	
	,, Kadambarmalai ...	29	Contains an old inscription.
	,, Western Hill ...	3	One of these is old.
24	Nallûr (on stones planted in dry lands).	2	
25	Nîrpalani Siva temple ...	19	An old inscription of Mârânjadaiyan.
26	Panangudi Siva temple ...	2	
27	Panditakkúdi (on a stone planted to the west of the village)	1	
28	Parambúr Siva temple ...	12	One of these is an old Tamil inscription.

No.	Locality (Taluk and village).	The number of inscriptions.	Remarks.
29	Perumânadu Siva temple ...	5	
	,, on a rock ...	1	
30	Perumsunai ruined Siva temple ...	2	
31	Péyâl Siva temple ...	2	
32	Pulvayal ,, ...	5	
33	Punnangudi Siva temple ...	7	
34	Râjâlippa*tt*i (on a stone in the sluice of a ruined tank).	1	In archaic Tamil.
35	Sirusunai (on a rock to the east end of the tank).	2	
36	Sittannavâsal Jain temple ...	1	
	,, Eladippa*tt*am ...	5	Old Tamil and Pali inscriptions. Two of these are quite gone.
37	Temmâvúr ruined Siva temple ...	2	
	,, (on a stone in dry lands) ...	1	
38	Tennangudi Siva temple ...	5	
39	Tiruppúr ,, ...	1	
	,, ruined Vishnu temple ...	1	
40	Tiruvéngavâsal Siva temple ...	12	A fragment of one of these is in old Tamil.
41	Tiruvilángudi ruined Siva temple ...	9	One of them is old.
42	Todaiyúr Siva temple ...	8	
43	Vayalôkam ...	7	
44	Vellaimandapam, north of Kiranúr and to the west of the road.	1	
45	Vellanúr Siva temple ...	4	
46	Vennaimuttuppa*tt*i Pillaiyârkoil ...	1	
47	Vírakkudi Siva temple ...	7	
48	Virâlimalai Subrahmanyaswami Kóvil.	2	
	,, on a rock ...	1	
49	Virâlúr Vishnu temple ...	2	
50	Visalúr Siva temple ...	6	One of them is in archaic characters.
		424	
	III.—Tirumayyam Taluk.		
1	Adanur Siva temple ...	11	
2	Ammankuricchi Siva temple ...	5	
3	Durvâsapuram ,, ...	4	
4	Idaiyâttúr ,, ...	4	
5	Irumbânâdu Vishnu temple ...	2	
	,, Siva temple ...	8	Contains two old inscriptions.
6	Kandéswaramudaiyârkóvil ...	9	
7	Kannanúr Vishnu temple ...	1	
	,, Siva temple ...	7	

No.	Locality (Taluk and village).		The number of inscriptions.	Remarks.
8	Kâraimangalam Siva temple	...	2	
9	Kâraiyúr ,,	...	12	
	,, Vishnu temple	...	4	
10	Kâ*tt*u Bâva Pallivasal	...	1	
11	Kílattâniyam Siva temple	...	1	
12	Kónàpet Vinâyakarkoil	...	1	
13	Ko*tt*iyúr Siva temple	...	18	
	,, Vishnu temple	...	4	
14	Kóvilpa*tt*i ruined Siva temple	...	2	
15	Kûdalûr Siva temple	...	1	
16	Malaiyakkóvil ,,	...	3	One old Tamil inscription. One small Pallava grantha inscription.
17	Maravâmudura ,,	...	2	
18	Mélaippanaiyûr ,,	...	6	
19	Mélattâniyam ,,	...	6	
20	Mélúr Vishnu temple	...	5	
21	Merattnilai Pidârikóvil	...	1	
22	Munaisandai Vishnu temple	...	1	
23	Naikkónam (Nerkunram) Vishnu temple.		1	
24	Nedunkudi Siva temple	...	4	
25	Neivâsal ,,	...	43	
26	Nerunjikkudi ,,	...	4	Two old inscriptions.
27	Oliyamangalam ,,	...	9	
28	Péraiyûr ,,	...	15	
29	Perundurai ,,	...	1	An old inscription.
	,, Vishnu temple	...	3	
30	Pillamangalam Siva temple	...	4	
31	Ponnamarâvati ,,	...	15	Two old inscriptions.
	,, Vishnu temple	...	10	
32	Pulivalam Siva temple	...	3	
33	Púvâlakkudi ,,	...	11	
34	Rângiam ,,	...	16	
35	Sâstânkóvil ,,	...	1	On a planted stone.
36	Sâttanúr ,,	...	4	
37	Séndamangalam Vishnu temple	...	1	
38	Sirrúr (சிற்றூர்) Siva temple	...	5	Three are old inscriptions.
39	Sevalúr ,,	...	13	
40	Sundaram ,,	...	13	
	,, Vishnu temple	...	5	
41	Tânjúr Siva temple	...	7	
42	Térkâ*tt*úr ,,	...	3	
43	Ténippa*tt*i ,,	...	1	An old inscription.

No.	Locality (Taluk and village).		The number of inscriptions.	Remarks.
44	Tirukkalambur Siva temple	...	10	An old inscription.
45	Tirumayyam ,,	...	8	One Pallava grantha inscription. Two old Tamil inscriptions.
	,, Vishnu temple	...	17	
46	Unaiyúr ,,	...	2	
	Unaiyúr Siva temple	...	8	
47	Válarámánikkam ,,	...	12	
48	Virácchalaí ,,	...	17	
			387	

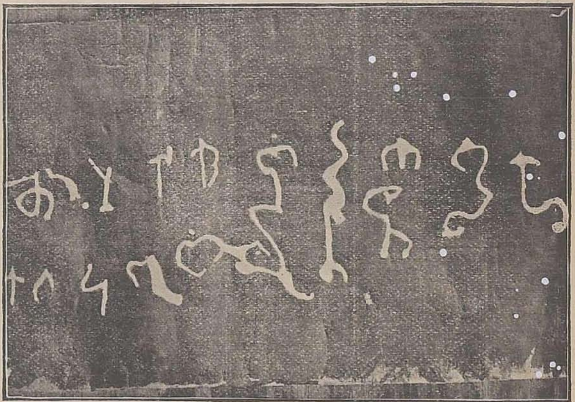
APPENDIX H.

A.—*Facsimile* copies of some old inscriptions of the State

Sittannavàsal Inscriptions.

I.

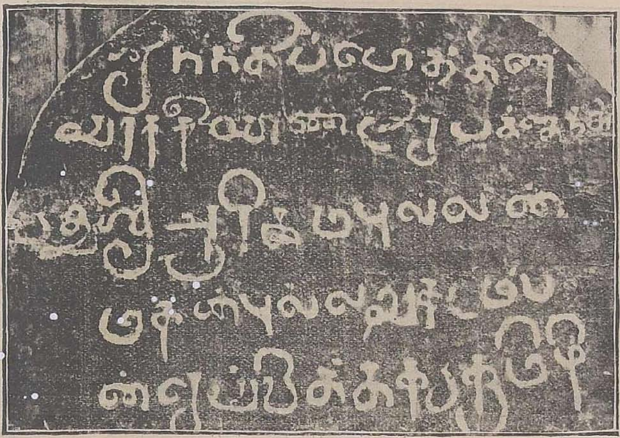
II.



III.

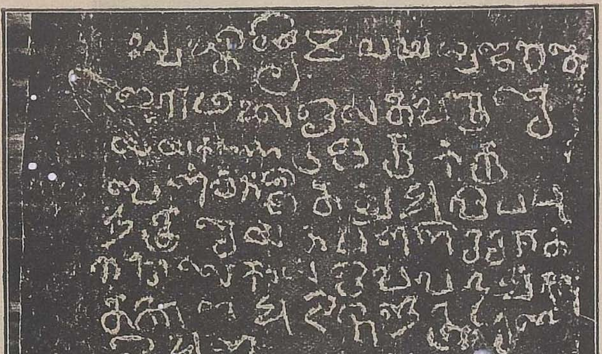
Rájàlippatti Inscription.

IV



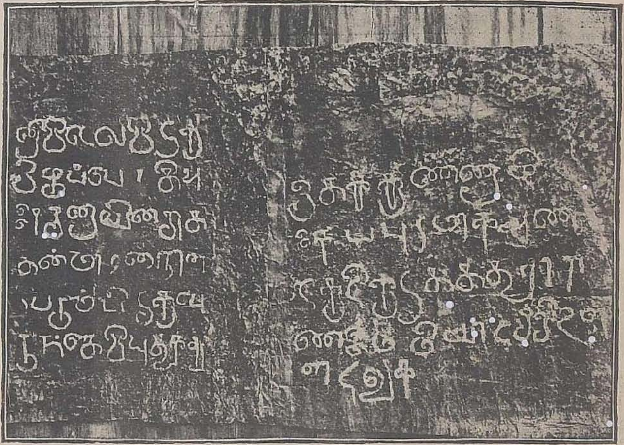
Ténimalai Inscription.

V.



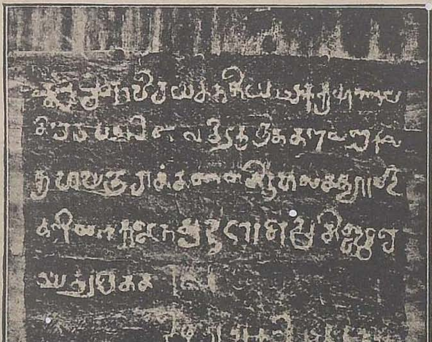
Tirumayyam Inscription.

VI.



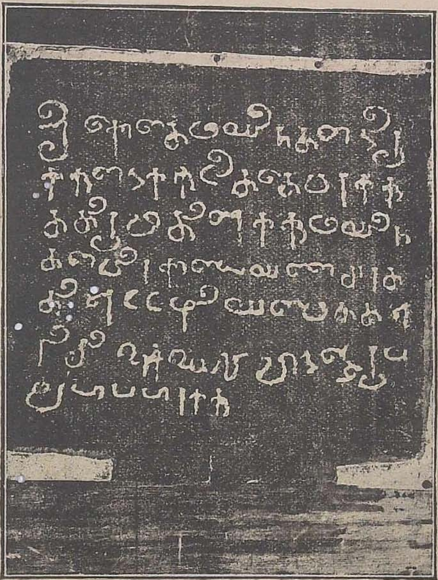
Malaiyadippatti Inscription.

VII.

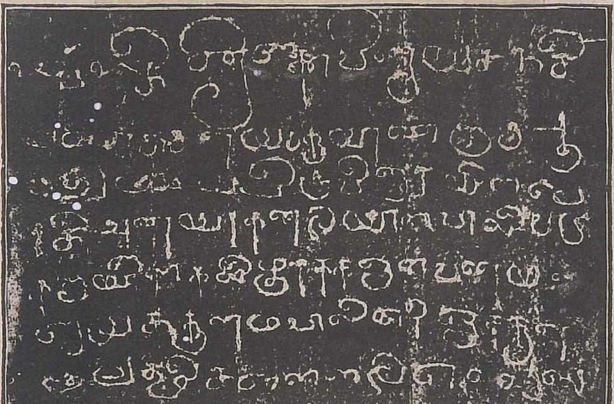


Kundrándàrkòvil Inscriptions.

VIII.

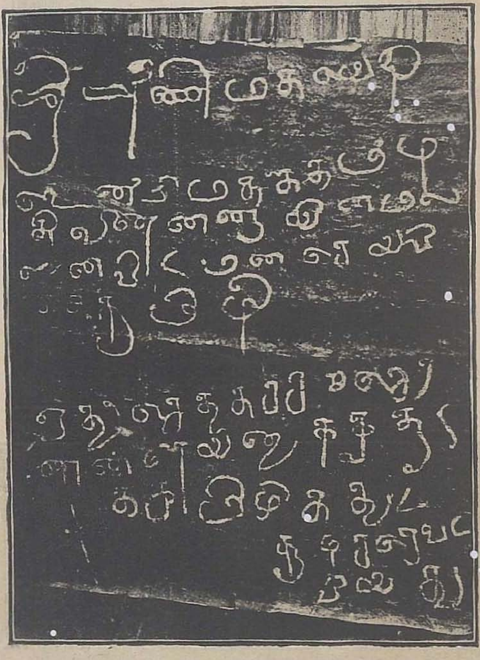


IX.



Nàrttámalai Inscription.

X.



B.—The first inscription transliterated in English and the other nine inscriptions printed in modern Tamil characters, translated into English and explained.

I.

A Brâhmî inscription on the pillow of a bed in the Eladippattam cavern at Sittannarâsal.

The following notes on the inscription have been very kindly supplied to me by M. R. Ry. H. Krishna Sastriar Avargal, B. A., Assistant Archæological Superintendent for Epigraphy, Southern India.

" The inscription reads as follows and is unintelligible.

Bráhmî Inscription.

e u mi (?) nâ *ta* ku mu *thú* ú ra (?) pi jú na tâ kà vu ti

i ta nà ku ci *tú* po ma (?) la i lu

Round the corner

gha (?) ra ce tà a *ta* a nà ma. "

" The inscription is in Asöka Brâhmî characters of a type peculiar to Southern India, which is found mostly in natural caverns on many of the hills of the Madura and Tinnevelly Districts. (See Epigraphical Reports from 1907, Part II, Introductory paragraphs.) The characters are often quite intelligible and may be read with certainty, but the interpretation of these curious inscriptions is still engaging the attention of many scholars. "

In the Epigraphical Report for 1906–1907, it is stated that the alphabet (of the inscriptions in these caverns) resembles that of the Asoka edicts, and may be assigned roughly to the end of the 3rd and beginning of the 2nd century B. C., that " the fact that the language employed in them is Pàli may be taken to show that it was understood in the Pândyan country even at that early period, " and that " if the inscriptions and the beds are synchronous, we have in them the earliest lithic records of the Tamil country and the most ancient lithic monuments of the Tamil race ".

II

A Tamil inscription on the pillow of another bed in the Eladippattam cavern at Sittannavásal.

=தொழக்குன்றத்துக்
கடவுளன் திருநீலன்.

Note 1. தொழக்குன்றம் cannot be identified with any known hill. கடவுளன் means an ascetic (முனிவன்) of God-like character. Hence திருநீலன் must be taken to have been a pretty well-known ascetic that had gone to Sittannavâsal, seeking a hermitage, from his place தொழக்குன்றம்.

Note 2. " The inscription is in archaic Tamil characters of the ninth century, one or two of the *r* letters resembling Vatteluttu ".

III.

A Tamil inscription on the pillow of a third bed in the Eladippattam cavern at Sittannavásal.

=திட்டைச்சாணன்,

the name of an occupant (சாணன் of திட்டை) of the bed on the pillow of which the inscription is found.

Note.—"The inscription is in archaic Tamil characters of the ninth century, one or two of the *r* letters resembling Vatteluttu".

IV.

Inscription on a stone sluice of a tank in ruins found about a mile to the south-east of Rájálippatti Agrahráram in Kulattúr Taluk.

1. ஸ்ரீ நந்திப்போத்தரை
2. யர்க்கியாண்டிருபத்தைந்தா
3. வது ஸ்ரீ ஆரிதம்புல்லன்
4. மகன்புல்லயகடம்ப
5. ன்செய்வித்தகற்குமிழி

Translation.

Prosperity! In the twenty-fifth year of Nandippóttaraiyar, the stone sluice (is) caused to be built by Pullaya Kadamban, son of Srí Aritam Pullan.

Note.

Nandippóttaraiyan or Nandipóttaràjá or Nandivarman Pallavamalla was a Pallava King that "ruled for fifty years from about 710 A. D."

V.

Inscription on a rock to the west of a ruined Jain temple on Ténímalai in Tirumayyam Taluk.

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ ஶலயமூஜந்தே
2. னார்மலைஇல்தவஞ்செ
3. ய்யக்கண்டுஇருக்கு
4. வேள்சந்தித்து அவிப்பு
5. றஞ்செய்தபள்ளிச்சந்த
6. ந்நாலேகால் இவ்வறங்கா
7. த்தான் அடிநீளெஞ்சென்
8. னிஅன

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity ! Seeing Malayadhwajan [1] performing penance on Ténúr hill, Irukkuvél [2] met him and instituted a *pallicchandam* [3] of four and a quarter [4] for sacrificial offerings [5]. May the feet of the maintainer of this charity be for ever on our head.

Notes.

1. Malayadhwajan seems to have been a Jain ascetic. *Vide* the word *Pallicchandam* in the 5th line of the inscription.

1. *Irukkuvél.* Which of the Irukkuvél chiefs of Kodumbàlúr met Malayadhwajan is not clear. See Appendix A to this volume.

3. *Pallicchandam. Palli* is a Tamil word that was used to denote a Jain monastery, temple or academy. And *Pallicchandam* was land granted to and enjoyed by such an institution.

4. *Of four and a quarter.* Probably the extent of the land granted to Malayadhwajan was four and a quarter *más.*

5. So அவிப்புறம் has been translated, the former part of this word being the Tamilised form of the Sanskrit *havis.* For the latter part புறம், see the 8th line of the Tirumayyam inscription.

6. *For ever.* So நீள் has been translated.

VI.

Inscription on a stone which must have once formed portion of a parapet to the steps leading to the temple of the Pallikonda Perumál, Tirumayyam and which now lies in a prakâra between Pallikonda Perumál's shrine and Satiamúrti Perumál's shrine.

1. ஸ்ரீ விடேலவிடுகு
2. விழுப்பேரதிஅ
3. ைர (ரை) சஞுயின்சாத்
4. தன்மாறன்றாய்
5. பெரும்பிடுகுபெ
6. ருந்தேவிபுதக்கு
7. இத[ற்]க்குண் ணழி
8. ைக [=கை]ப்புறமாகஅண்
9. [ை]டகுடிகுடுத்தது காரா
10. ண்மைமீயாட்சிஉள்
11. ளடங்க.

Translation.

Prosperity ! Renewed by Perumbidugu Perumdévi, mother of Sàttan Máran *alias* Vidélvidugu Vilupperadiaraisan. For offerings for this (temple) Andaikkudi is granted, inclusive of the rights of tenancy and proprietorship.

Notes.

1. "The inscription is in archaic characters of the 8th century A. D. (See p. 35 of the *Journal of the South Indian Association* for July 1911). The names *Vidélvidugu* and *Perumbidugu* show that the influence of the Pallavas was then felt in parts as far as modern Pudukkóttai."

2. உண்ணாழிகை=உண்+நாழிகை=offerings at (stated) times ?

3. Andaikkudi is a village two miles to the west of Tirumayyam.

4. *Viluppéradiaraisan.* Of the four words constituting this compound word, the first three words mean big, powerful or great ; and the last word means chieftain. The compound formed by the last two words is equivalent to the Sanskrit *adhirájan* and formed a title of honour with the meaning of "the great ruler". Compare *Tamiladiaraiyan* (inscription No. 366 of 1904), Brahmàdiràyan (No. 501 of 1912), Viluppéraraiyan (No. 342 of 1904), Vâranappéraraiyan (No. 345 of 1904), Varagunaadiaraiyan (No. 311 of 1904), and Pàndiadiaraisi (No. 348 of 1904—a title granted to a lady of rank).

VII.

Inscription on a pillar of the Mahámantapa of the rock-cut Siva temple at Malaiyadippatti in the Kulattúr Taluk.

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீ கோவிசையதந்திபர்மற்க்குயாண்டுபெ
2. திணாறுவது விடேல்விடுகு முத்தரையனாகிய
3. குவாவஞ்சாத்தனேன் திருவாலத்தூர்மலை
4. தளியாக்குடைந்துஹடாரரை ப்ரதிஷ்டைசெ
5. ய்து இத்தளியை...............
6. ....கீழ்செங்களிநாட்டு............
7. ....நாட்டார்க்குச்செய்த.........
8. ....
9. ....

Translation.

Hail ! Prosperity. In the 16th year of Kóvijayadantivarman [1], I, Vidélvidugu Muttaraiyan [2] *alias* Kuvàvan Sàttan, caused a temple to be excavated in the hill at Tiruvâlattúr [3] and installed the God.

[The remaining four lines of the inscription are mostly effaced. They contain the word 'கீழ்செங்களிநாடு', the name of the Nàdu in which Tiruvàlattúr or Malaiyadippa*tt*i was situated.]

Notes.

1. Kovijayadantivarman was a Pallava King, who reigned in the 8th century.

2. *Vidélvidugu Muttaraiyan.* Muttaraiyars were feudatories of the Pallavas, who, from the Pudukkóttai inscriptions, are found to have exercised considerable power in the eastern portion of Kónâdu. A daughter of

one of the rulers of this line—Varaguná—became the wife of Sembiyan Irukkuvél. [See Madras Inscription No. 337 of 1904 and Appendix A. to this book.]

3. *Tiruválattúr.* So Malaiyadippatti was then called.

VIII.

Inscription on a pillar of the rock-cut temple of Kundrándárkóvil.

1. ஸ்ரீகோதைமயிந்தன்றிரு
2. க்குன்றக்குடித்தேவர்க்கு
3. த்திருவாதிரைக்குமயிந் -
4. தன் வீரகாடையனைசார்த்
5. திஅட்டழியவைத்தஅ
6. ரிசி ௨௱௨௰ நா (ழி) நூற்றொருப
7. தி பாப்பார்க்கு.

Translation.

Prosperity! Kódai Mayindan [1], for the benefit of Mayindan [2], Víra Kâdaiyan, has arranged for the cooking and distribution among 110 Brahmins of 220 *náligas* [3] of rice on the Tiruvâdirai day [4] of the God of Tirukkunrakkudi [5].

Notes.

1. *Mayindan* means *son.* Possibly it was a title of rank.

2. *Mayindan Víra Kádaiyan* was either a son of Kódai Mayindan or a member of the family known as Mayindans.

3. *Nâliga* (denoted by நா) is a measure of capacity.

4. *Tiruvádirai* in the month of Màrgali (generally the full moon day in December–January) is a festival day on which Siva is, in the form of Natarâja, decked and led out in procession.

5. *Tirukkunrakkudi.* So Kundràndârkóvil was then called.

IX.

Inscription on another pillar of the rock-cut temple at Kundrándárkóvil in Kulattúr Taluk.

1. ஸ்வஸ்திஸ்ரீகோவிஜையதந்தி
   வ த
2. ப்போத்தரையற்குயாண்டு ௫ ஆ
3. வதுமாற்ப்பிடுவிஞர(ா)யின்பே
4. ரதி அரையர்களடியான்வாலிவடு
5. கனயின கலிமூர்க்க இளவரையன்
6. செய்தகுளம் வாலி ஏரி இக்குள
7. ம்இக்ஷி (க்ஷி) த்தான்னடிஎன்றலை
8. மோ(?)லன

Translation.

Hail! Prosperity. In the 5th year of Kôvíjayadantippóttaraiyan [1], (this) tank called Vâli Eri (is) caused to be dug by Vàli Vadugan *alias* Kalimúrka Ilavaraiyan, a slave (*i. e.*, dependent) of Màrpiduvinâr Péradiaraiyars [2].

Notes.

1. *Dantippóttarayan* was a Pallava King of the 8th century A. D.

2. *Márpiduvinár Péradiaraiyars.* Márpiduvinar may be taken to be the plural form of Mârpidugu, a surname of the Pallava King Dandippóttaraiyan. Márpiduvinar Péradiaraiyars may be taken to denote a line of chieftains that were feudatories of the Pallavas. Compare Sâttan Mârpidugu Ilangóvélâr. [See Appendix A to this book.]

X.

Inscription on a flat rock near the front bund of the tank Arumaikkulam, Nárttámalai.

1. ஸ்ரீ அணிமதயேறி
2. வென்றிமதஙதமிழ
3. தியரைனணுயினமல்
4. லன்விடமன்செய்வி
5. த்தகுமிழி
6. இது செ(ய்)தத்தச்சசோ
7. னனசிரயனுக்குடு
8. த்[த]குமிழித்துட
9. குழச்செ(ய்)வட
10. வியது.

Translation.

Prosperity! The sluice (is) caused to be constructed for Animadaśri (a tank) by Vendrimadantha [1] Tamiladiaraiyan *alias* Mallan [2] Vidaman. The land near the sluice, granted to the mason Sónanàsiriyan that built this, is to the north of (the field) Kulacchei [3].

1. *Vendrimadantha* may merely mean 'flushed with victory'.

2. *Mallan.* This shows the connection of the chieftain with the Pallavas. The word is found as the latter part of Pallava*malla*.

3. In the seventh line what is printed as சிர looks more like ஏர, in which case சோனன் would himself be a chief. "சிர" certainly gives better meaning.

4. தச்சன்=mason, சோனனசிரியன்=சோனனுசிரியன்=the master-builder Sónan (=Swarnan ?); குழச்செய்=குளச்செய்=the land near the tank; துட=துடவை=land; வடவியது=is to the north of.

APPENDIX I.

Extracts from the Author's Gazetteer of Pudukkottai.

Ammachattiram (See p. 73). A little to the west of the Chattiram a tank called "Pallikkulam", meaning "a tank near a Jain monastery". Just to the west of the tank are found cut on a rock at a height of 25 feet three figures of the Jain God Arhat, protected by three umbrellas. From two inscriptions which are found near the place we learn that the rock itself was known as "Tiruppallimalai" or "the sacred monastery hill", and near one of these images is a mutilated Jain image *.

Ammankuricchi (See p. 140). The place once belonged to the Marungâpuri Palayam, the chiefs of which tract built the Siva temple at the place, as is mentioned in an inscription in the temple. A now-forgotten ballad has the line

அம்மன்குறிச்சி பூச்சையன் நத்தத்து லிங்கையன்

that is, Púchi (Nàyak, who had his capital) at Ammankuricchi, and Linga (Nàyak, who had his chief seat) at Nattam.

Athanakkottai (p. 263). A Brahmin Sarvamányam village which lies on the road from Pudukkôttai to Tanjore......When Haidar's forces wanted to plunder the village, a man of this village is said to have concealed himself in a tree with a bow and arrows and shot the leader, so that the forces fled.

Kanakkanpatti (p. 180). A Brahmin Inam village two miles to the south of Pudukkóttai town. The lands originally granted to the villagers as Inam by Vijaya Raghunàtha Ráya Tondaimán were very fertile, and his son Ràya Raghunátha Tondaimàn not approving of the grant, stopped the canal irrigating the fields. The father remonstrated and the son yielded to his father's request. When the son became ruler in 1769, he stopped the grant. Long after this, on a sultry day, after a hunting excursion, he went over to the village and found that all the Brahmins had left the village except a single Brahmin, who was himself very poor and could supply the King only with raggy gruel. The ruler blamed himself for his injustice and granted as Inam other lands to the south of the Kundár, an adjacent rivulet, to be enjoyed rent free by the Brahmins, who were to return to the village.

---

* Some other places where Jain temples in ruins and Jain images are found are Sadaiyappàrai by the side of Tirugòkarnam, Bommimalai to the west of Ammâchattiram and Kàyánpatti, a village three miles to the north of Malaiyadippatti.

Kilattaniyam (See p. 73). It is inhabited by Vellálas. About fifteen years ago there was found in a field near the village a piece of stone containing figures of Jain Gods, similar to those which are cut on the rock of Ténímalai, including the figure of the God under three umbrellas. The piece of stone has been removed to the temple of Siva in the village and can be seen there.

Kudumiamalai (p. 53). There is an excellently cut cave temple at the place. The front hall measures 23 ft. 5 in. by 12 ft. 2 in. by 8 ft. 9 in. The pillars which are also cut out of the rock are 7 ft. 2 in. in height and 8 ft. in circumference. The big Ganesa, which is also hewn out of the rock, is 5 ft. 2 in. in height.

There are in the big temple 177 inscriptions of the greatest interest. One of them is a Pallava Grantha inscription, forming a musical treatise of seven sections of varying lengths, which treat of svarams (musical sounds), etc. It was composed by an unnamed King for the benefit of his disciples. The King was himself the pupil of a certain Rudràchárya.

Kumaramalai (p. 332). The rock at the place contains a temple of Subrahmanya, which has recently become popular. The only poet that is known to have sung of the God is Muttumínákshikkavirávar, popularly known as Gurupádadása, who has written the well-known one hundred stanzas called "Kumarésa Satakam" and several other works.

Kundrandar Kovil (p. 44). The village has a well-known ancient rock-cut cave temple, which is on the model of the rock-cut temple at Malaiyadippatti. The front hall of the temple is 21 ft. 8 in. by 15 ft. 2 in. by 8 ft. 9 in.; and the shrine is 12 ft. 6 in. by 10 ft. 6 in. by 10 ft. 6 in. The doorway to the shrine is 5 ft. 9 in. high and 2 ft. 8 in. broad. The pillars which have been hewn out of the rock are 6 ft. 10 in. in circumference, and the image of Ganesa is 7 ft. high, 4 ft. 11 in. broad and 1 ft. 5 in. thick. There are two figures of Dwàrapàlaka or doorkeeper, which are each of them 5 ft. 5 in. in height and 1 ft. 7 in. in breadth.

Malaiyadippatti (p. 44). The village has a combined temple of Siva and Vishnu cut out of a single rock and situated within one prakára. According to common report, the cave-temples in these parts, eighteen in number, were dug out by one Nandi Rájà. But according to an inscription in the temple, the Siva temple, with a hall 22 ft. 2 in. by 18 ft. 4 in. by 9 ft. 1 in., with a shrine measuring 9 ft. by 7 ft., with four pillars which are each 6 ft. 3 in. in height and 5 ft. 3 in. in circumference and a Nandi, was cut in the 16th year of Vijaya Danti Varma, a Pallava King who lived in the 8th century A. D. (See App. p. xxviii). The Vishnu temple, with its hall 32 ft. 7 in. by 32 ft. 2 in., platform or altar 9 ft. 3 in. by 3 ft. 6 in., and shrine 16 ft. 8 in. by 5 ft., has a fine image of Vishnu, lying down

as at Srirangam on a stone serpent, much larger than the one at Tirumayyam, which is larger than the one at Srirangam.

Narttamalai (See p. 73). There are a large number of inscriptions in which the hill is called (Rattaipàdikonda Kulóttunga Chóla) *Nagarattu Malai* or the hill on which stood the mercantile town (established by Kulóttunga Chóla, who captured Rattaipàdi or the town of the Ràshtrakútas.........The western hill was otherwise called the rock of the Jains..........There are rare medicinal plants and minerals to be found on the hills forming Nàrattámalai. Of the minerals that are found may be mentioned the mineral which reduces boiled rice to water. Plants, however rare, are believed to be found in this place and a dance-song has the lines :—

> " இலங்கிடும் ஜோதி விருட்சமுண்டு......
> கருநெல்லி மரமுமுண்டு—அதில்
> கருங்காக வெண்காகப் பறவையுண்டு."

meaning " that there are on the mountain the self-luminous tree, karunelli tree, black crows and white crows. The self-luminous tree called in Sanskrit *thrinajjyótis* or *jyótishmati* is supposed to be ever shedding light, without requiring any oil. (See Kálidàsa's Kumàrasambhava, I, 10). Karunelli prolonged one's life indefinitely and it was only by eating a fruit of this tree (resembling the elixir of life) that Avvai, the poetess, is said to have lived for about one thousand years. (See Nacchinàrkiniyar's Commentary on *Sirupánárruppadai*, the 91st poem of *Puranánúru* and Mahámahópàdhyáya M. R. Ry. Swaminatha Aiyar's note on Anji and Avvai in his edition of the latter book. Another composition mentions that the hill contains an antidote to poison, being the exhudation of a " nameless tree " a plant which enables a man to bewitch any woman ", a drug which will render the enemies speechless, and something called *Indradhanus* or " the bow of Indra " which acts like the philosopher's stone and transmutes iron into gold.

From inscriptions to be found on Nàrttàmalai, we find that there were two monasteries there of Jains, which were both academies and places of worship. The hill on which they stood seem to have been originally called *Tirumánmalai* or " Arhat Deva hill ". After these monasteries were established, they came to be called " *Tiruppallimalai* " and " *Ten Tiruppallimai* " or " the sacred Jain monastery hill " and " the southern sacred Jain monastery hill ". One of the inscriptions states that the produce of the lands allotted to these Jain institutions were to be divided in the ratio of 2 : 1, showing that the first of these monasteries was the more important.

On the Aluruttimalai or "man rolling hill*" near Ammáchattiram, above the cave in the hill, there are two Jain images cut out on the hill and there is also a mutilated figure of Jaina or Buddhist origin within the cave".

Nallur (p. 142).......From an inscription at Panditakkudi near the village Nallúr, it will be found that the Chattram was established for the benefit of the pilgrims to Ramnad (and Ramésvaram) by Alagiri Náyakan, son of Treasury Minákshi Náyakan in Vilambi year (1708—9 A. D). His figure is found cut with a நாமம் (or the forehead mark of a Vaishnava) on a pillar in the Chattram with that of a woman, who may be taken to be his wife.

Puliyur. See Errata sheet and Visalúr below.

Sittannavasal (See p. 73). Is noted for its rock-cut Jain temple. Its front hall measures 22 ft. 10 in. by 11 ft. 6 in. and has two pillars also cut out of the rock and seeming to serve as supports, which are 2 ft. 2 in. square and 6 ft. 10 in. high. Behind the middle part of the hall is a square room measuring 10 ft. 6 in. each way, and the doorway which leads to it is 5 ft. 7 in. high and 2 ft. 6 in. broad. Within this room there are three Jain images, each of them having three umbrellas over it. There are two images on the northern and the southern side of the front hall facing each other, the figure on the northern side having one umbrella over it and the figure on the southern side having its head protected by a serpent with five hoods. There are some pieces of chiselled stone scattered about here and there, which may be taken to show that there was a building attached to the front hall. On the ceiling of the hall are pictures in water-colours of birds represented as seated on lotuses in tanks. These pictures, which are very likely more than ten centuries old, look as fresh as though they were only ten or twenty years old. It is said that offerings to the Jain Gods at this place are occasionally made every now by Jains that go to the place from Kumbhakonam in the Tanjore District and other places. On the north-eastern side of the rock there is a spacious polished surface containing 17 beds with pillows cut out of the rock. Seven steps lead to this, which therefore bears the name of "ஏழடிப்பட்டம்" or "Seven-step flat". [See pp. 54 (*a*), 54 (*b*), App. p. xx, p. xxv].

There is a pond in the village called "நடச்சுனை", which is a corruption of "நாவல்சுனை" or "the spring by the side of Naval (or native apple)

---

* *Giripatanam* or "inflicting death by causing a man to fall down a hill" is one of the punishments mentioned in Sanskrit Law books: வரைபாய்தல (=falling down a hill), mentioned on pp. 94 and 252 of Nacchinárkiniyar's commentary on *Tolkáppiya Poruladhikáram* is allied to this.

trees. The tank is ever full of water. It was drained in 1911, when it was found that in the tank there was a rock-cut oval-shaped temple with a lingam in it also cut out of the rock. The lingam had no moss over it and there was enough of space in the temple for a man to go round the lingam.

Tenimalai (See p. 73). Is also called Ténúr hill. Contains a sort of natural cavern which has been fitted out as a temple or monastery. The cavern was once used as a dwelling place by some Jains. Engraved on the rock of the hill are found the figures of a God under three umbrellas and two other Jain Gods. Separate figures also of these Gods are found mutilated in the cavern. There is an inscription on the rock which refers to a monastery under one Malayadhwaja, evidently a Jain ascetic, and of lands granted to this by one Irukkuvél, a ruler of Kodumbalúr.

Tennangudi (App. p. vii)......The place is said to have been called after one Tennan-Ràjà, about whom the following story is told. When he had to go out for some war, he gave his wife a flower and turmeric, told her that he would return within a specified time and that, if he should not be by her side within the time she had to infer that he was dead, if she found the flower faded and turmeric black. The Ràjà did not return within the prescribed time and his wife found that the flower had faded and that the turmeric had turned black. She got a pit of fire ready and was about to fall into it as an act of Sati, when God appeared to her in the form of an old Pandàram and prevented her from falling into the fire by informing her that her husband would come back to her soon. The Ràjà returned as foretold by the Pandáram and the pit of fire became converted into the drinking pond of the village. The land itself came to be called "Mangilyam Kàttha Nádu" or "the land of salvation from widowhood" or Kulamangala Nàdu.

Tennanur. See Tennangudi, the correct name.

Tirumayyam (p. 44)........Both the temple of Vishnu and that of Siva are rock-cut. What was once a stone-step of a spiral staircase contains an old inscription of the Pallava period..........

Tiruppur (See p. 73). Near the Pudukkulam tank of this village are found images of Buddha and Vénugàna Krishna.

Tiruvarankolam (See p. 70). Kalmàshapàda (Karikál Chóla) was for a long time childless. When the Rishi Agastya came to know this, he told the King that to the north of the Vellár there was a sacred shrine, that Paramasiva had formed a tank there with a drop of the Ganges in his matted hair and called the tank after himself "அரன்குளம்" or "Tiruvarankulam", which means "the sacred Siva's tank", that one Pushpamitra, an umbrella bearer of Siva, who had incurred his master's displeasure by casting amorous glances at a Gandharva maiden, had been punished by being required to live

for four successive Yugas in this world—in the form first of a Margosa tree, then of an Agatti tree (*Bauhinia tomentosa*) and then of a gold-palm tree* and ultimately of a mantapa or a masonry shed, that Siva as a matter of favour to his servant was kind enough to tell him that he would live under his shadow, that at that particular time the umbrella bearer was in the form of a gold-palm tree, and that the King Karikál Chóla would be blest with a child, if he should go to Tiruvarankulam and worship Siva there. Karikal Chóla resorted to the place as directed, but his efforts to get at the palm tree were for several days unavailing. He finally met with a hunter, who had a gold fruit with him, and told the King that the fruit was from a tree that stood near the place, that he had sold a number of such fruits to a Chetti and that he would take the King to the palm tree. When the King approached the tree, Siva's umbrella bearer, who was seated on its top, told the King that the time had come for him to turn himself into a mantapa. The tree immediately afterwards disappeared, leaving its name in the name of a fort, Porppanaikkóttai near Tiruvarankulam.

The foregoing account is from the Tiruvarankulam Sthalapurana. The following account is from a Tamil manuscript in prose. There was a Rishi performing an austere penance in the neighbouring forest, and a Védan (a man of the hunting caste), who had strayed away from his wife, found her afterwards with the Rishi. The Védan thanked the Rishi and offered to take to him every day some roots and fruits, which the Rishi said he would be glad to accept. The next day the Védan found all of a sudden in the forest a palm tree, from which a fruit fell down at the time he saw it. He took the fruit to the Rishi, who, telling him that it was not fit to be eaten, required him to take it to one of the Chettis in a neighbouring village.

Vellanur (See p. 73). There is an image of Buddha lying down to the south of the Vattam cutchery at the place.

Viralimalai (p. 94 ; p. 130). Has a famous shrine of Subrahmanya. The story relating to the origin of the shrine is that a boy, having received a beating from his teacher, hid himself behind the image of Subrahmanya at Vayalúr, six miles to the west of Trichinopoly, that he was shut up in the temple when the temple was closed after the night pújá, that the boy was dreadfully afraid when he found himself alone, that the God quieted his fears and gave him the power of *extempore* composition, that the boy began at once to sing hymns in praise of the God, that the parents of the boy were

*It is curious that these three trees, Margosa, *Agatti* and Palm tree were held in great esteem by the three great Kings of the ancient Tamil land, the Pándyas, the Chólas and the Chèras respectively.

delighted when the next day they found the boy safe, learned and wise; that the God once thought of going on a sporting excursion, that the boy was permitted to follow the God catching hold of the feathers of the peacock vehicle of the God, that during the excursion the God was so much pleased with the parts about Viralimalai that he intended to settle down there, that the chieftain of Pérambúr and Kattalúr, Alagia Manavàla Tévan, in whose territory lay the tract, was then there, that, on being told by the boy that the God Subrahmanya was there, he expressed a desire to see the God, that the boy composed a hymn for this purpose, that the boy's prayer was granted, but that the chieftain lost his eyesight "blasted by the excessive light" and effulgence of the God, that on praying to the God for recovery of his vision his eyesight was restored and that the chieftain built a temple to the God at the place and was one of his most devoted worshippers. The boy, whose name was Gnána Varódaya, became the first trustee of the temple. Portions of the temple were built by the Náyak chieftains of Kumáravádi, into whose hands the tract about Viràlimalai passed later on. To the east of the temple is what is known as "the Eastern gate mantapam", where laudatory songs are sung on the Pérambûr and Kattalúr rulers, who patronised the temple.

.........One Karuppamútha Pillai, an agent of the pàlayakàr of Kumàravàdi, in whose tract lay the temple, had made it a rule to visit the temple and worship the God every Friday. Once after he had set out from his house, he found that on account of heavy showers, a tank had burst and the Mámundi stream, lying between Kumáravàdi and Virálimalai, had become unfordable. He concluded that he had to spend the night at some distance from human habitations without meals and what was more important to him without smoking. The God however appeared to him, kindly supplied him with a cigar and light, and arranged for his visiting the temple that night without difficulty. From that time forwards cigars have been offered to the God at the time of the last pújá of the day along with food and other eatables and distributed among the Brahmins and others visiting the temple. It is said that, after the tract passed into the hands of the Tondaimàns, a ruler of Pudukkóttai ordered the offering of cigars to be stopped as inappropriate to such a superior deity as Subrahmanya, and that is said to have appeared to the ruler in a dream, exhibiting his injured body and explained that it was impossible for him to get on without smoking with the result that the cigar offering was permitted to be continued *.

* See Muthuppalani Kavirâyar's Virâliyànkáthal, from which the two following lines may be quoted.

"மீறுபுகைச் சுற்றேது வேண்டா வெனுமரசன்
றேறு கனவதனிற் செவ்வுதிரங் காட்டிநின்றோன்.

Varppattu (p. 155). This is a village near Ponnamaràvati in the tract which once belonged to Bomi Nàyak of Vàràppúr–Karisalpét. The place is otherwise called Ranga Krishna Muttu Víra Bhúpàla Samudram, as it was granted in the following circumstances as an Inam village to Brahmins by Dalavày Narasayya of Trichinopoly. On returning from a pilgrimage to Ramèsvaram, the Dalavày seems to have thought the place very suitable for an Agrahàram. He ordered the jungles at the place to be cleared and houses to be built there and imported Brahmins to whom he presented the houses and cultivable lands in the name of the Nayak ruler, Ranga Krishna Muttu Virappa (1682—9 A. D.) The people of the village are said to have of their own accord offered it to the Tondaimàn, under whom they thought they would have better protection than under Bomi Nàyak.

Visalur.........There is in the village a big banyan tree with 97 stems. Under and near this banyan tree dacoities were and probably still are arranged and oaths taken. The Kallars are afraid to tell lies within two furlongs of Visalúr, which is the most important Kallar centre. There are temples to two Pattavars (persons that died under special circumstances) and a Karuppar. The story is that originally Visalúr was a Vellàla village, that the Kallars, having settled in those parts, were growing in power, that one of the Kallars asked a Vellàla to give him his daughter in marriage, that the Vellála, afraid of the Kallars, pretended assent, that he informed the other Vellálars of this and that all of them including the girl ran away leaving the Kalla proposer of the marriage in a rage, that one Vellàla however was in love with a dancing-girl at the place, that he was paying stealthy visits to her, that he was found out and killed, that the dancing-girl, taking herself to be the cause of his death, committed suicide, that her servant thereupon did the same, that these received honours as Pattavars, that a Karuppar (or Black god) of Malayalam, which was often wandering from Malabar to Negapatam, found Visalúr a convenient place to live in, that it entered into an arrangement with the souls of the Pattavars that offerings should be made to it after they were presented to the Vellàla and the dancing-girl, but before the servant was propitiated, and that the three Pattavans and Karuppar now receive offerings and are worshipped by some Kallars and Mélagars.

APPENDIX J.

Some Additional Notes.

Page 48. Insert as the last paragraph the following :—

"The custom seems to have prevailed in Marungápuri Estate as late as twenty years ago. One Parattaiyan Ambalakáran is said to have been enclosed in such a pot, which was furnished with arrangements for the man's excrements being removed. The pot is said to have been placed under a tree in one of his *punjai* (or dry) lands outside the village, whither his meals were taken. The man is reported to have had good vision and power of speech, and his confinement in a pot must have seemed to him a sort of punishment".

Page 82. In continuation of the third footnote, read

Another chief referred to in Tamil literature is "மாதை வீரன்" "or the hero of Mádai" who, in an inscription at Durvásapuram in the Tirumayyam Taluk, is described as "மெய்யன் செல்வத்தனபாலன் பேரிங்தை" (*sic*) மாதை வீரன்.

Page 100. Between the 9th and the 10th line, add "A. D. 1315* Malittán Pallavaráyar of Perungalúr purchases lands at Agavayal in Tenkavinádu for instituting in the temple at Tirugókarnam a Pallavaràya *sandhi* (= a daily service at a fixed hour at his expense), a Pallavaràyan festival (= probably a festival of the God celebrated on the anniversary of the birthday of the ruler), a festival on the full-moon day in *Vaikási* month, and a festival on the day on which the God was taken out for a bath in the month of *Chitra*".

" Lines 14–15. Add "The inscription of Màran Sadaiyan in the temple and the rock-cut shrine show that the temple was in existence long before this date (1387)—before the ninth century".

---

*The Hon'ble Dewan Bahadur M. R. Ry. L. D. Swamikkannu Pillai Avargal is of opinion that, in the inscription containing an account of Malittán Pallavaràyár's charities, there are no sufficient astronomical data for fixing its absolute date and that probably Mâravarma Kulasékhara Pàndya, in the second year of whose reign the inscription was engraved, was the Pàndya of that name, who began his reign in 1314 A.D.

Page 129. Line 3 and
Page 145. Line 4 } Add "In a copper plate dated 1661, however, 'Pudukkóttai Símai' is mentioned, which seems to show that the name was in use before 1686".

Page 141. Line 13. As a footnote to "Akkal Rájá", read

This Akkal Rájá must have been a nobleman of affluence that had gone to the Pudukkóttai side from Vijayanagaram and lived at the time at Uppilikkudi. There seems to have been an earlier Vijayanagaram nobleman of the same name, of whom it is said that, when he was on a pilgrimage to Rámésvaram, he was persuaded to settle in these parts to put down the lawless Vísenginàttukkallars, that he lived in a fort on the Nárttámalai hills, that one Akkacchiá, a Pallavaráya princess (evidently of Kalasamangalam or Pudukkóttai, as can be easily inferred from the name 'Akkacchiá Tank' in the town) employed a Kallan of the surname Kacchirán to bring her his head, and that, when this was done, Akkal Rájá's seven wives committed Sati by throwing themselves into firepits prepared near Nocchikkanmai by the side of the Nárttámalai hills.

Page 141. Line 20. After 'in that year' add "From an inscription (relating to a charity to a Vishnu temple) engraved on a stone planted near Vellaimantapam between the 17th and the 18th milestone from Pudukkóttai on the road to Trichinopoly, we find this ruler calling himself "கோடியாதிபதி" or "ruler of Pudukkóttai". [*Koti*=new; the word is sometimes used for Pudukkóttai=New Fort]. This must be taken to show that the ruler considered himself as connected with the Tondaimàn line of Pudukkóttai, of which the Kolat túr line was a branch. In this inscription of which parts are wanting, the ruler seems to connect himself with "கள்ளத் திருமங்கைவம்சம்" or the family of the well-known Vaishnava saint of the name of Tirumangai Alwar, who, before he became a saint, is said to have been for a time a robber. This may be taken to mean that the ruler was of the Kallar caste and that he was a staunch Vaishnava".

Page 141. Line 32. As a footnote to "the Sérvaikárs of Nánguppatti" read

These were Unjanainàttukkallars and were related to the Sérvaikàrs of Kannanúr (See Appendix, page ix). They

were known as அஞ்சுநிலைப்பற்று ஸர்தார்கள் or "the commandants of the fighting men living in the *five* stations" or villages of Nánguppatti, Pérámbúr, Marudampatti, Pákkudi and Sàranakkudi, which were under the rule of the Pèràmbùr–Kattalùr chiefs (See p. 94).

Page 263. Between the 25th and the 26th line read

The battle was fought at **Surandivadi** * (now called Súràndikkulam), as is mentioned in the following stanza obtained from a member of the Manna Vélàr family,

பந்தாடு கந்துகம் நூறு யிரந்தந்தி பத்துலட்சம்
பந்தாக வேவந் தெதிராடு ஹைதர்தன் பாளயத்தில்
பிந்தாக வேவெட்டிச் சூராண்டிவாடியிற் பேர்நிலைத்து
வந்தான்றென் கோடி ரதுநாத மன்னவேள் மன்னவனே.

Meaning that "the ruler Raghunàtha (Tondaimàn) of Pudukkóttai, who was the feudal lord of Manna Vélàr, killed at Súràndivàdi by a stratagem countless horses and elephants in the opposing army of Haidar and thus established his name".

Page 332. Line 17. After 'encouragement' add

Subba Aiyar of Ráyapuram mentioned above was also the author of *Madura Tiruvilaiyádal Kirtanai* and several marriage songs. Subrahmanya Bhárati, author of *Kundrákkudi Pillaitthamil*, though known as a poet of Sivaganga, was patronised by the second ruler of the State and granted lands at Kánappéttai to the east of Tirumayyam as Sarvamányam.

The account would be incomplete if no reference be made to the Mussulman author of *Abhishékamálai*, which was first publicly read and published at Vayalogam and the celebrated scholar Father Beschi † or Viramámunivar, who lived for a time at Avúr (See p. 167). The latter ate, dressed and behaved like the native Head of a native Matt, abstaining from animal food, riding in a palanquin, etc. He was the author

* *Vàdi*—a sentinel's station. The account is that in the Sottuppàlai tract a Maravan of the name of Sùra Tévan once made himself ruler and stationed a sentinel in the locality now called Súràndikkulam, a little to the east of the chattram at Athanakkóttai.

† For a very interesting account of this missionary, see the Madras Journal of Literature and Science, Series 1, Vol. XI, 1840.

of many books in Tamil, including a dictionary and grammars. A copy of his celebrated Tamil epic, *Tembâvani*, was found at Avúr in the house of one Bangáru Naig, his disciple.

Appendix. Page 5, line 6. Add "The latter work is said to have been composed by one Padikkàsu Pandàram, who from internal evidence may be taken to have written the former work also. See also page 330 of the History"

INDEX.

INDEX.

Abdali Khan, 284 *n*.
Abhishèkamalai, App. p. xli.
Acchamariyátha Tèvar, 85.
Achyuta Pallavaràyar, 101, 102, 104.
Achyutappa Tondaimán, 86 *n*.
Achyutappa Vijayàlaya Tévan, 84.
Achyutaráyar, 61.
Adaikkalam Kàtta Chetti, 180.
Adaikkalam Kàtta Vijayálaya Tévan, 84.
Adaikkattáyi Ayi, 162.
Adaippakkàra Chattram, 19, 168 *n*, 328.
Adam, Sir Frederick, 394.
Adanakkóttai, 14, 28, 34, 99, 134, 263, 264, 265, 369, App. p. xxxi.
Adanaiyúr Nádu, 59.
Adarúr, 79.
Adayavalanján, 118.
Adhikári of a Nádu, 76.
Adiappa Aiyar, 404.
Adigár of Ceylon, 366.
Adinàràyanayyan, 231, 253, 257.
Adiránviduthi, 22.
Administration, Ancient, 76.
Adondai Chakravarti, 55, 56.
Adoption, 404.
Adoption Sanad, 421-2.
Adrampatnam, 3.
Agastya, 54 (*d*), App. p. xxxv.
Agavayal, App. p. xxxix.
Agnánavimóchani, 3, 7, 9, 14, 20, 21, 38.
Agnew, Lt. Col., 309-14.
Agra, 448.
Agricultural Association, 463.
Agricultural Exhibition, 464, 469.
Agricultural Farm, 469.
Agricultural Schools, 478.
Agricultural seedbanks, 478.
Agrippina and Claudius, Coins of, 51.
Agrippina and Nero, Coins of, 51.
Agrippina, Coins of, 51.
Ahalya, 116.
Ahmad Saib Gurukkal, 280.
Ahmedabad, 448.
Akanánúru, 41 *n*, 65.
Akkachiá, App. p. xl.
Akkachià tank, 168, App. p. xl.
Akkal Rájà, 141, App. p. xl.
Alagar hill, 41.
Alagia Manavàlapperumál Tondaimán, 85.
Alagia Manavála Tévan, 94, App. p. xxxvii.
Alagia Nàcchi Amman, 63, 332.
Alagia Náyak, 142, App. p. xxxiv.
Alagiri Náyak, 92.
Alam Khan, 172, 188, 190, 191, 202, 214.
Alangádu, 27.
Alangudi, 1, 4, 15, 16, 21, 22, 34, 64, 77, 80, 132, 134, etc.
Alangudi Nádu, 78, App. p. vii.
Alangudippatti, 73.
Alankanmái reservoir, 279 *n*.
Alattúr, 141.
Albert Victor, Prince, 447.
Alexander Primrose, Mr., 17.
Al Jivitam, 454.
Allahabad, 448.
Alluvial formations, 5, 16.
Alumbil, App. pp. v, vii.
Alumbilnádu, 118.
Aluruttimalai, 4, 8 *n*, App. p. xxxiv.
Amánat, 461.
Amáni, 352, 373, 419, 437.
Amarakárs, 363, 409.
Amaram, 455.
Amara Simha, 92.
Amarávati Nàdu, App. p. vii.
Ambukkóvil, 78, 99, 114, 115, 116, 118.
Ambuliyàr, 3 *n*, 4.
Ambunàdu, 67. (See Anbil Nádu).
Ambunàttu Valanthan, 150 *n*, 266, 331.
Ambúr, 188.
Amburáppatti, 17.
American Madura Mission, 397, App. p. x.
Ammáchatram, 4, 8, 20, 21, 28, 73, 109 *n*, 118, 121, 141, App. p. xxxi.
Ammál Ayi, 285, 347, 382.
Ammaniammál Samudram, 329.
Ammani Ayi (1), 280.
Ammani Ayi (2), 328.
Ammanippatti, 118.
Ammani Rájá Estate, 408, 409.
Ammankásu, 178.
Ammankuricchi, 96, 139, 140, 154 *n*, App. p. xxxi.
Anai malai, 274.
Anai Tondaimán, 115.
Anaivàri stream, 24.
Ananda Row, 72, 145 *n*, 153, 170, 171, 172, 173, App. p. ix.
Anagundi, 120.
Anantayya, (1), 298.
Anantayya, (2), 346-7, 356.
Anbil, 116.
Anbil Nádu, 59, 116, 117, 118, 124.
Andakkulam, 24, 141, 243, 331.
Andappa Manna Vélar, 331.
Andappa Manna Vélar Kuravanji, 331.
Andra Bhàshàrnavam, 331.
Anganviduthi, 185 *n*, 407.
Anji, App. p. xxxiii.
Anjunilaipparru Sárdars (in Tamil), App. p. xli.
Annà Aiyar (1), 144.
Annà Aiyar (2), 229, 231, 253, 257, 284 *n*.
Annachattram, 179.
Annáswami Aiyar, 144, 416, 417, 419, 423.
Annavásal, 5, 8, 9, 23, 25, 34, 56, 59, 63, 215.
Annàvayyan, 305.

Annayyan, 231, 253, 284 n.
Anthony, Mr., 269.
Antonia, Coins of, 51.
Anwar-ud-din, 91, 187, 188.
Appá Aiyar, 144, 356, 378, 380, 401, 407, 408, 411-2, 413.
Appanna, 54 (c).
Appu Row, 371.
Araiyars, 77, 78, 84, 133.
Arananallúr, 100.
Aranippatti, 44, 48, 100.
Arantángi, 3, 15, 19, 84, 85, 86 n, 134, 151, 152, 186, 259, 268, 270, 271, 277, 312, 404.
Arasukávalgár, 96, 123, 302.
Arasusvatantram, 78.
Aravakkuricchi, 272, 273, 274.
Arbuthnot, Sir. J., 421.
Arcot, 91, 162, 163, 164, 165, 166, 182, 190, 199, 212 n, 219, 266.
Ardley, Samuel, 245.
Area of the State, 1.
Arhat, 73, App. p. xxxiii.
Arhat déva hill, App. p. xxxiii.
Arimalam, 5, 13, 20, 25, 59.
Ariyalúr, 135, 151, 230, 231, 254, 254 n. 260, 272, 292, 294-5, 331.
Arulmolimangalam, 69.
Arunaicchéri, 69 n.
Aruvàlas, 55.
Arya Nátha, } 91.
Arya Náyaka Mudali, } 91.
Asam Khan, 83.
Asiatic army, Formation of, 237-40.
Asof Jah, 188 n.
Asoka edicts, 54.
Assessment rate, 352.
Assessors, 465.
Assumption of the Government of India by the Queen of England, 420.
Atali Kúrram, 61, 62 n, 75.
Atavisvasankovil vattam, 69 n.
Atavisvarar, 26, 72.
Atmospheric pressure, 31, 32.
Athanakkottai, 263, App. p. xli.
Attankudi, 100.
Augustus Cæsar, Emperor, 482.
Augustus and Tiberius, Coins of, 51.
Augustus Cæsar, Coins of, 51.
Aurangzeb, 162.
Aurei, 49.
Avadai Raghunátha Tondaimán or Avadai Tondaimán, 119, 121.
Avadhúta Row, 295.
Avadayarkovil, 18, 85.
Avaiyándàr Sundara Pándya Tévan, 83.
Avanti Kovappallavaràyar, App. p. v.
Avàttàyi, 145.
Avudaiappa Valamkondán, 159, 160-1, App. p. ix.
Avudaya Nàyanár, 85.
Avudayappa Servaikáran, 270.
Avúr, 94, 95, 138, 139, 148, 156, 157, 158, 166 n, 167, 174, 186, 216, 399-402, App. pp. xli-xlii.
Avur Kuluvalnàtakam, 332.
Avvai, App. p. xxxiii.
Ayangudi, 13, 23.
Ayi Ammal Ayi, 289, 336-7.
Ayipatti, 280.
Ayyankulam village, 279.
Ayyáswámi Ayya, 298-9.
Ayyátturai Ayyangár, 356.
Bàba Sahib, 92.
Baird, Col., 395.
Bâlasubrahmanya Tondaimán, 424, 466.
Bálòji Pant, 147.
Bamboos, 37.
Bangáru Naig, App. p. xlii.
Bangáru Tirumalai, 163, 164, 165, 182.
Bangle earth, 22.
Bannerman, Major, 304.
Bàpu Row, 252.
Bards, 120, 402.
Baroda, 448.
Bayley, Mr., 24 (as Mr. Bailley), 413.
Bay of Bengal, 1, 2, 3, 29.
Bednore, 273.
Bellary, 44.
Benares, 179, 180, 328, 448.
Bentinck, Lord William, 323-5, 342-3, 388-9.
Bertholdi, Fr., 148, 157.
Beschi, Fr., 167, 168, App. p. xli.
Bhairavi Varnam, 404.
Bhârasangili, App. p. vi.
Bhâshârnavam, 119, 331.
Bhavâni Saukar Row, 423.
Bhavâni Saukar Sètupati, 93, 152, 153.
Bhója Rájá, 74, 327-8.
Bijapore, 88, 92, 162.
Bikanir Maharaja, 471.
Blackburne, Mr. John (1), 364-5.
Blackburne, Mr. John (2), 397, 415, 416.
Blackburne, Sir William, 28, 74, 210, 211, 212, 285, 294, 309, 312, 317-23, 332, 340-2, 344-70, 376, 377, 388-9, 484.
Blanford, Mr. H. F., 19.
Bodi Rowth, 241.
Boma Nayaks, (Bomi Nayaks), 96, 155, 315, 316, 331, App. p. xxxv.
Bommindlai, App. p. xxxi.
Bombay, 260, 273, 448.
Bonjour, Lt. Col., 254.
Boomerang, 242, 444.
Bouchet, Fr. Venantius, 138, 145 n.
Boundaries of the State, 1.
Boundary disputes, 96, 276-9, 281, 291, 292, 325-7, 360, 382, 440.
Bourchier, Mr., 224, 234.
Brahmasútra Vritti, 176.
Brahmàdàyam, 455.
Brahmavidyápuram, 178.
Bráhmi Inscriptions, 53, 54 (b), App. p. xx.
Brahmins, Settlement and importation of, 74, 329.
Braithwaite, Col., 268, 269, 270, 271, 272, 277, 319.
Branfill, Col., 26, 27.
Brick-clay, 21.
Brihadambâl (Brihannáyáki), 160, 358, 403.
Brihadambâlpuram (1), 329.

Brihadambâlpuram (2), 329.
Brihadambâl Râjâmmani Sahib, 329.
Brihannayâki (Brihadambâl), 160, 358, 403.
Brown, Col., 298–300, 307.
Bruce Foote, Mr., 18, 19.
Buckingham, Duke of, 436.
Buckingham Palace, 460.
Buda Sahib, 182.
Buddha, 73, App. p. xxxvi.
Buddhists, 54, 73.
Building stones, 18.
Bull-baiting, 39.
Bullocks in the army, 237–238, 290.
Butler, Capt., 316, 317.
Buttari, Fr. John Baptist, 189 *n*.
Caillaud, Captain, 204, 205, 206, 215, 216, 217, 218, 222, 239 *n*.
Calcutta, 260, 448.
Caldwell, Dr., 48, 261.
Caligula and Augustus, Coins of, 51.
Caligula and Germanicus. See Germanicus and Caligula.
Campbell, Col. Charles, 230, 231.
Campbell, Sir Archibald, 238 *n*.
Canarese (old) inscription, 53.
Carnatic, The, 182, 184, 187, 188, 233, 235, 236, 244, 254, 255, 260, 264, 272, 279, 288, 301, 334, etc.
Castets, Rev. Fr., 105, 106, 107, 108 *n*, 132 *n*, 133 *n*, 145 *n*, 148 *n*, 157 *n*, 163 *n*, 170 *n*, 182 *n*.
Castes, The eighteen, 59.
"Cat", The, 308.
Catchâvasool, 355.
Catenars, 401.
Catholics, 156, 158, 181, 399-402.
Cattleshows, 464.
Câvalgar, Arasu, 96, 123, 302.
Câvalgar police, 353.
Cavelly, 88.
Caverns, 53, App. p. xxxiv.
Cement materials, 21.
Census of the State, 431, 440, 470.
Ceylon, 92, 113, 202, 332, 352, 365, 366.
Chákkòttai, 267.
Chakravarti Ayyangâr, 357, 367.
Chandanattàkuricchi, 109, 121, 142.
Chanda Sahib, 91, 164-72, 182-83, 187-91, 193, 196, 202, 218, 233.
Chandramma Ayi, 146 *n*.
Chandranadi, The, 3.
Chandrappa, 131, 132.
Chandrarékha Nâdu, App. p. vii.
Chauri, 334.
Chela battalions, 265.
Chera symbol, palm, App. p. xxxvi.
Cherry, Rev. H., App, p. x.
Chettis, 2–3, 69–73, 99, 480–1.
Chettipatti, 73.
Chidambara Bhârati, 403.
Chidambaram Kattalai, 328.
Chilappadikáram, 41, 49, 52, 54 (*d*), 56, 483.
Chin Killich Khan, 188 *n*.
Chinnapatnam, 210.
Chinglepat, 114, 219, 220, 221.
Chinnarammanai, 280, 295, 328, 408, 409, 424, 466–7.
Chinna Bangâru, 126.
Chinnaiyà chattram, 280.
Chinna Marudu. See Marudus.
Chinnammâ Ayi, 146 *n*.
Chinna Pacchayya, 158.
Chinna Pedu Nayak, 63.
Chinna Ráma Banâm, 127.
Chinna Râya Tondaimân, 146, 150.
Chinna Tondaimân, 137.
Chinna Valaikkattu, 28.
Chittùr, 10.
Chokies, 88, 395. Same as Chowkies.
Chokkanârâyana Vijayâlaya Tévan, 83, 97.
Chokkanâtha Nayak, 91, 92, 123, 128, 151.
Chokkappa (=Chokkanâtha Nayak), 91, etc.
Chóla, 2, 43, 46, 72–5, 90, 98–9, 480, 482.
Chóla symbol, agatti, App. pp .vii., xxx.
Chóla-grantha inscriptions, 53.
Chotu Meah, 405.
Chottupalai, 28, 263. Same as Sottuppâlai.
Chouth, 163, 182.
Chowki, 88, 395.
Clarke, Lt., 303.
Claudius and Agrippina, See Agrippina and Claudius.
Claudius and Nero, Coins of, 51.
Claudius, Coins of, 51.
Climate, 29.
Clive, Captain (1), 189, 190, 483.
Clive, Captain, 226, 228.
Clive, Lord, 312, 321–2.
Coimbatore, 273, 274, 298.
Coleroon, The, 219, 233, 263, 267, 275.
Colt Raja, 261.
Conjeevaram, 56, 105, 114, 220, 221.
Connemara, Lord, 447.
Co-operative Credit Society Regulation, 464.
Coote, Sir Eyre, 263–4, 269–71, 277, 319.
Cope, Captain, 188–9.
Copper-plates, 53–4, 96, 118, 135.
Coronation Darbar of 1902–3, 466.
Coronation Darbar of 1911, 471.
Counsellors, 347.
Cranganore, 400.
Crossley, Mr., 59, 445.
Crump, Ensign, 278.
Cuddalore, 273.
Cuddalore conglomerates, 6, 13.
Cuddalore sand-stones, 5, 6.
Cumblis, 40, 44.
Cuppage, Major, 295.
Customs (Land), 394–7.
Cyclones, 34.
Dakshinâmúrti, 178, 403.
Dakshinasamudrâdhipati, 43 *n*.
Dalton, Captain, 191–3.
Damodaram Pillai, 249 *n*.
Dandaka, 116.
Danda Sabha, 425, 457.
Danes, The, 229, 254.
Dantippottaraiyan, App. p. xxx.
Dárápuram, 273, 274.

Dealtry, Right Rev. Thomas, 399, 421.
Dévéndra, 116.
Delhi, 88, 162, 184.
Deputy Peshkar (title), 444.
Deputy Sirkil (title), 416, 417.
Depopulation, 109–112.
Deshakával, 78 *n*.
Devanampatam, 211.
Devastanam Department, 459–60.
Devikottai, 218.
Dewan (title), 444.
Dewans, List of, App. p. xiv.
Dewan Peshkar (title), 444.
Dhanapâlar Gôtra, 70.
Dhanuvanam Pillai, 143.
Dharma Pillai, 126, 127, 144, App. p. ix.
Dharmaráyar, 61.
Dhobies' earth, 22.
Dighton, Capt., 292.
Dindigal, 163, 182, 254, 263, 272–4, 281, 309, 313.
Dolmens, 44, 45.
Do-shawl, 334–5.
Douglas, Capt., 413.
Duff, Sir. M. E. Grant, 158, 443–4.
Dufferin, Lord, 446.
Dumby, 308.
Dupleix, 186–9, 193, 199.
Du Pré, Josias, 245.
Durga, 178.
Durvâsapuram, App. p. xxxix.
Dussera, 178, 353. See Navaratri.
Dutch, The, 229, 248, 254, 256, 257, 271, 331.
Earth-quakes, 35.
Earth-salt, 22, 362, 371, 377, 452–4.
Edinburgh, H. R. H. Duke of, 428.
Educational Exhibition, 466, 469–70.
Ekanâyaka Mudaliyar (1), 161.
Ekanâyaka Mudali (2), 356.
Ekapperumál Tondaimân, 85.
Ekôji, 92.
Eladippattam, 52, 54 (a), 73.
Elayirampannai, 303.
Elephant-gift, 296, 334, 335.
Elephant shooting, 446.
Elphinstone, Lord, 413.
Embal, 1, 22, 205.
Emblems, Royal, 325, 334.
Empress of India (title), 434.
Enaum, 88. See *Inam*.
Ennayáttipârai, 20.
Erelupatu, 63.
Erianty, 278, 279.
Erode, Capture of, 298.
Ettaiyapuram, 125, 191, 214, 304.
Evvi, App. p. i.
Exhibitions, Madras, 401.
Fakir's Rock, 192 *n*.
Fakir's Tope, 192.
Famines, 112, 148–50, 373, 394, 411, 434.
Fatta singh, 182.
Fauna of the State, 39.
Feudal rights of the Nawab, 289.
Fergusson, Dr., 53, 54 *n*.
Floods, 34, 149.
Flora of the State, 35.
Floyd, General, 400.
Foote, Mr. Bruce, 16, 17, 23, 25.
Forests, 26, 129, 330, 366, 378.
Fort St. David, 218.
Fort St. George, 218, 219.
Francis, Mr., 146 *n*.
Free Elementary Education, 471.
French, The, 187–98, 215–16, 218–222, 260, 272, 297.
Fullarton, Col., 27–28, 207, 213, 273–4, 299, 341.
Game, 28, 40.
Ganapati Kavirâyar, 332.
Gandabhérunda, 119.
Gandarakotai, 15, 16. See Gandharvakottai.
Gandharvakottai, 15, 16, 106, 328, 383.
Gangakula, 55.
Gangavamsa, 55.
Gangaridæ, 55.
Gângeyan, 81.
Gângeyan line, 82.
Gauri Vallabha Periya Udaiya Tevar, 311.
Gautamá Rishi, 116.
G. C. I. E. title, 371, 484.
Geology, 5–25.
Germanicus and Caligula, Coins of, 51.
Gingee, 119.
Gingen, Captain, 189.
Giripatanam, App. p. xxxiv.
Girisa Aiyar, 405.
Gnâna Varódaya, App. p. xxxvii.
Gneisses, 5–11.
Goa Mission, 400–402.
Godeheu, 196 *n*.
Gókarnèsa, 358.
Golavarpatti, 303.
Golconda, 88, 162.
Golden rock, 194.
Gompertz, Mr., 440.
Gondivana beds, 5, 6, 11.
Gopalakrishna Sastriar, 178, 180.
Gópâl Naig, 407, 416.
Gópâl Row, Dabir, 295.
Góvindappa Aiyar, 151, 157.
Grand Anaikkat, The, 147, 232, 265.
Grand Confederacy, The, 260.
Granier, Fr., 401–2.
Granite stones, 19.
Grass tax, 373.
Gregory XVI, 401.
Gúdalúr (1), 63, 111.
Gúdalúr (2), 146.
Guest, Rev. Mr., 396.
Gunasékharam, 443.
Gurupâdadâsar, App. p. xxxii.
Gúti, 183.
Gwynne, Mr. J. T., 467.
Haidar Ali, 195, 209, 215, 228, 229, 231, 233–35, 239, 251, 254, 260, 261, 263–67, 272, 273, 276, App. pp. xxxi, xli.
Haidar's Channel, 266.
Hannibalian stratagem, 404.
Hanumán Flag, 120, 137, 378.
Hanuman's temple, 328.

Hanumantakudi, 93, 151.
Hardy, Capt., 368.
Harris, General, 300.
Harris, Lord, 448.
Harris, Mr., 325, 339.
Havelock, Sir Arthur, 461.
Heron, Col., 202–204, 213, 214.
Heuman, Dr., 398.
Hindu Row, 150.
Hiuen Tsiang, 54.
Hircarrahs, 238–240.
Hisam-ul-Mulk, 292, 296.
His Excellency, title of, 288–92, 421.
His Highness, title of, 438.
Hizam-ul-mulk, 292, 296.
Hookswinging, 434.
Hooper, Mr., 36–37, 39.
Horne, Lt. Col., 259, 281, 284.
Hughes, Mr., 314.
Humidity, 31.
Hurricanes, 34, 377.
Husain Ali, 182 *n.*
Husaini Varnam, 404.
Icchinâri, 23.
Idaiyárrùr, 41 *n*, 59, 63, 81, 161.
Idangali Nâyanâr, App. p. i.
Ikani-âr, 9.
Ilakkanattennáyaka Tondaimân, 85.
Ilandâri Ambalakâran, 125–27, 144, 159, 168, 172, App. p. ix.
Ilangóvéls, The, App. pp. i–iv.
Illipur, 6 11. See Iluppúr.
Iluppúr, 6, 11, 86, 91, 95, 135, 185.
Inam Settlement, 454–6.
Indian Mission Society, 398.
Indigo factories, 364–5.
Indra, 116.
Indradhanus, App. p. xxxiii.
Indra Tévan, 150.
Industrial Exhibition, 469–70.
Ingunâttu Pallavarâyar, App. p. vi.
Inscriptions, 43, 51, 54 (*d*), 66, 80, 81, 82, 83, 84, 85, 94, 97, 100, 101, 102, 110, 111, 113, 114, 115, 140, 143, 175, 279, 280, 327, 328, 333, 416, App. pp. i, iii, vi, xix–xxx.
Inscriptions, List of places containing, App. p. xv.
Installation described, 449-50.
Irappa Náyak Ayyan, 101.
Iron, 11, 17, 23, 24, 410.
Irrigation improvements, 463, 469.
Irukkuvéls, App. pp. i–iv, xxxiii, xxxv.
Irumbâli, 78.
Irumbanàdu, 1, 28, 76, 111, 205.
Irungovéls, App. pp. i–ii.
Jackson, Mr., 303.
Jagannâtha Ayyangâr, 95.
Jâgirs, 161, 408–9, 423–4.
Jains, The, 73, App. p. xxxiv.
Jamabandi, Special, 468.
Jânaki Ayi, 146 *n*.
Jànakiparinaya, 135.
Javantilinga Chettiyàr, 102.
Jayamnádina Pallavaráyar, 101.
Jayanàbha Pallavarâyar, 101.
Jayasingakulakàla Valanàdu, 76.
Jesuits, The, 399–402. See Madura Mission.
Jivitams, 454–5.
Josias Du Pré, 245.
Kacchiràn, App. p. xl.
Kadaladaiyadilangaikonda chóla Valanâdu, 76
Kadalgudi, 303.
Kadambaràyar, 61, 62, 78, 82.
Kadâram, App. p. v.
Kadayakkudi, 2, 3, 135, 150, 156, 376.
Kadayappatti, 161.
Kaduga Nalla Perumàl Pallavarâyar, 101.
Kâduvetti, 117.
Kaduvangudi Nâdu, App. p. vii.
Kaikkuricchi, 67.
Kaittâr, 305.
Kâkkai Tiruman, 174.
Kalabam, 101, App. p. v.
Kâlaiyarkovil, 56, 126, 128, 129, 130, 253, 282, 283, 284, 313, 315.
Kalamâvúr, 141, 142.
Kâlamukha sect, App. p. iv.
Kalanivàippatti, 82.
Kalasamangalam, 48, 59, 66, 69, 71, 78, 99, 132, 135, 145, App. p. xl.
Kalasappalanagaram, 69 *n*.
Kalasappattanam, 69 *n*.
Kaliapúr, 305.
Kálikkudi, 168, 171, 172,
Kali chakrams, 307.
Kalimúrkha Nàyanár, App. p. xxix.
Kalingarán, 117, 118.
Kalingaràyar, 61, 62.
Kaliyiranviduthi, 1.
Kalkulam, 146.
Kallàkottai, 106, 118, 292, 415.
Kallupparru Kaikkuricchi, 67.
Kallars, The, 28, 65-8, 105-112, 116, 117, 118, 137, 184, 186, 189, 220, 221, 267, 292, 296-7, 479-480.
Kallúr quarry, 20.
Kalmáshapáda, App. p. xxxv.
Kàmákshi Nàyaks of Iluppúr, 95.
Kamalàmbál Ràni (Kattakkuricchi Ayi), 412-3, 416.
Kambam, 146.
Kamban, 63, 64, 482.
Kànádu, 2, 26, 43, 56, 61, 63, 66, 67, 68, 71 *n*, 75, 77. See Kànanàdu.
Kànádukattan, 173.
Kanakkanpatti, 180 *n*, App. p. xxxi.
Kànakkúrram, 61.
Kanakkuvari, 477.
Kànanádu, 63, 79. See Kánàdu.
Kánappéttai, 178, App. p. xli.
Kandalur, 94, 107, 139.
Kandiyar, 117.
Kandu pokkan, 97.
Kanduvan chiefs, 86, 97, 127.
Kandy prisoners, 332, 407.
Kánjàttimalai, 4.
Kanna Aiyar, 295, 311, 312.
Kannanúr, 28, App. p. ix.
Kannanúr Servaikárs, App. p. xl.

Kannimalai, 67.
Kapilai Nâtakam, 332, 403.
Kapilai Valar Nâdu, App. p. vii.
Kappal, 114.
Kappal Kóvai, 114.
Káraicchúranpatti Kavírayàr, 332.
Kâraikkudi, 82.
Karaippa*tt*i, 141.
Kâraitthóppu, 365.
Káraiyúr, 20, 22, 25, 38, 48, 56, 59, 64, 67, 326, 373.
Kâràla Vellàlars, 54 (*a*)-59, 96.
Karambakkudi, 3, 21, 22, 34, 37, 118, 125, 364–5, 427–8.
Karical, 219.
Karikâl the Great, 55, 70, App. pp. xxxv, xxxvi.
Karisalpatti, 96, 153.
Kârkàtta Vellàlars, 98.
Karna, 334 *n*.
Karnam's cess, 477.
Karna Viranna, 202 *n*.
Karpaka Pillaiyar, 118.
Kartars, 66.
Karukappùlampatti, 366.
Karukkâkkuricchi, 49, 50, 78.
Karunelli fruit, App. p. xxxiii.
Karumánicka Tondaimàn, 114.
Karunákara Tondaimán, 98.
Karuppadaiyànmalai, 20.
Karuppar, App. p. xxxviii.
Karupparkoil rock, 19.
Karuppudaiànpatti, 21.
Karúr, 163, 178, 226, 233, 235, 271, 274, 298.
Karuttayya, 303.
Káryasts, 346.
Kasturi Ayi, 146 *n*.
Kataboma Nàyak, 136, 303–5.
Káthali, 122, 125, 131.
Kattakkuricchi, 59.
Kattakkuricchi Ayi (1), 328.
Kattakkuricchi Ayi (2), 412–3, 416.
Kattalúr, 1, 4, 23, 94, 138, 139.
Kattalúr chieftains, 94.
Kà*tt*ubàvàpallivásal, 133.
Kávérippattanam 49, 72.
Kâvèri water for the State, 405.
Kavinâdu, 25, 68, 99, 150, 168.
Kavinàd Taluk, 426.
Kavinâd tank, 3, 68.
Kàyánâdu, 67.
Kâyânpatti, App. p. xxxi.
Kelli Cottah, 197.
Kemanúr, 9.
Keralasinga Valanadu, 76, App. pp. v, vii.
Kesava Bhârati, 332.
Khalgi, 335.
Khan Sahib's Pallivàsal, 230. See Yusuf Khan.
Khillat, 294.
Kidárattaraiyan, 78.
Kilaiyùr, 5.
Kilkerai, 248.
Kilakkudi, 102 *n*.
Kilanellikottai, 15, 19. See Kilanilai.
Kilanilai, 24, 34, 93, 134, 152, 155, 175, 186, 204, 210, 215, 217, 224, 225, 232, 250, 256, 258, 264, 268, 269, 270, 271, 276–78, 319–24, 427, 428.
Kilappalinji, 329.
Ki*l*attàniyam, 73, App. p. xxxii.
Kilavan Setupati, 97, 124–7, 134, 152, 153.
Killanúr, 279.
Killi Valavan, 46.
Killukottai, 20, 28.
Killukudi, 9, 66.
Killumallai, 9.
Kilsengili Nâdu, 66, App. p. xxviii.
Ki*l*vèlúr, 279.
Kimanùr, 63, 175.
Kindersly, Mr., 386, 406–7.
King, Mr. William, 18.
Kinkini Tondaimán, 116.
Kiranallúr, 67.
Kirankuricchi, 19.
Kiranúr, 1, 10, 20, 48, 59, 65, 86 *n*, 103, 110, 142, 191, 195–98, 329.
Kirattur, 22.
Kírnur, 10. See Kíranúr.
Knox, Col., 269, 283.
Kódaimaindan, App. p. xxix.
Kodumbalur, 23, 41, 53, 56, 59, App. pp. i–iv, xxxv.
Kodumkunra Nàdu, App. p. vii.
Kohlkoff, Rev. Mr., 398.
Kolatur, 5, 10, 34.
Kolattúr branch, App. p. xl.
Koli, App. pp. v, vii.
Kolikkal Pacchai Ayyà, 146 *n*, 158.
Kollaikkudi, 173.
Kollangudi, 283, 284 *n*.
Kómangalam, 1.
Kónàdu, 2, 43, 56, 61, 63, 66, 67, 68, 71, 75, App. p. vii.
Kônaput, 20, 28.
Kónêrí Ràjá Pallavarâyar, 101, 102 *n*.
Konguràyar, 61.
Koraiyár, The, 3, 4.
Korkai, 49.
Koti, 2, App. p. xl.
Köttaikkadu, 27.
Kottamanganpa*tt*i, 141.
Kottayâchari, 273–5, 283.
Kottiyúr, 83.
Kòttúr, 10.
Kotwal, 356, 358.
Kóviladi, 147, 232, 252.
Kóvilúr, 80, 102 *n*, 109 *n*, 329.
Krishna, 254.
Krishna Aiyar (1), 404.
Krishna Aiyar (2), 405.
Krishnan, 405.
Krishnan Panrikondrár, 418.
Krishna Panrikondràr, 162.
Krishna Sastriar, 54 (*a*).
Krishnaswami Naig, 407.
Kuliára, 69.
Kùdakarai, 114.
Kudumiámalai, 2, 5, 3, 20, 53, 54, 54 (*c*), 59, 64, 67, 68, 76, 96, 99, 102, 105, 109, 134, 155, 156, 158, 159, 160, 175, 325, 332, App. p. vi.

Kúhúr App. p. vi.
Kúlaiyânviduthi, 24.
Kulakkudi, 68.
Kulamangalam, 63, 85, 110.
Kulamangala Nàdu, App. p. vii.
Kulandai Pallavarâyar, 66, 99.
Kulasékhara, 113, 114, App. p. vi.
Kulasékhara Pándya, a Marava, App. p. xxxix.
Kulasèkhara Tondaimàn, 85.
Kulasékhara Vânàdiráyar, 82.
Kulattùr, 100, 105, 135, 136-46, 159, 160, 179, 427.
Kulattùr Tank, 3, 5, 141.
Kulattùr Pâlayam, 136-144.
Kulattùr Tondaimâns, 137-144.
Kulattûr Zamin, (Tinnevelly District), 303.
Kulavâippatti, 26, 56, 59, 66, 72, 99, 171, 328.
Kulóttunga Chôla I, 70, 394, App. p. xxxiii.
Kulôttunga Chòla III, 114.
Kulôttunga Chòlattaraiyan, 78.
Kumara Kaliyarán, 160.
Kumaramalai, 5, 332, 482, App. p. xxxii.
Kumáramangalam, 280.
Kumára Muttu Vijaya Raghunátha Sétupati, 93.
Kumàraswàmi Nàyak, 303-5.
Kumáravàdi, 86, 94, 95, 96, 135, 139, 140, 201, 327, App. p. xxxvii.
Kumâravâdi Chiefs, 86, 91, 95-6, 140.
Kumarésa satakam, 482, App. p. xxxii.
Kumatarâyar, 61.
Kumbhakónam, 175, 254, 272, 275.
Kumbhakónam Zilla, 383.
Kummi songs, 403-4.
Kumupatti, 12.
Kunampatti, 106, 174. See Kunnampatti.
Kunamulla, 10, 19.
Kundáru, The, 3, 180.
Kundrádiráyanpéttai, 69. See Kundràpéttai.
Kundràdiràyar, 61, 67, 68, 71 *n*.
Kundrakkudi (1), 312, 342.
Kundrakkudi (2), App. p. xxix.
Kundrándárkóvil. See Kunnandárkóvil.
Kundrâpettai, 61.
Kunnampatti, 184, 186. See Kunampatti.
Kunnandárkovil, 5, 9, 14, 44, 53, 54, 59, 65, 66, 81, 102 *n*, 115, App. p. xxv. Same as Kundràndàrkóvil.
Kunnattumalai, 5.
Kunraiyur Nàdu, 113.
Kunriyur, 78, 161.
Karuppamutha Pillai, App. p. xxxvii.
Kuppavàkuricchi, 69.
Kuppei Andi, 107.
Kuranguppattadai, 46-8.
Kùrrams, 61, 75.
Kurumbars, 43.
Kurumbavayal, 22.
Kurundan Sammatti, 140.
Kurunda Pillai, 144, 156, 161, App. p. xxviii.
Kurundanpirai, 81.
Kurundanvayal, 329.
Kusalàkkudi, 22.
Kuttai Vengáramma, 146 *n*.
Kúttappan Chattiram, 328.
Kûttar Vijayálaya Tèvan, 84.
Kútta Tévar, 93.
Kuvávan Sáttan, App. p. xxviii.
Lake, Lord, 334.
Lakkaya Náyaks, 94-5, 201, 202, 327. See Lakki Náyak.
Lakki Nàyak. See Lakkaya Náyak.
Lakshmana Danda Nàyak, 43 *n*.
Lakshman Naig, 380, 407.
Lakshmanpatti, 280.
Lakshmi, 178.
Lally, Count de, 218-221.
Lambalakkudi, 20, 28.
Land-customs, 394-7.
Land divisions, ancient, 75.
Landon, Mr., 212 *n*.
Lang, Col., 273.
Lankàpura Danda Náyak, App. p. vi.
Laterite quarries, 20.
Lateritic conglomerates, 5, 7, 13-16.
Lawrence, Lord, 448.
Lawrence, Major, 191-95, 197-99, 209, 217, 247, 483.
Law Reporter, 465.
Legislative Committee, 465, 478.
Leipzig Mission, 397, App. p. x.
Lingamalai, 17.
Lingam Nâyak, 264, App. p. xxxi.
Lingappa Servaikàr, 175.
Lushington, Mr., 228 *n*, 304, 305, 342-4 382, 388, 391, 392.
Lushington's son, Mr., 391, 392.
Màbali Vánádiràyar, 82.
Macartney, Lord, 276, 319.
Macaulay, Major, 308,
Macleod, Mr., 291.
Maclean, Lt. Col., 324, 385, 386, 394, 413
Madai, the hero of, App. p. xxxix.
Madakam, 22.
Madar-ul-Mullk, 255, 257.
Madattukkòvil, 109.
Mádhava Row, Rájà Sir. T., 435, 436.
Madiâni, 111.
Madras, 120, 189, 211, etc.
Madura, 43, 49, 91, 92, 94, 95, etc.
Madura Kattalai, 328.
Madura Mission, 156-8, 166-168, 181-2, 400-102.
Madura Náyaks, 90-1, 107, 146-7, 163-170.
Mahábalipuram, App. p. v.
Mahajanams, 459.
Mahálinga Mudaliyàr, 291, 296.
Mahánáttars, 386.
Mahàràjasamudram, 3 *n*.
Maharajah's Town Hall, 460.
Mahàvamsa, 54.
Mahe, 260.
Mahendravarman I, 54.
Mahimés, 439.
Mahomed Isoof, 196, 220. See Yusuf Khan.

Mahphuz Khan, 169, 202, 213-16, 227-8.
Mainville, 196 *n*.
Maissin, 196, 239 *n*.
Màlai Idu, 337.
Malaikkolundísvaramudaiyàr, 54 (*a*).
Malainádu, 81.
Malairàyapuram, 64.
Malaiyúr, 3, 22, 329.
Malakkuricchi Rángiar, 145.
Malalapatti, 13.
Malampatti, 152, 265. See Mallampatti.
Malayadippatti, 5, 44, 53, 54, 54 (*a*), 54 (*c*), 186, 401.
Malavaràyar, App. p. vi.
Malayadhwajan, App. pp. xxvii, xxxv.
Malayakkóvil, 20, 53.
Malayattàyi, 145.
Malittán Pallavaràyar, App. p. xxxix.
Mallai, App. p. v.
Mallàkkôttai, 267 *n*, 326.
Mallampatti, 9, 11, 17, 23. See Malampatti.
Mallan Vidaman, App. p. xxx.
Malla Pallavaràyar, 102, App. p. ix.
Mallappa Náyaka Pallavarâyar, 102.
Mallappa Pallavarâyar, 102.
Mallapuram, App. p. v.
Mallikárjuna, App. p. iv.
Màluvaráyar, 61.
Mámundi, the, App. p. xxxvii.
Manalvayalèndal, 179.
Mánâmadura, 130.
Mànàmadura Maravars, 63.
Managers, 300, 345-7.
Manamelkudi, 2.
Manappárai, 64, 128, 135, 191, 201, 202, 280, 326, 327.
Mandaiyûr, 23.
Màngâdu, 27.
Mangalàmbálpuram, 329.
Mangalanádu Maravars, 63.
Mangalavellàlaviduthi, 118.
Mangalore, 273, 274,
Mangammál, 91, 108, 138, 141, 146.
Mangattánpatti Rángiar, 145.
Mangattáyi, 162.
Mángudi, 63.
Maniambalam, 22, 68, 83.
Manimuktànadi, The, 4, 7, 11.
Manippallam, 168.
Mánjanviduthi, 329.
Mannárgudi, 93, 125, 151, 267, 269, 270, 272.
Manna Vélàr, 243, 263, 295, 331, App. p. xli.
Mánôji, 186, 191, 194, 199, 200, 205, 206, 217, 218, 224 *n*, 249 *n*, 255, 278.
Mânôjiappa, 72. See Mánôjí.
Manovarti Jàgir, 408, 409, 451.
Mansab, 293.
Mánthânkudi, 24.
Màran Sadaiyan, App. pp. v, xxxix.
Máppillai Pallavarâyar, 345-6, 356, 382.
Máppillai Tévan, 270.
Maramadakki, 71, 72.
Maratta preponderance, 364, 419.
Marattas, 182, 183 186, 187, 192, 199, 233, 251, 254, 260.
Maratti inscription, 54 (*c*).
Maravakkanmâi, 333 *n*.
Maravàmadurai, 28, 64.
Maravanéndal, 333.
Maravampa*tti*, 64.
Maravan Pudukkôttai, 129-31.
Máravarma Kulasékhara Pandya, App. p. xxxix.
Maravars, The, 62-4, 93, 129, 172, 198, 199, 245.
Maravar Madura, 64. See Maravàmadura.
Marchand, 230.
Màriamman, 179.
Marlborough House, 460.
Màrpiduvinár Péradiaraiyar, App. p. xxix.
Mártànda Bhairava Tondaimàn, Rȧjá Sir, 432, 445-484.
Martin, Fr., 108, 139 *n*, 148 *n*, 150.
Marudampatti, App. p. xli.
Marudàntapuram, 67.
Marudu Pàndyas, 282.
Marudu, Chinna, } 94, 203-4, 281-4,
Marudu, Periya } 308-9, 313-5, 342,
Marudus. } 404.
Marungàpuri, 2, 86, 91, 96, 123, 135, 140, 144, 153-5, 201, 264, 325-7.
Marungúr tank, 3.
Marutântalai, 63.
Mathamathakkathâli, 45.
Mâtrbhúta Aiyar, 404.
Maxwell, Col., 303.
Mayilâppârai, 24.
Mayaveram } 275.
Mayour }
Median Múvéndra Vélâr, 113.
Medows, General, 238 *n*, 291.
Meenavalli, 23. See Mínavalli.
Meera Rasaldar, 296.
Meicondan, 107.
Melainilaivayal, 25.
Mèlakaràn, 117.
Mélakkulam, 69.
Mélattàniyam, 22, 111, 333.
Mèlnilaippatti, 24.
Melthuvakudi, 201.
Mélúr (1), 3, 133.
Mélur (2), 378.
Mènâvayal, 329.
Meratnilai, 155, 161. See Miratnilai.
Metamorphic rocks, 7.
Meteorological Department, 464.
Meteorology, 29.
Metran, 401.
Meyyamalai, App. p. vii.
Mica, 25.
Mi*l*alai kú*rr*am, 61, 75, App. p. vi.
Mi(Vi) *l*icchar Pillai Pallavaràyar, 100.
Military bazaars, 237.
Minâkshi, 91, 163-66, 169, 170.
Mínakshi Ammâl, 361.
Minâkshi Nâyakan, App. p. xxxii.
Mínâkshisundaram Pillai, 332.
Mínatchi Ayi, 146 *n*.
Mìnattúr, 259.

Mínavelli, 64, 82, 394. See Meenavalli.
Mira Safdar Khan, 295.
Mirasdàrs, 455, 469.
Miratnilai, 22, 68. See Meratnilai.
Mithilaippa*tt*i Kavirâyar, 332.
Mohterpha tax, 422.
Mohi-ud-din Mian, 202 *n*.
Mondemiah, 190, 202 *n*.
Monnatoor, 259.
Moodemiah, 202.
Morris, Mr. G. Lee, 426.
Muchiri, 49.
Muchukunda Chakravarti, 69.
"Mudali" The, 157.
Muddu Namana Tondaimán, 159.
Mudra Sahbà, 357, 425.
Mughals, The, 173, 174.
Muhammad Ali, 169, 185 *n*, 187–192, 199, 200–3, 230, 231, 235, 236, 251, 254, 257, 259, 282, 288–9, 292–3, 319, &c.
Muharam dues, 302.
Mùkah, 308.
Mukdom Ali Khan, 227.
Mukilpa*tt*anam, 64.
Muktámbálsamudram, 178.
Múlangudi, 22.
Mullúr, 12, 59, 101, 279, 328.
Munaisandai, 68.
Municipal Council, 470, 478.
Munro, Captain, 314.
Munro, Sir Hector, 270, 271.
Munro, Sir Thomas, 342, 371, 377–8, 381–2.
Murari Row, 183, 184, 186, 199.
Murgappa Sérvaikar, 312.
Murry Rev. C. F., App. p. x.
Museum, 469.
Musical activity, 402–5.
Muthumakkaltáli, 45.
Muthuppalani Kavirâyar, App. p. xxxvii.
Mutta*l*akammál, 141, 280.
Muttirulappa, 154.
Muttu Alakàdri, 91.
Muttukkaruppa Mudali, 356.
Muttukkumára Pillai (1), 248.
Muttukkumàra Pillai (2), 310.
Muttukkumàra Raghunàtha Sètupati, 93.
Muttukkumáraswâmi Pillai's Chattram, 328.
Muttukrishna Vírappa 92.
Muttulinga, 91.
Muttumínákshikkaviràyar, App. p. xxxii.
Mutturâmalinga Sètupati, 93, 263.
Mú*tt*úrudaiyàrmangalam, 69 *n*.
Muttuswami Panrikondràr, 418.
Muttuvaduganàtha Periya Udaiya Tèvar, 94, 282.
Muttuvairan or, Muttuvairava } Ambalakár, 292, 303, 331.
Muttuvijaya Ambalakârar, Ilandàri, 296.
Muttu Vijaya Raghunatha Periya Udaiya Tévar, 93.
Muttu Vijaya Tondaimân, 146, 150.
Muttu Vírappa, 91.
Muttuvirappan, 331.
Muttuviràyi Ayi, 159.
Múvarkoil, 53, App. p. iv.
Muzaffar Jung, 188, 189.
Mylapore, 400.
Mysore, 147, 176, 182 *n*, 226, 228, 231, 233. 244, 260–62, 272, 447, etc.
Mysoreans, The, 188, 192–96, 199, 203, 226, 261, 276, etc.
Nàdu, 75.
Nàdumatitta Vijayálayan, 84.
Nagalápuram, 136, 381, 382.
Nàgappan and ordeal, 333.
Nagaram Zamindars, 86, 97, 174.
Nagarattu Malai, App. p. xxxiii.
Nágu Bhàrati, 132 *n*.
Nàgúr, 256.
Naighadham, 331.
Nalan Konda Avudaippa Sérvaikár, 270.
Nallakattáyi Ayi, 162, 180.
Nallakutti Valamkondán, 144, 161, App. p. ix.
Nallaperiyan Kaliyugan Meyyar Kuluval Nàtakam on him, 331.
Nallàyi Ayi, 159 *n*.
Nallúr, 140, 297, App. p. xxxii.
Nallùr patch, 14, 16.
Nàlukôttai, 93, 200, 219, 245, 246. See Sivaganga.
Namana Tondaimân (*a*), 116.
Namana Tondaimân (*b*), 116.
Namana Tondaimán (*c*), 116.
Namana Tondaimân (*d*), 116.
Namanarâyasamudram, 142.
Namanasamudram, 22, 178.
Namana Tennathirayan, 162.
Namana Tondaimàn I, 122, 124, 125, 136, 137, 138, 139, 140, 142, 156, 179, 325, 402, App. p. ix.
Namana Tondaimán II, 142, 143–44.
Nambukuli, 69, 71–99.
Nâmi Tévan, 94.
Nandagopalan, 70.
Nandavanampatti, 107.
Nandi Pothan, Nandippòttaraiyar, } 44, 54 (*a*), App. pp. iii, xxvi.
Nandi Rájá (Pallava King), App. p. xxxii.
Nandirâjá, 190, 192, 193, 199.
Nandivarman, App. p. iii.
Nánguppatti, 10, 141, 179, 404, App. p. xli.
Nânguppatti Servaikàrs, App. p. xli.
Nânjiyúr, Nànjúr, } 142.
Nannu Meah, 405.
Naggara, 293, 334.
Nâranappa Aiyar, 157, 163–66.
Naranappayyar, 356.
Narangiyanpa*tt*i, 118.
Narasa Râju, 120 *n*.
Narasappayya, Narasayya, } 138, 146.
Narasimha Tévan, 94.
Narasinga Row, 212.
Nâráyanappér Arasu Makkal, 66.
Nàrttámalai, 4, 8, 18, 28, 37, 53, 54, 73, 74, 113, 186, App. pp. xxx, xxxiii.
Nárttâmalai hills, App. p. xl.
Nassir Sung, 277.

Nattam, 4, 135, 201, 261, 264, 267 *n*, 309, App. p. xxxi.
Náttukkôttai Chettis, 2, 72, 479, 480–1.
Naubat, 334.
Nàvalinga Nallakutti and Kuluval Nátakam on him, 331.
Nàvalkulam, 329.
Navaràtri, 178, 179 *n*.
Navarátri Kummi, 404.
Náyaks, 43, 90, 91, 163.
Náyak rulers, The, 43, 90, 91, 128, 129, 136, 137, 138, 140, 141, 146, 147, 151, 153, 163–6, 169–70.
Nazar, 285, 287, 289, 293.
Nazir Jung, 188, 189.
Neddamurram hill, 9.
Nedungudi, 5, 13, 15, 22, 25, 81, 82 *n*, 133.
Neduvàsal Zamindar, 415.
Negapatam, 229, 248, 256, 271, 272.
Neikkunram, 82 *n*.
Neikkuppaikanmái, 4.
Neill, General, 243.
Nelvâsal, 82 *n*.
Nelvèli, 63.
Nemmélippa*tti*, 24.
Nerinjikkudi, 22, 67.
Nero, Coins of, 5.
Nero and Claudius, Coins of, 51.
Nero and Agrippina, Coins of, 51.
Nero Drasus, Coins of, 51.
Nerúr, 177, 178, 179, 442.
Nétirája Pàndyan, 63, 64.
Nirpalani tank, 22.
Nishadan Ràjan, 82.
Nivally, 278–9.
Nixon, Col., 263, 271, 272.
Niyamam, 82.
Nizam, The, 162, 163, 183–5, 187–8, 236.
Nocchikkanmai, App. p. xl.
Nonda Tondaimàn, 200.
Nondi Maravan, 98.
Nòrth Arcot, District, 45, 114.
Northern Circars, 87.
Nowniath Tondaimân, 200.
Nunjaráj. See Nandiraj.
Nyáya Sabhà, 357.
Oakley, Sir Charles, 392.
Ochre, 23.
Ochs, Rev. C., App. p. x.
Odeateivan, 312. Same as Gauri Vallabha Periya Udaiya Tèvan.
Oliayamangalam, 41 *n*, 56, 59, 154.
Oliyúr, 61, 62 *n*, 63, 75.
Onângudi, 22, 155, 161, 280, 328.
Onomatology of places, 26, 27.
Oodayateivan, 94, 269.
Oomaniah, 283, 284. See Umaniah.
Oomee, 308.
Ordeal of red-hot metal, 333.
Orukkombumalai, 10, 67.
Ottakkúttan, 48, 82 *n*.
Ovala Pùcchi Nâyak, 154.
Owk, 121.
Owk Rája, 120 *n*, 241.
Pacchai Ayya, 146 *n*.
Pacchai Tondaimân, (*a*), 116.
Pacchai Tondaimàn (*b*), 116.
Pacchai Tondaimàn (*c*), 116,
Pacchai Tondaimán (*d*), 116, 119.
Pacchai Tondaimán (*e*), 122, 142, 146, 158, 160, 161.
Padaittalaivar, 66.
Padakkam, 335.
Padamattúr, 311, 312.
Padikása Nádàr Kovil, 15.
Pâdikàval, 78–80. See Cavelly.
Padikkásu Pandàram, App. p. xlii.
Padmanàbhaswâmi, 335.
Padroado Archbishop, 400.
Pâkkudi, 22, App. p. xli.
Pàlaikkuricchi, 1, 316.
Pâlaiyanâdu, 67, 86 *n*.
Palaiyavanam, 84, 86 *n*, 86, 97, 174, 201.
Pâlaiyùr, 77, 84, 85.
Palamcottah, 239 *n*.
Palamcotta, 308.
Palani Kattalai, 328.
Palankarai, 72, 171.
Palattoor, 15.
Palayakars The, 69, 87, 88, 151, 316, etc.
Palayams, 87, 136.
Palghat, 274.
Páli inscriptions, 52, 53, App. pp. xx, xxv.
Pallikkulam, App. p. xxxi.
Palinji, 103.
Pallattuppa*tti*, 141.
Pallava-grantha inscriptions, 53, App. p. xxxii.
Pallavanpadi, 68, 103.
Pallavan tank, 103, 332, 439.
Pallavarâya Mànickattàl, 102.
Pallavaráyan festival, App. p. xxxix.
Pallavaràyan *sandhi*, 101. App. p. xxxix.
Pallavaráyan Simai, 128.
Pallavaráyars, 69, 81, 97, 98, 100–103, 126, 132–4, App. pp. v–ix.
Pallavas, The, 43, 44, 75, 97–99, 114. App. p. v.
Pallikonda Vijayàlaya Nàyanar, / Pallikonda Perumál Vijayâlaya Tevan, } 83, 84.
Pillivâsal dues, 302.
Palnis, The, 42 *n*, 43, 163.
Pámbâru, The, 3, 7, 11, 14, 22, 38, 134, 143.
Panamkâdu, 67, 81.
Panaiyur, 63, 110.
Panaiyur quarry, 20.
Panangudimalai, 20.
Panankadunàdu, 81.
Pancharatnam, 403.
Pancháyats, 470.
Pandàram, 147.
Pandarattàrs, 86 *n*.
Pàndavakkuli, 41.
Pandavà's temples, 44.
Pándikulàsani Valanádu, 76.
Panditakkudi, App. p. xxxii.
Pândya, 2, 42, 43, 73, 74, 75, 90, 98.
Pándya Mandalam, 76.
Pàndya Symbol, Margosa, App. p. vi.
Pândya Vànâdirayàn, 111.

Panjalamkuricchi, 214, 303-5, 308.
Panrimalai, 42.
Panri Nâdu, 42.
Panrikondâr, 117, 147, 382, 418.
Pâppànvayal, 103.
Paràkrama Pàndya Dèvá, 79.
Paralimalaippârai, 20.
Paramasivêndrâr, 176.
Parambukkàdu, 28.
Parambùr, 14.
Parappatti quarry, 20.
Parâsara, 69.
Parattaiyan Ambalakáran, App. p. xxxix.
Paris Foreign Mission, 400-401.
Parish, Mr., 325.
Parker, Mr., 398, 418.
Parppanappa*tti*, 66.
Pàrvati Kalyánam, 403.
Pasumalai, App. p. x.
Pasumarappa*tti*, 141.
Pattabhiráma Aiyar, 296.
Pattattikulam, 21.
Pattavars, App. p. xxxviii.
Pattukkottai, 3 *n*, 93, 107, 147, 151, 256, 268-70, 277, 382.
Pears, Col., 269, 270, 277.
Pennington, Mr., 419.
Peraiyur, 2, 20, 54 (*c*), 59, 68, 85, 103-105, 150, 153, 156, 332 *n*, App. p. vii.
Peraiyúr Nâdu, App. p. vii.
Perama Tondaimán, 122.
Perámbúr, 20, 22, 23, 28, 81, 86 *n*, 94, 135, 138, 139, 266, App. p. xli.
Perâmbúr—Kattalùr Chiefs, App. p. xli.
Peria Raya Tondaimàn, 146, 150.
Peria Valaikkattu, 28.
Periya Bangáru, 126.
Periya Mannavelár, 243.
Periya Marudu. See Marudu and Chinna Marudu.
Periya Nàcchi Ayi, 141.
Periya Nàyaki Ayi (1), 141, 146.
Periya Nâyaki Ayi (2), 162.
Periya Ráma Bànam, 123, App. p. ix.
Periya Udaiyammai Ayi, 145.
Pérkuppi, 114.
Perumál Tondaimàn, 85.
Perumànàdu, 21, 22, 68, 426, 427.
Perumbidugu Perumdevi, App. p. xxvii.
Perumdévi Ammàl, 285.
Perumsunai, 20.
Perundurai tank, 3, 22.
Perungalur, 3, 13, 21, 24, 48, 59, 67, 84, 100, 132, 133, 278, 279, App. p. v.
Perungalur Nàdu, 67, 329.
Perungalur Pallavarayars, 97.
Perungalur Tank, 13.
Perungalur river, 22. See *Agnánavimbchani* river.
Perungudi, 68.
Picchankuricchi, 69.
Pidàmpatti, 328.
Pigot, George, 203, 210, 211, 212 *n*, 235, 431.
Pigot, Lord, 257, 258, 262.
Pilà Mé Talavé, 366.
Piláviduthi, 118, 122, 180.
Pilimalai, 66.
Pillai Ayi, 141.
Pillaittácchi Virattâyi, 145.
Pillamangalam, 82, 279.
Pinnakudi, 71 *n*.
Pinnangudi, 178.
Pirânmalai, 1, 4, 28, 42 *n*, 43 *n*, 56, 67, 68, 73, 82, 138, 159, 153, 284 *n*, 314, 316.
Pirpanrikondrán, 117.
Plantations, 38.
Podacota, (for Pudukkóttai), 197.
Police Department, 353, 432.
Political Agency, 344-5, 425, 429.
Political Agents, List of. See App. pp. xi, xii.
Pollams, 87. See Pálayakárs and Pâlayams.
Pondicherry, 189, 216, 218-20, 400-1.
Ponnamaran, 63.
Ponnambalanatha Tondaimán, 84, 85, 86, 114 *n*.
Ponnamarávati, 22, 34, 54 (*b*), 56, 59, 63, 84, 85, 97, 98, 113, 114, 153, 315.
Ponnammáyi, 146 *n*.
Ponnanviduthi, 317.
Ponnáyanar Vijayàlaya Tévan, 83. Possibly same as the next below.
Ponnàyanar Vijayálaya Tévan, 83. Possibly same as above.
Poram, 68, 156.
Pôram Ràyar Pallavaráyar, 240, 243. See also p. 297.
Porpanai, 70, App. p. xxxvi.
Pórpanrikondrán, 117.
Portuguese Mission, 400-402.
Postal Department, 405-7, 459.
Potails, 87, 88.
Potters' clay, 21.
Prasanna Raghunathpuram, 376.
Pratàpasimha, } 92, 224 *n*, 319.
Pratáp Singh, }
Preston Captain, 220, 221, Major, 229, 230.
Primrose, Mr. Alexander, 17.
Prince of Wales at Madura (1875), 433.
Prince of Wales in Madras (1906), 467.
Prize Money (Fourth Mysore War), 300, 354.
Protestant Mission work, 397,-8, App. p. x.
Pùchi Nâyak, 96, 123, 140, 153, 154, 254, 264, 325-7, App. p. xxxi.
Púdi Adittapidáran, App. p. iv.
Pudukkôttai lateritic patch, 14, 16.
Pudukkòttai Símai, App. p. xl.
Pudukkuricchivayal, 85.
Pudunilaivayal, 25.
Puduvayal, 63.
Pújai Pallavarâyar, 126.
Pulikkulam bulls, 39.
Puli Tevân, 136, 228.
Pulivetti Púcchi Nàyak, 154.
Puliyúr, 8, 66, 138, 297.
Pulli, 65.
Pulvayal, 28, 78.
Punal Nàdu, 42.
Pùmgudi, 329.

Púramalai, 316.
Pùram hills, 5.
Pushpamitra, App. p. xxxv.
Pushyatthurai, 2.
Pudukkóttai, Maravan, 129–30.
Puttambùr, 23.
Puttambúr quarry, 20.
Púvâlaikkudi, 110.
Pùvattakudi, 71, 72.
Rachewars, 409.
Radhakrishna Tondaimàn, 280, 424.
Rághava Aiyangàr, 174.
Rághuji Bhonsla, 91, 182, 183.
RAGHUNATHA RAYA TONDAIMAN, 2, 121–127, 136, 137, 140, 142, 144–159, 227, 280, 284, 325.
Raghunátha Row, 311, 312.
Raghunátha Sérvaikár, 175.
Raghunâthaswàmi Panrikondrár, 382.
Raghunáthasubrahmanyasamudram, 329.
Raghunàtha Tèvan Kilavan, 93, 124–6, 134.
Raghunàtha Tèvan *alias* Tirumalai, 93.
Raghunátha Tondaimán, Ràjà, 324, 374, 375–412, App. p. xli.
Rahiman Khan, 227.
Rainfall, 31.
Râjâ Bahadúr title, 289, 292–3, 362.
Râjâ Bahadúr Tondaimàn, 351.
Ràjadhiràja Singha, 366.
Râjágiri, 4, 38,
Rájagópálapatnam, 3 *n*.
Rájagópálasamudram, 279.
Rájagópala Tondaimàn (1), 159, 161, 255, 280.
Rájagôpàla Tondaimán (2), 280, 361.
Ràjàlippatti, See Ràsàlippatti.
Rájaràja Pàndya Valanàdu, 76.
Rajaràja Valanádu, 76.
Rajéndra Chóla, 113.
Rajéndra Chóla Valanàdu, 76, 482.
Râjéndramangala nádu, 63.
Rajasahib, 193,
Ràjattikhan, 83.
Râjmahál, 6.
Râjmahal, 395, 411.
Ràkka Tévar, 93.
Rákkathampatti, 297.
Ram, Mr., 339.
Râmabhadra Dikshatar, 175.
Rámachandrapuram, 329.
RAMACHANDRA TONDAIMAN, RAJA, 383, 403, 404, 405–6, 407, 412–444.
Rámadás, 404.
Rámah Naick, 145 *n*, 197–99, 239 *n*.
Ràman pàrai, 20.
Ràmaswámi Aiyar, 417.
Ràmaswámi Ràngia Tèvar, 161.
Ràmaswámi Sérvaikâr, 252, 270.
Ràmaswàmi Sérvaikàr of Nânguppatti, 404.
Râmaswámi Tondaimàn, 140, 141–143, 159, 160, App. p. ix.
Rámàyana, 92.
Ràmésvaram, 92, 119, 121, 141, 142, 222, 376, App. pp. xxxii, xxxiv, xxxviii.
Rámésvaram, Pilgrimage to, App. p. xl.
Râmgiri, 251.
Ramnad, 2, 92, 93, 95, 108, 116, 125, 135, 144, 145, 150, 152, 153, 163, 170, 186, 198, 200, 207, 216, 226, 227, 245, 248, 249, 250–254, 257, 261, 263, 272, 282, 297, etc.
Ramzan festival tax, 302.
Ranga Krishna Chokkanátha Náyakar, 163. [Ranga Krishna seems to be a mistake for Vijaya Ranga, See p. 91].
Ranga Krishna Muttu Virappa, 91, 123, 126, App. p. xxxviii.
Ranga Krishna Muttu Víra Bhûpála Samudram, App. p. xxxviii.
Rangammà Ayi, 162, 180.
Rangammal, 140.
Rangammalsamudram, 329.
Ranganâtha Panrikondâr Estate, 409.
Ranga Pallava Row Estate, 408, 409.
Rangan Pallavarâyar, 332, 382.
Rângier, 117, 145, 161.
Rângyam, 111, App. p. ix.
Ràrápuram, 63.
Ràsalippatti, 18, 44, 53, 96, App. p. xxi.
Ráshatrakútás, App. p. xxxiii.
Rasipuram, 22.
Rattaipádi, App. p. xxxiii.
Rattaipàdikonda Chóla Valanàdu, 76.
Ravidèva, 54 (*c*).
Ràya Pallavarâyar, 297.
Râyappar of Súraikkudi, 54.
Ráyapuram, 25.
RAYA RAGHUNATHA TONDAIMAN, 11?, 162, 223, 242, 246, 248, 250, 252–84, App. p. xxxi.
Ràya Râhulta Ràya Vajridu Ràya Mannidu Ráya, 119.
Ráya Tondaimán, 116, 119, 120, 122.
Ráya Tondaimán Anurajamàlai, 119, 330.
Ráya Tondaimán Irattaimanimàla, 119, 330.
Rea, Mr. A., 46.
Read, Col., 300.
Rebellion in Madura and Tinnevelly, 309–315, 450.
Reddis of Turaiyûr, The, 295–6.
Regency, 451. See also 345, 412.
Renters, 213, 261 *n*.
Representative Assembly, 151, 183, 462–3.
Rettaimalai, 191.
Resident at Tanjore Political officer for Pudukkóttai, 340–41, 342–5, 414.
Residents of Tanjore and Pudukkóttai, List of. See App. pp. x–xi.
Rivers, 2–5.
Roads in Pudukkóttai, 380, 476.
Roberts, Sir Frederick, 442.
Rock-cut temples, 50. See also App. pp. xxxii, xxxiv.
Roman *Aurei*, 50–1.
Roman *coins*, 49–51.
Rossi, Fr., 167 *n*.
Royal Asiatic Society's Madras Branch, 383.

Rudráchârya, App. p. xxxii.
Russooms, 90.
Sabha, 76.
Sadaiyappàrai, App. p. xxxi.
Sadak Sahib, 182.
Sadásiva Brahmam, 125, 175-179, 247, 403.
Sadàsivan, 120.
Sadàsivan Pillai, 407.
Sadásivaràyar, 229, 253, 255, 257.
Sadiakka Tévan, 93.
Safdar Alikhan, 164, 183.
Sàhûji ; 92.
Saidamba Bai Sahib, 185 *n*, 407.
Saidapet, 220.
Sakhàràm Naig, 380, 401.
Sakkiliankôttai, 28.
Salt Commission, 451.
Saltpetre, 23.
Salute, 393, 415, 428-9, 438.
Sambandhar, 73, 314.
Sammatiràyar, 61.
Sampatti hills, 5.
Samudramkulam, 4.
Sândâkòttai, 3.
Sanitary Board, 466.
Sanjiviráyar Temple, 328.
Sankaràchàrya, 176.
San Thomé, 400.
Saptatálavarnam, 404.
Sâranakkudi, App. p. xli.
Sarasvati, 178.
Sarasvati Exhibition, 466, 469.
Sardárs, 240-2, 400.
Sarfoji, 92, 368.
Sarkils, List of, App. p. xiii.
Sarkkaraippulavar, 403.
Sarpanadi, 3.
Sarvamányam, 74, 329.
Sashia Sastrí, Sir A., 34, 103 *n*, 116, 120, 121, 158, 406, 435-59, 473.
Sasivarna Periya Udaiya Tévan, 93-4.
Sàstânkôvil, 133.
Satara, 183, 187.
Sati, 47, 125, 336-7.
Satyamangalam, 274.
Saunders, Mr., 203.
Sàyer, 394-7.
Sayyid Mukdom Ali Khan, 227.
Scroovalore, 278, 279.
Second Appeal Court, 470.
Selambakkuttiayya, 146 *n*.
Self-luminous tree, App. p. xxxiii.
Sella Tévar Setupati, 93.
Sellukudi, 44, 328, 329.
Séman, 81.
Sembaka Ponnáyanàr Paràkrama Vijayalaya Tévan, 83.
Sembaka Râya Vijayálaya Tèvan, 83.
Sembáttúr, 23.
Sèmbiyan Irukkuvél, App. p. iv.
Sembumárinâdu Maravars, 63.
Séndamangalam, 103.
Sengalmèdu, 3, 22.
Sengalúr, 287.
Sengirai, 97. Same as Senkarai.
Senkamaldás, 92.
Senkarai, 2, 24, 28, 37.
Senkáttunádu, 67, App. p. vii.
Seringapatám, 265 *n*, 273, 274, 298, 331, etc.
Sérvaikârs, 358, 409, 456.
Seshâchala Aiyar, 404.
Settlements of the Brahmins, 74.
,, the "Eighteen castes", 59.
,, the Jains, 73.
,, the Kallars, 65.
,, the Kàràla Vellàlars, 54(*d*).
,, the Maravars, 62.
,, the Money-lending Chettis, 69.
,, the Nàttukkottai Chettis, 72.
Settlement, Inam, 434-6.
,, Revenue, 458, 464, 467.
Sèttur, 292.
Sétubávachattram, 36, 361, 371, 377.
"Sétupati origin" of Pudukkóttai State discussed, 124-35.
Sètupatis, 2, 86, 92, 93, 98, 132, 133, 135, 151, 198, 202, 203, 212, 216, 219, 249-50, 253, 263, 297.
Sevalùr, 1, 4, 64, 111.
Seventhelunthamangalan, 103.
Seventheluntha Pallavan Pillai Tamil, App. p. v.
Seventheluntha Pallavan Ulá, 330, App. p. v.
Seventheluntha Pallavaráyar, 68, 71, 99, 101, 102, 103, 121, 126, 131, 132, App. pp. vii-ix.
Seventhelunthapuram, 103.
Seventheluntha Tirumalarâya Pallavarâyar, 98, 101.
Sevvappa Araiyar, 84.
Sevvappa Vijayálaya Tévan, 84.
Sewell, Mr. H., 433.
Shàkkottai lateritic patch, 14, 15.
Shaji, 92.
Shembatur, 9. Same as Sembàttur.
Shenkarai lateritic patch, 14, 15.
Shenkarai ridge, 12, 23.
Shiyelly, 275.
Siddàrtimangalam, 69.
Sîjan Bhai, 92.
Silver Jubilee, 471.
Singamangalam, 69, 80, 145.
Singappuli, 147, 292, 361.
Singhalese chronicles, The, 113.
"Single horseman", The, 266.
"Single peak" hill, The, 10.
Sinna Annan Sérvakàr, 189, 226, 404.
Sinnakkadan Sabha, 425.
Sirumalai, 4.
Sirusunai, 101, 108.
Siruvayal, 282, 309, 313-4.
Sittannavásal, 5, 20, 52, 53, 54, 54 (*a*), 73, App. pp. xxi, xxxiv.
Sivaganga, 93-4, 126, 180, 200, 206-7, 215-6, 219, 226-7, 232-3, 238 *n*, 245, 248-54, 257, 260, 263, 268, 273, 281-4, 291, 292, 305, 309, 311, 313-5, 360-1.

"Sivaganga tank", 103 *n*.
Sivaganga Zemindars, 93–4.
Sivagnánapuram, 38, 169, 171, 181.
"Sivagnânapuram Durai", 169.
Sivagiri, 261.
Sivâji, 92.
Sivânandapuram, 279.
Sivapuram, 69 *n*.
Sivasubrahmanya Pillai, 305.
Sivattayya, 305.
Six-footed stool, App. p. vi.
Smith, Captain, 305.
Smith, Charles, 212.
Smith, Captain Richard, 226, 227 *n*, 233.
Smith, General Joseph, 252, 253, 255.
Smriti Chandrika, 357.
Soils, 25.
Soiroba Naig, 370, 371, 407, 413.
Solavandan, 56.
Soltykoff, Prince, 421.
Sónan Asiriyan, App. p. xxx.
Sóttuppàlai, 66, 263.
Spencer, Rt. Rev. George Trevor, 398.
Srirangam, 65, 123, 199, 215, 225–6, App. p. xxxiii.
Sriranga Pallavaráyar, 100.
Sríranga Râyulu (=Sríranga Râya III), 119–121, 402.
Srívilliputtúr, 64 *n*.
Srotriem lands, 329.
Stamps, 461.
State Council, 460, 461, 467.
Stewart, Charles, 264 *n*.
Strabo, 482.
Strange, Sir Thomas, 359.
Strydonck, Mons Van, 445.
St. Thomas Mount, 220.
St. Thomé, 220, See San Thomé.
Stuart, Col., 237 *n*, 243, 283, 284.
Subba Aiyar, 332.
Subba Aiyar of Ráyapuram, App. p. xli.
Subbammal Ayi, 289.
Subbammàlpuram, 329.
Subbá Nàyak, 303.
Subbanná Aiyar, 404.
Subbayyá Aiyar, 404.
Subbukkutti Aiyar, 404.
Subrahmanya Bhàrati, App. p. xli.
Subramanya Mudaliar, 161, 179, 270.
Sulochanábai Chatram, 4.
Sundaramúrti Nàyanàr, App. pp. i, iv.
Sundara Pándya Déva, 100.
Sundarapándyapuram, 3.
Sundarapândya Valanàdu, 76, 482.
Súra Tévan, App. p. xli.
Súraikkudi, 68, 79, 80, 82–4, 97, App. p. v.
Súraikkudi Tévans, 82–4.
Suraiyâr, The, 3, 4.
Súrandikkulam, App. p. xli.
Súràndivàdi, App. p. xli.
Surface, 2.
Surna, 334.
Sûriampatti, 14, 15.
Surramulla, 10.
Surriur, 10.
Survey, 363, 458.
Súryamúrti Panrikondrâr, 361.
Sûrya Tévar, 93.
"Svayampàkams", 178.
Svètanadi, 2.
Swámi Nàyak, 251.
Swàmi Sástrial, 405.
Swartz, 261, 265, 275, 291.
Swedish Mission, 397.
Sword marriage, 286.
Syáji, 92.
Syrian priests or, Syro-Malabar priests } 400–402.
Syed Sáhib, 267.
Tacchi Ayi, 145.
Tâlavanésvarar, 26.
Talavei, 138.
Talikota, 121.
Talliar, 89, 90.
Taluks, Number of, 1, 354, 428.
Tàmarakkanmâi, 22.
Tambikkinaru, 102.
Tâna Pillai, 346–7, 356.
Tánavanádu, 67.
Tandalai, 22.
Tándavaràya Pillai, 232.
Tandar Tévar, 93, 152, 153.
Tanjore, 14, 74, 86, 92, 95, 116, 122, 134, 135, 147, 150–3, 163–5, 169, 171–4, 180, 182–3, 188, 190–5, 197–200, 202–9, 215, 217–20, 224–6, 229–34, 238 *n*, 239 *n*, 244–6, 248–60, 264–5, 267–8, 270–2, 274–9, 281, 301, 383, etc.
Tanjore Residency, 340, 344–5, 414.
Tanjore lateritic patch, 14.
Tànjùr, 86, 133.
Tannarasanádu, 116.
Tântóni, 71, 72.
Tapórási, App. p. iv.
Tattimutti quarry, 20.
Tavittuppandáram, 179.
Tâvumânaswàmi's temple, 328.
Tekkàdu, 24.
Tékkáttúr, 59, 67.
Tékkâttùr Vélâr, 173.
Telugu inscriptions, 54 (*c*).
Tembàvani, App. p. xlii.
Temperature, 29.
Ténàr, 79.
Tenímalai, 53, 73, App. pp. xxvi, xxxv.
Tenkavinàdu, App. p. xxxix.
Tenkônâdu, 85.
Tennankudi, 48, 175, App. p. xxxv.
Tennanúr. See Tennankudi.
Tennatiraiyan, 145.
"Tennaveràyan Pudukkóttai", 129.
Tennavan Pallavaráyan, App. p. v.
Ten Tiruppallimalai, App. p. xxxiii.
Ténúrmalai, App. p. xxxv.
Teppavúr, 85.
Terkalùr, 118.
Tiagar, 220, 222.
Tiberius and Augustus, Coins of, 51.
Tiberius Cæsar's Coins, 51.

Tinnevelly, 108, 128, 135, 145 *n*, 183, 190, 202, 204, 213, 214, 222, 227, 236, 261, 273, etc.
Tipparasu Náyak, 63.
Tipu Sultan, 238 *n*, 262, 265, 267–8, 272–6, 290, 297–9.
Tírttârappa Mudali, 215.
Tirugokarnam, 5, 8, 18, 19, 53, 54, 100, 105, 160, 168, 171, 172, 180, 328, 332, App. pp. ix, xxxix.
Tirugokarnam Temple, App. p. xxxix.
Tirukka(u)lambúr, 4, 161, 305.
Tirukka(u)lambúr Vairavan Kummi, 331.
Tirukkattalai, 99, 100, 105, 109 *n*.
Tirukkattupalli, 147, 150, 171, 265, 267.
Tirukkoilur, 219, 222.
Tirukkulakkudi, 54 (*e*), 67, App. p. vii.
Tirukkural, 59.
Tiruma, 116.
Tirumalai Panrikondrán, 361.
Tirumalai Râyapuram, 329.
Tirumalai Râyar Kalitturai, 331.
Tirumalai Ráyar Kappal, 330.
Tirumalairâyasamudram, 329.
Tirumalai Raya (or Tirumalayya) Tondaimân, 150, 161, 162, 279, 280, 285, 330, 331.
Tirumalai Sétupati, 93.
Tirumalai Tondaimân (1), 146, 150, 153, 156, 159.
Tirumalai Tondaimân (2), 345–6, 356, 393.
Tirumalai Tondaimán (3), 383, 407, 424.
Tirumalai Náyak, 91, 94, 95, 103.
Tirumangai Alwar, App. pp. i, v, xl.
Tirumangalam, 65.
Tirumànmalai, App. p. xxxiii.
Tirumayyam, 1, 2, 3, 4, 6, 10, 18, 19, 22, 34, 44, 53, 54, 54 (*c*), 93, 105, 107, 126, 127, 129, 130, 132, 133, 143, 150, 152, 155, 160, 171–2, 181, 204, 237 *n*, 267, 283, 307, 311, 313, 328, 359, App. pp. xxvii, xxxv.
Tirumayyam uchippârai quarry, 20.
Tiruméni Alagian Tèvan, 83.
Tiruméni Alagia Víra Pândya Tèvan, 83.
Tiruméni Tévan, 83.
Tirumoli, 98 *n*.
Tiruppallimalai (1), App. p. xxxiii.
Tiruppallimalai (2), App. p. xxxiii.
Tirupati, 65, 114, 116, 328.
Tiruppattur, 4, 9, 128–30, 243, 267 *n*, 283, 312, 316, 342.
Tiruppattúr river, The, 4.
Tiruppugal, 332.
Tiruppùr, 73, 141, 144, 156, App. p. xxxv.
Tiruppuramkunram, 54 (*b*).
Tiruppúvàlaikkudi, 110.
Tiruválattúr, App. p. xxviii.
Tiruvalúr, 151.
Tiruvàmbúr, 220, 221.
Tiruvánaikka, 65, 123.
Tiruvarankulam, 23, 24, 54 (*c*), 59, 68, 70, 85, 98, 100, 101, 105, 109, 132 *n*, App. p. xxxv.
Tiruvarankulappurànam, 332.
Tiruvappúr, 23, 223.
Tiruvárúr, 69.
Tiruvènkatam, 65.
Tiruvidaiyâppatti, 2.
Tiruvinaitirtam, 85.
Tiruvisanallúr, 175.
Tiruvudaiya Sétupati, 93.
Tiruvudaya Tévar, 152.
Tondaimáns, The Arantangi, 84–5.
Tondaimandalam, 42 *n*, 43, 55, 63, 97, 114–17.
Tondaimandala Satakam, 61.
Tondaimàn's country, 128.
Tondaimán Fort, 114.
Tondaimân Nàdu, 171.
Tondi, 156, 248.
Tottium, 169.
Town Improvements, 456.
Tranquebar, 229.
Travancore, 35, 146, 163, 164, 207, 233, 244, 335, 387, 392.
Trees, 35–8.
Trevelyan, Sir Charles, 421.
Tribute, 206–8.
Tukáji, 92.
Tukòji Mahárájà, 224 *n*.
Tulaiyánilai, 329.
Tuljáji, 92, 193 *n*, 257, 258.
Túnúr, 259.
Turaiyúr, 135, 151, 183, 295–6, 331.
Tuticorin, 271.
Tyágarâz= Thyàgarájaswámi, } 371, 380.
Ucchàni, 135 *n*, 141.
Udaiyanna Téyan, App. p. ix.
Udaiappan, 102.
Udaiyappa Sérvaikàr, 140.
Udaiyappa (Manna) Vélar, 295, 331.
Udaiyappa Vélan Kuravanji, 331.
Udaiyárpalayam, 151, 207, 230, 231, 237, 254, 255 *n*, 260–1, 272, 292, 294–5, 331.
Udaiyârs, The, 478–80.
Udayâlimangalam, 65.
Udayalippatti, 34, 65.
Udaya Tèvan, 232.
Ulakamkáttânpa*tti*, 279.
Ugra Peru Valuthi, 56.
Ugra Vira Pándya Rájà, 98.
Ukantharasu Chettiyar, 69.
Uliyakàrs, 409.
Umaiyan, 303–5, 308.
Umaniah, 273, 283, 284. See Oomaniah.
Umbalakârs, 409.
Umdat-ul-umara, 231, 236, 252–3, 257, 289, 293, 301.
Unaiyùr, 86 *n*.
Unions, 470.
Unjanainàttukkallars, App. p. xl.
Unjanúr Maravars, 63.
"Upper Gondwâna beds", 5, 11.
Uppilikkudi, App. p. xl.
Uppiliyans, The, 23.
Uppuppatti, 22.
Urumâl, 334–5.
Usilamalaippàrai, 20.
U*tt*attur, 190.

Ur, 75.
Uraiyùr, 41, 56.
Uraiyur division, 61, 63.
Uraiyúr kúrram, 75.
Urattùr division, 61, 75.
Urriùr, 15.
Uyyakkondan, The, 3.
Vadakàdu, 4, 27.
Vadakkalúr, 118, 223.
Vadapanangàdu Nâdu, App. p. vi.
Vadaserippa*tt*i, 171.
Vadavâlam, 59, 66, 280.
Vaidyakavísvarar, 404.
Vaigai, The, 10, 73.
Vairava Nâyanár, 84.
Vairava Vijayàlaya Têvan, 83, 84.
Vairava Vijayàlaya Pandárattár, 83.
Vaittikkanmói, 22.
Vaittikóvil, 48, 97, 143, 144, 179.
Vaittùr, 22, 26, 97, 100, 102 *n*, 105, 133, App. p. v.
Vaiyápuri, 5, 94.
Vaiyàpuri Endal, 329.
Vala Dèva, 101 *n*.
Valamkondràn Ranavijayan, 332.
Valanádus, 75, 76.
Vâlaikkuricchi, 63.
Valaiyárs, The, 60, 71, 97.
Válaramânikkam, 59, 82 *n*, 85.
Valarttu Vâ*l*vitta Perumâl, Tondaimán, 115.
Valavandiankudi, 201.
Vâlikandapuram, 151, 190.
Vàlivadugan, App. p. xxix.
Vallaba Dèva, 101 *n*.
Vallam, 3, 19, 39, 70 *n*, 71, 99, 252.
Vallattirakôttai, 67.
Valliappanádu, 65.
Valnád, 2, 25, 67, 69, 70, 101, App. p. vii.
Valnád Chettis, 3, 70.
Valuvâdis, 99.
Valuttùr, 68, 97, 102.
Vànádiráyankôttai, 61.
Vánàdiráyans, 61, 62, 67, 68, 82.
Vànàdiràyar, Màvali, 82.
Vánádiráyan, Pándya, 111.
Vánàdirayar, Sundarattòludaiya Màvali, 82.
Vanangàmudi Pallavaráyar, 67, 99.
Vàndâkottai, 22.
Vandalúr, 221.
Vándràkottai, 61, 67.
Vangam Periya Udaiya Tévan, 94.
Vanniyan Suraikkadu, 82.
Vanniyars, 82, 83, 84, 101, App. pp. v, viii.
Varadaràja Náyak, 140.
Vâram, 481.
Vâráppúr, 21, 22, 28, 66, 95, 174, 280.
Vàráppur Valandàn, 403.
Vâráppùr (of Vàráppùr–Ka[illegible]salpet), 4, 67, 96, 155, 1[illegible]5, 316, 331, App. p. xxxviii.
Varavinôtha [illegible]n, 86.
V[illegible]rppat[illegible] p[illegible]), 4, 155, App. p. [illegible]xviii.
Vayalokam, 28, 56, 59, 63, App. p. xli.
Vayalúr, App. p. xxxvi.
Védantàcharlu, Mr. R., 459-61.
Védar, 105.
Vèdavritti, 329.
Véduvars, The, 41.
Vél, 57, App. p. i.
Vèla Malai, 2.
Velláchi, 94.
Vellai Marudu. See Vellaya Marudu.
Vellaimantapam, App. p. xl.
Vellaivâttànviduthi, 24.
Vellâlars, The, 54–62, 74.
Vellánpa*tt*i, 141.
Vellanúr, 73, 86 *n*, 132, App. p. xxxvi.
Vellâr, The, 2, 3, 5, 7, 9, 10, 13, 14, 22, 38, 42, 43, 62, 67, 68, 69, 72, 73, 99, 125, 132–5, 480–1.
Vellaya Marudu, 253, 254, 281, 282, 284 *n*. See Marudu and Periya Marudu.
Vellangoody, 10.
Velli Mardoo, 282. See Marudu and Periya Marudu.
Vèlu Nàcchiyàr, 94.
Vendrimadantha Tamiladiaraiyan, App. p. xxx.
Vengan Servai, 171 *n*, 295, 315.
Venkáji, 92.
Venkanna (poet), 115, 331.
Venkannan Sérvaikáran, 413, 417.
Venkannan Sérvai Valandàn, 171 *n*, 331.
Venkappaier (Venkat Row), 248, 345, 347, 356.
Venkasóma Araiya Tévar, 84.
Venkatàchala Pallavarâyar, 98, 114.
Venkatàchàri, 279.
Venkatakrishna Aiyar, 356.
Venkatapatíya Pillai, 279.
Venkatèsvarapperumàlkóvil, 141, 179.
Venkatràmadas Naidu, Dewan Bahadur S., 461–7.
Venkat Row. See Venkappaier.
Vennâvalkudi, 28, 71, 329.
Vennâval Nàdu, 66.
Venkayya, 146 *n*. Same as Venkanna.
Venkayya, 146 *n*.
Venkayya, Rao Bahadur, 98.
Vénugàna Krishna, App. p. xxxv.
Vénuvanèsvari, 26.
Verde-Mohideen, 202 *n*.
Vespasianus, Coins of, 51.
Veterinary Hospital, 454.
Veyra Fr., 148.
Vicar Apostolic of Pondicherry, 401.
Vidélvidugu Muttaraiyan, 54 (*a*), App. p. xxviii.
Vidélvidugu Pallavaràyan, App. p. v.
Vidélvidugu Viluppéradiraraiyan, App. p. xxvii.
Vidyârâsi, App. p. iv.
Vignànesvara, 3.
Vijayadantippóttaraiyan, App. pp. xxix, xxxii.
Vijayadanti Varma, App. p. xxviii.
Vijayàlaya Tévans, 79, 83, 84.
Vijayanagar, 90, 91, 120, 121, 245.

Vijayanagaram, App. p. xl.
Vijayanagar Kings, 83, 101, 135.
Vijaya Rághava Nàyak, 92, 122–3.
Vijaya Raghunâtha Durai Ràjáh Avl., M. R. Ry., 460–61, 467, 474.
Vijaya Raghunàtha Kilavan Sétupati, 124–6, 131.
Vijayaraghunáthapuram, 376.
Vijaya Raghunátha Ráya Tondaimán I, 95, 124, 143, 159–248, 403, App. p. xxxi.
Vijaya Raghunâtha Tondaimàn II, 340–75, 404.
Vijaya Raghunàtha Sétupati, 93.
Vijaya Raghunátha Tévar, 93.
VIJAYA RAGHUNATHA TONDAIMAN, 28, 74, 285–339.
Vijaya Raghunátha Tondaimán (Western Palace Jagirdar), 335, 340.
Vijayarâmachandrapuram, 329.
Vijaya Ranga Chokkanàtha Nâyak, 91, 138.
Vijaya Ranga Chokkanàtha Ramaswâmi Tondaimán, 141.
Vijaya Tondaimàn, 146, 150.
Vikrama Chólanúla, 48.
Vikramakésarin, 53, App. pp. ii–iv.
Vilakkudi, 100.
Vilattuppatti, 103.
Vilitturangum Pallavaráyar, 100.
Village Conservancy, 470.
Vilvanatha Pillai, 161.
Vilvavanam Pillai, 333.
Viràcchalai, 56, 59, 63, 83, 96, 97, 100, 110, 133, 153–5, 325, 326.
Virakkâdaiyan, App. p. xxix.
Virakkudi, 54 (*c*).
Víralakshmi, 328.
Virálimalai, 4, 5, 9, 18, 20, 34, 94, 96, 139–41, 179, 266, 332, 377, 427–8, App. p. xxxvi.
Virálimalaikkàthal, 330.
Virálimalaikkuravanji, 161, 169, 330, 403.
Viraliyànkáthal, App. p. xxxvii.
Viràlúr, 94, 141, 179.
Víra Mâkáli Amman, 118, 332.
Víramâmuni, 167.
Víramâmunivar, App. p. xli.
Víra Narasinga Ràyar's charity, 85.
Viranga Ráyan, 120.
Víra Pándya, 24, 54 (*b*), 79.
Víra Pândya Cataboma Nâyak, 303.
Vírappatti rock, 20.
Virasôla Ilangóvélár, App. p. iii.
Vírasomèswarayya, 54 (*c*).
Virudarája Bhayankara Chóla Valanádu, 76, 79.
Visalúr, 9, 23, App. p. xxxviii.
Visenginàdu, 59, 65, 67, 68, 115, 137, 279, 296–7.
Visenginàttukkallars, App. p. xl.
Visvanàtha, 91.
Visvanàtha Náyaka, 90, 97.
Visvanâtha Nàyakan Ayyan, 101.
Vittampatti rock, 20.
Vitthal Rájá, 70.
Volkonda, 190.
Walnadu, 201.
Warren Hastings, Mr., 245.
Watts, Mr., 326–7.
Weather, 33.
Welsh, Col. James, 282, 313–4.
Wenlock, Lord, 448, 449–50.
Western Palace Jagir, 161, 361, 408–9 424, 437.
White Crows, App. p. xxxiii.
Wilkinson, Col., 316, 354.
Winds, 31–32.
Windsor Castle, 460.
Women and Children's Hospital, 466.
Wood, Col., 232, 234, 267, 269, 270, 277.
Wulsa, 276 *n*.
Wynch, Mr., 257.
Yágupa (Periya), 401.
Yasim Khan, 227.
Yeddiápatti, 12.
Yènadiaru, 4.
Yusuf Khan, 143, 196, 201, 202, 214, 215, 216, 218, 219, 220, 221, 222, 227–31, 237.
Zulfikar Khan, 162.